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# A 'GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD'

BY

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## PREFACE

I HAVE always been of opinion, as a teacher of History, that the study of that subject should begin with the General History of the World, as is the practice in every country but our own, and not with the history of England, which is usual amongst ourselves. I hope that the present book may be useful for this purpose. The book was written almost entirely out of England, and I wish to express my gratitude to my friend Mr. Gaskoin, of Jesus College, Cambridge, for having laboriously and carefully read the proofs, and thus helped to remove any errors which may have arisen from that circumstance.

OSCAR BROWNING.



# CONTENTS

## BOOK I

CHAP.	PAGE
I. EGYPT TO THE TIME OF THE HYKSOS, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1580 B.C. . . . .	1
II. BABYLON AND ASSYRIA, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO C. 1570 B.C. . . . .	17
III. THE INDO-GERMANIC RACE—EGYPT UNDER THE EMPIRE, 1580-523 B.C. . . . .	35
IV. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE 1850-606 B.C.: JEWISH HISTORY TO 537 B.C. . . . .	46
V. MEDES AND PERSIANS—GREECE AND THE PERSIAN WARS, 780-479 B.C. . . . .	69
VI. HISTORY OF GREECE, 478-387 B.C. . . . .	94
VII. HISTORY OF GREECE, 387-338 B.C. . . . .	112
VIII. EARLY HISTORY OF ROME, 753-C. 350 B.C. . . . .	130
IX. GROWTH OF THE POWER OF ROME, 390-201 B.C. . . . .	149
X. ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS, 336-213 B.C. . . . .	165
XI. ROME THE MISTRESS OF THE WORLD, 214-44 B.C. . . . .	181
XII. THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 44 B.C.-96 A.D. . . . .	203
XIII. THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 96-337 A.D. . . . .	225
XIV. HISTORY OF EUROPE, 337-565 A.D. . . . .	244

## BOOK II

I. THE FRANKISH EMPIRE, A.D. 486-768—RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM, A.D. 570-802 . . . . .	261
II. CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, A.D. 768-928 . . . . .	283

CHAP.	PAGE
III. THE NORSEMEN—THE DANES IN ENGLAND, A.D. 835-1042 . . . . .	303
IV. THE EMPIRE RESTORED—HENRY THE FOWLER, A.D. 919-936—OTTO I., A.D. 936-973 . . .	319
V. THE EMPIRE, A.D. 973-1106 — THE CRUSADES, A.D. 1096 AND 1146 . . . . .	332
VI. FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, A.D. 1152-1191 — THE THIRD CRUSADE . . . . .	349
VII. THE EMPIRE, A.D. 1191-1250 — THE FOURTH CRUSADE, A.D. 1204 . . . . .	362
VIII. THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN, A.D. 1250-1268 — NAPLES AND SICILY, A.D. 1268-1301—END OF THE CRUSADES . . . . .	382
IX. THE HANSA, A.D. 1150-1400—THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, A.D. 1000-1344—ENGLAND, A.D. 1087-1189 . . . . .	396
X. HISTORY OF ENGLAND, A.D. 1189-1377 . . . . .	417
XI. FRANCE, A.D. 1180-1350 — GERMANY AND ITALY, A.D. 1271-1347 . . . . .	439
XII. FRANCE, A.D. 1350-1380 — ENGLAND, A.D. 1377-1421—THE IBERIAN PENINSULA . . . . .	451
XIII. THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY, A.D. 1347-1449 . . . . .	469
XIV. THE GREAT CITIES OF ITALY—EASTERN EUROPE . . . . .	482
XV. FLORENCE, A.D. 1429-1492 — THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES, A.D. 1453-1519 . . . . .	499

## BOOK III

I. CHARLES V. AND THE REFORMATION, A.D. 1519-1556 . . . . .	515
II. ENGLAND, A.D. 1509-1558—THE COUNTER REFORMATION—THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS, A.D. 1556-1609 . . . . .	527
III. FRANCE, A.D. 1560-1610—THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, A.D. 1558-1603 . . . . .	539

# CONTENTS

ix

CHAP.	PAGE
IV. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, A.D. 1608-1648— ENGLAND, 1603-1649 . . . . .	557
V. FRANCE, A.D. 1610-1656—ENGLAND, A.D. 1649- 1660 . . . . .	573
VI. LOUIS XIV., 1661-1697—AUSTRIA AND THE TURKS, 1664-1699—ENGLAND, 1660-1685 .	584
VII. THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, A.D. 1688- 1714—ENGLAND, A.D. 1689-1714. . . . .	601
VIII. THE NORTHERN WAR, A.D. 1700-1721—ENGLAND, A.D. 1714-1740 . . . . .	614
IX. PRUSSIA, A.D. 1675-1786—RUSSIA, A.D. 1762- 1776—AUSTRIA, A.D. 1765-1790—ENGLAND, A.D. 1740-1784 . . . . .	627
X. PITT'S MINISTRY, A.D. 1783-1801—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, A.D. 1789-1795 . . . . .	644
XI. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, A.D. 1795-1799—ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, A.D. 1790- 1799 . . . . .	658
XII. NAPOLEON, A.D. 1800-1805 . . . . .	671
XIII. NAPOLEON, A.D. 1806-1815. . . . .	684
XIV. REACTION IN EUROPE, A.D. 1815-1830—ENGLAND, A.D. 1815-1837—EUROPE, A.D. 1830-1848 .	703
XV. THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, A.D. 1851-1852 .	718
XVI. THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, A.D. 1861-1865 .	731
XVII. PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA, A.D. 1858-1866—THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR, A.D. 1870-1871 .	742
XVIII. TURKEY AND EGYPT, A.D. 1875-1898—THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, A.D. 1895-1902 . . . . .	754
INDEX OF PERSONS . . . . .	767
GENERAL INDEX . . . . .	791
INDEX OF BATTLES, SIEGES, &c. . . . .	795



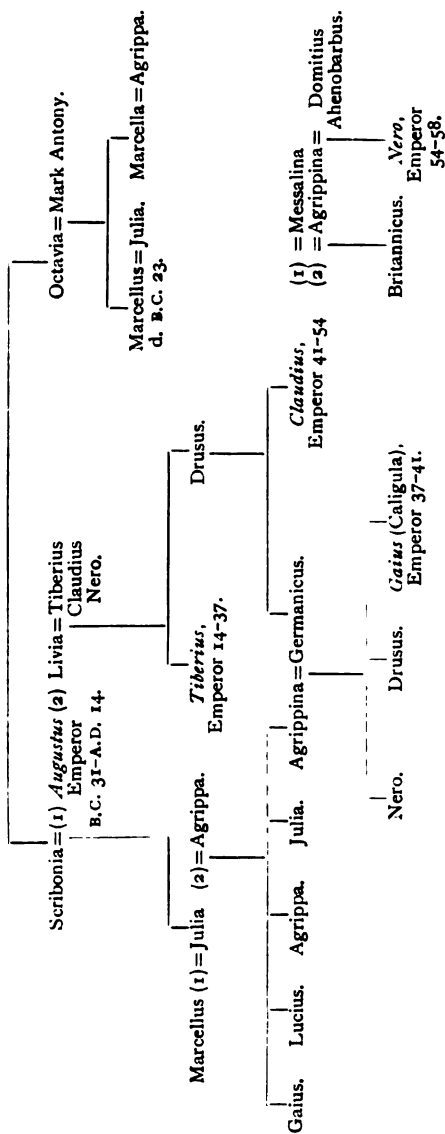
## LIST OF MAPS

I. THE ANCIENT WORLD	.	<i>Between pages</i>	36	and	37
II. ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN	.	"	"	166	" 167
III. IMPERIUM ROMANUM	.	"	"	214	" 215
IV. EUROPE, A.D. c. 500	.	"	"	254	" 255
V. EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE	.	"	"	292	" 293
VI. EUROPE, A.D. c. 1200	.	"	"	348	" 349
VII. EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES V.	.	"	"	524	" 525
VIII. EUROPE IN THE TIME OF NAPOLEON	.	"	"	676	" 677

## GENEALOGICAL TABLES

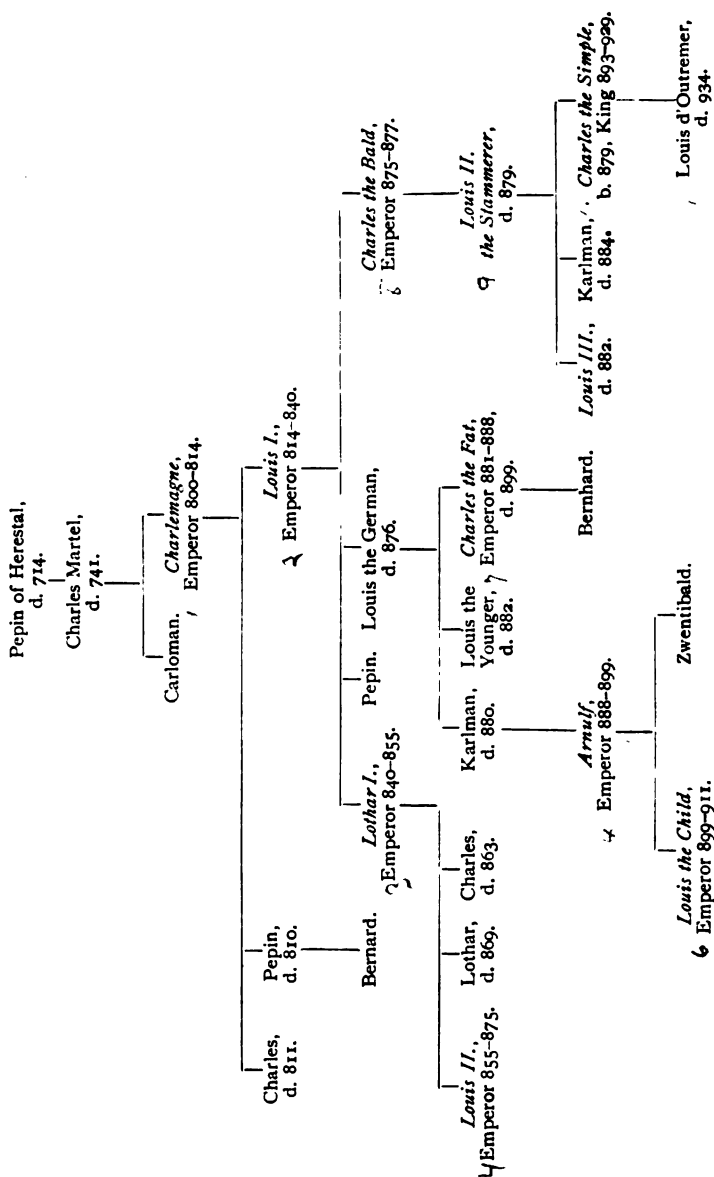
- I. THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.
- II. THE CARLOVINGIANS.
- III.-V. THE ENGLISH ROYAL HOUSE.
- VI.-VII. THE ROYAL HOUSE OF FRANCE.
- VIII. THE KIN OF CHARLES V.
- IX. THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN SUCCESSIONS.

**TABLE I**  
**THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS**



# TABLE II

## THE CARLOVINGIANS



# TABLE III

## THE ENGLISH ROYAL HOUSE

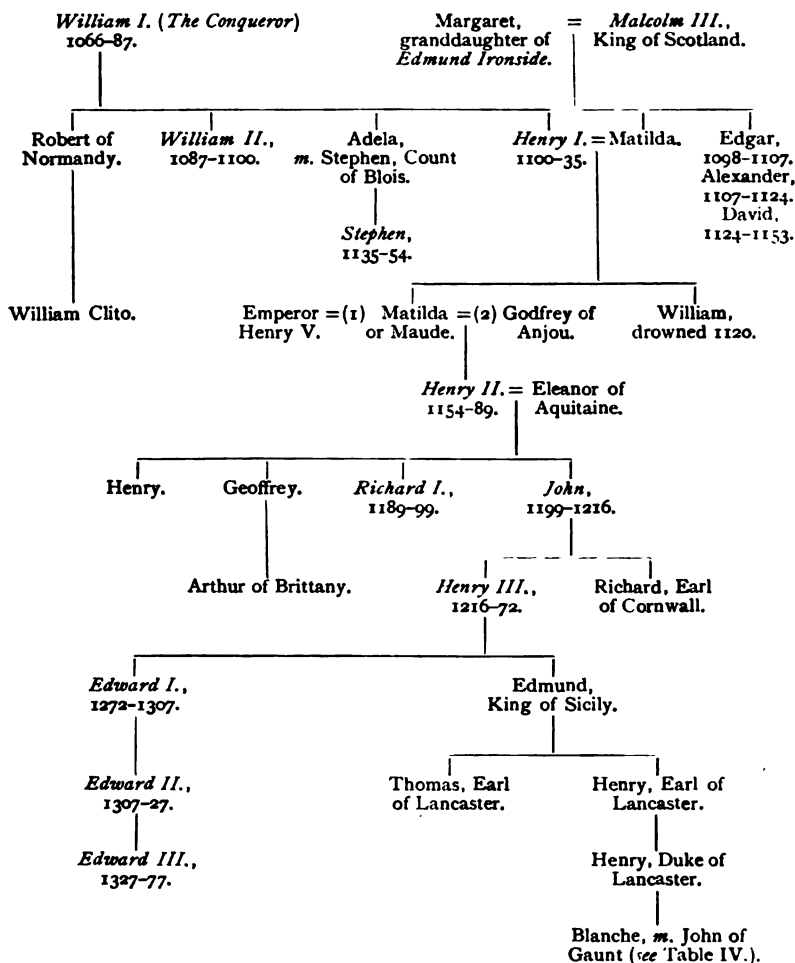


TABLE IV

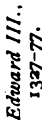


TABLE V

## THE ENGLISH ROYAL HOUSE

*Henry VII.*,  
1485-1509.

*Henry VIII.*,  
1509-47.

*Mary*,  
1553-58.

*Elizabeth*,  
1558-1603.

*Edward VI.*,  
1547-53.

James IV. (1) = Margaret = (2) Archibald,  
of Scotland. Earl of Angus.

Mary of = James V. Margaret = Matthew Stuart,  
Guise. of Scotland. Douglas. Earl of Lennox.

Francis II. (1) = Mary, Queen = (2) Henry Stuart,  
of France. of Scots. Lord Darnley.

Henry IV. of France.

*James I.*,  
1603-25.

Louis XIII.

Henrietta = *Charles I.*,  
1625-49.

Frederick, = Elizabeth.  
Elector Palatine.

*Charles II.*

*James II.*

Mary = William II.  
of Orange.

Charles Louis,  
Elector Palatine.

Rupert.

Maurice.

Sophia = Ernest, Elector  
of Hanover.

James, the  
Old Pretender.

*Anne*,  
1702-14.

*Mary*, = *William III.*,  
1689-94. 1689-1702.

Elizabeth = Philip, Duke  
of Orleans  
(see Table VII.).

*George I.*,  
1714-27.

Charles Edward, the  
Young Pretender.

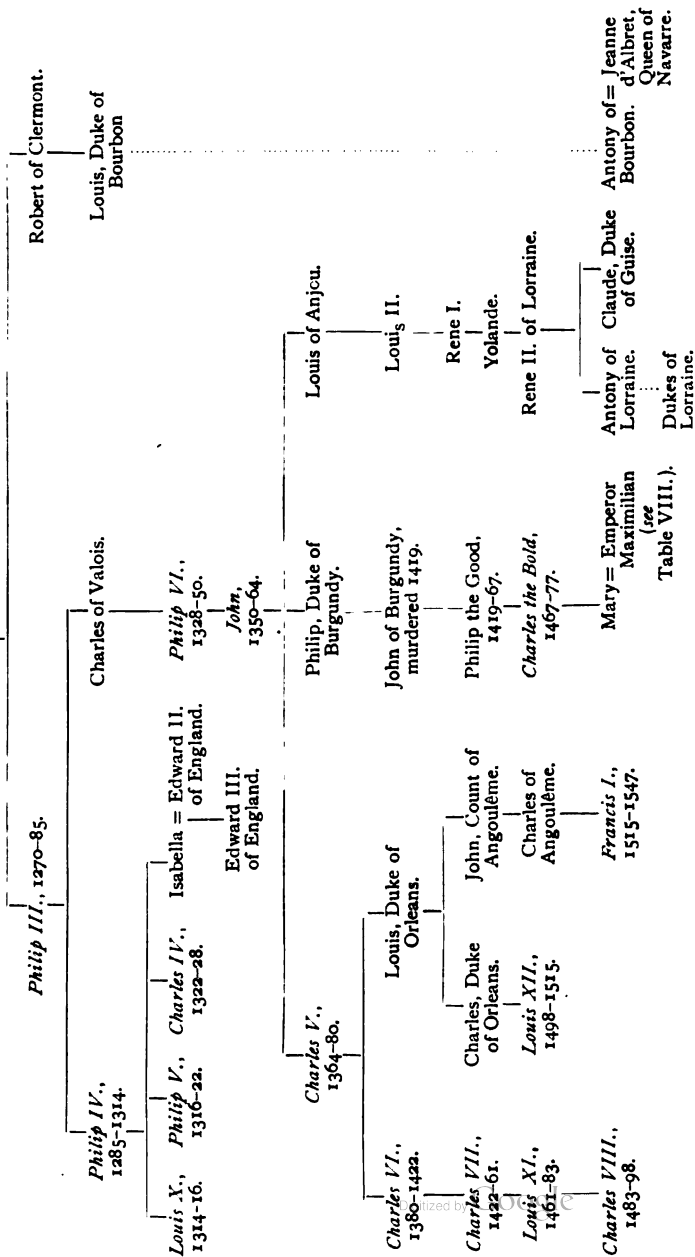
Henry, Cardinal,  
Duke of York, d. 1807.

*George II.*,  
1727-60.

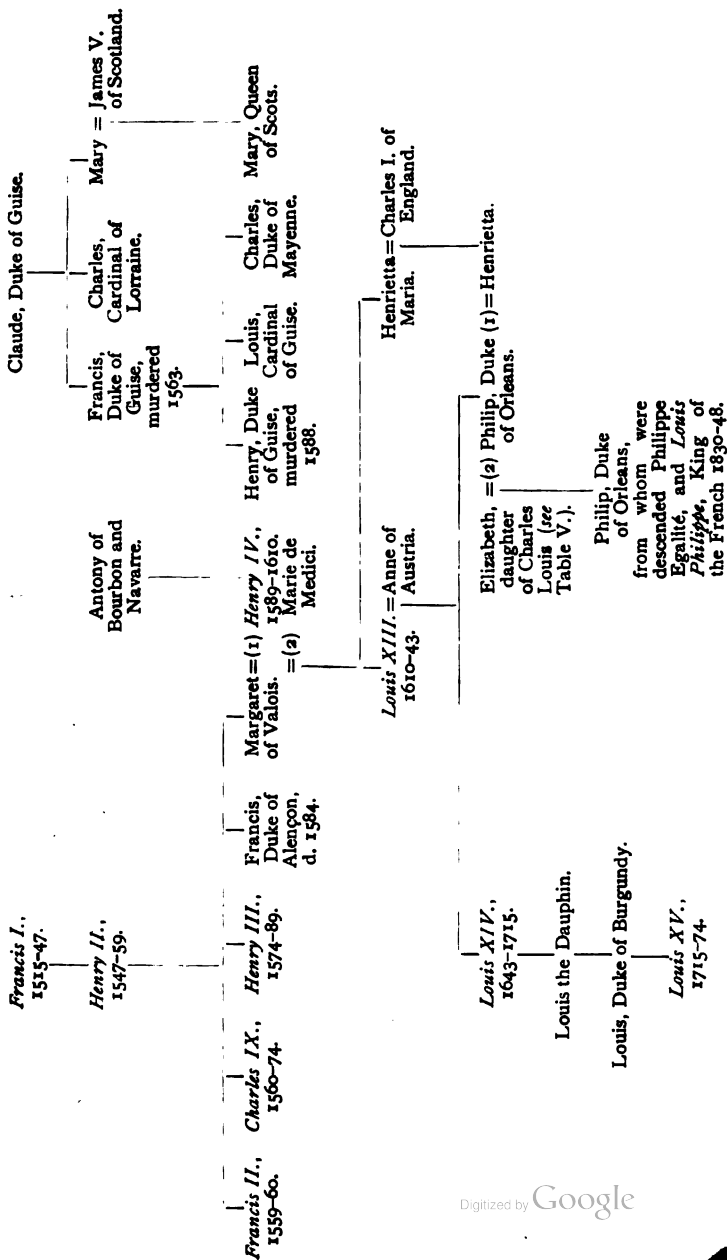
# TABLE VI

## THE ROYAL HOUSE OF FRANCE

*Louis IX., 1226-70.*



# TABLE VII THE ROYAL HOUSE OF FRANCE





# TABLE VIII

## THE KIN OF CHARLES V

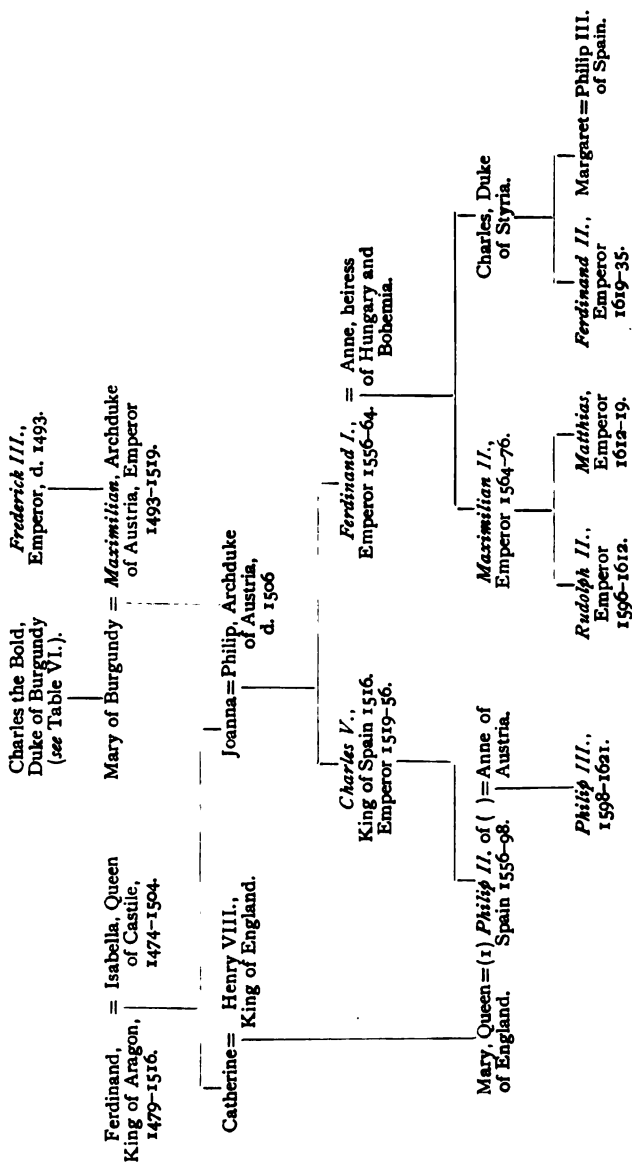
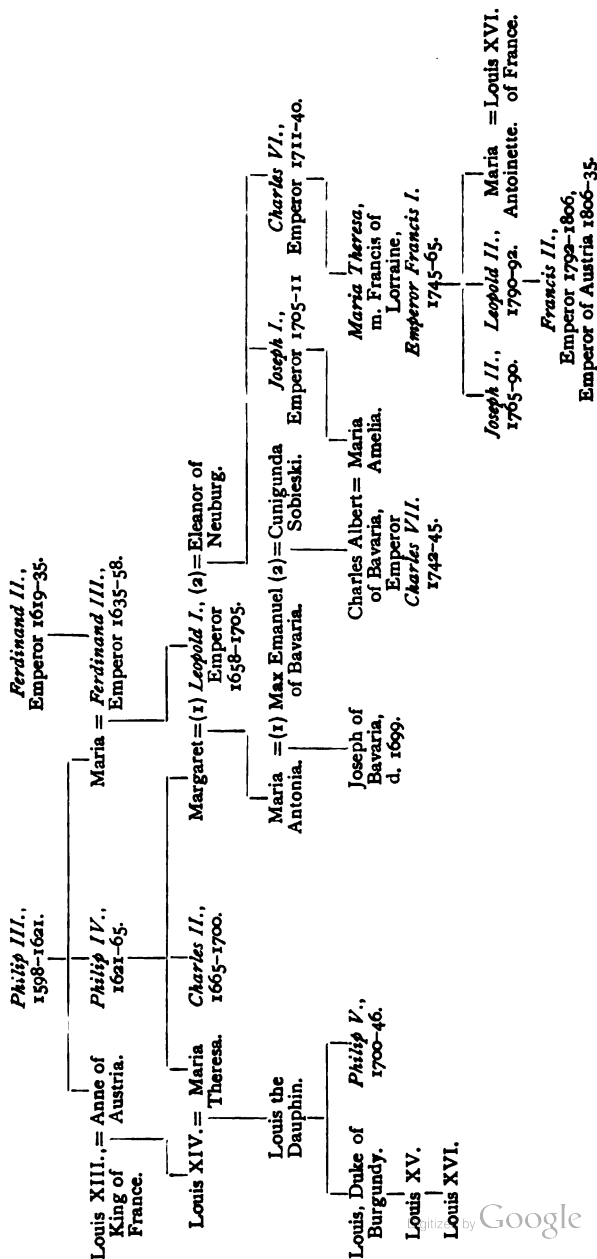


TABLE IX  
THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN SUCCESSIONS





# A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

## CHAPTER I.

### EGYPT, TO THE TIME OF THE HYKSOS. FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1580 B.C.

THE land of Egypt is the creation of the Nile, made and unmade every year by the inundation of the river. The country has had to be built up by increasing labour. The yearly rising of the Nile turned it into a huge lake in the morasses of which lived crocodiles, hippopotami, snakes and elephants, while lions and panthers came down to slake their thirst. Marshes have had to be formed into fruitful soil, roads to be built like causeways through the swamps, and this could only be effected by strict organisation under a vigorous government. The Egyptians became a peasant people under a rigid monarchical rule, which alone could unlock the sources of prosperity and make the valley of the Nile one of the most favoured spots on the surface of the globe. King Menes, who reigned about 3500 B.C., was regarded as the first of the Pharaohs, but civilisation preceded him by many centuries. The oldest settlements are to be found at the spot where the Nile comes nearest to the East, whence roads lead to the Red Sea, in Abydos and Memphis. The inhabitants dwelt in huts of reeds and palm branches, the richer in houses of sun-dried brick, surrounded by a mud wall: the dead were buried in round or square graves, huddled up as if asleep, surrounded by objects cherished in life and useful in the other world. We find in this period a gradually developing beauty in the decoration of vases, and a close connection

between the art of Egypt and the art of Crete. The difference in the richness of the decoration of the several objects shows a great difference in the wealth and position of their possessors, but at the same time the traditional character of the ornamentation is strictly observed. The mass of the people were supported by agriculture and the breeding of animals. They possessed large flocks of sheep and goats, they had asses, but the horse was as yet unknown. More important than all was the breeding of cattle, which was the main peasant industry. Beer was brewed from grain and wine made from dates, linen and wool were worked, and mats were woven from papyrus. Even in the oldest times these operations were conducted, not by free labourers, but by serfs, in the possession of the great lords and especially the kings. The beginnings of Egyptian culture are lost in antiquity, and also the oldest forms of their political and social organisation, but in the earliest times we find the land divided into administrative districts each with its own capital, its own god and its own standard, kept together mainly by a religious tie. There was a strong division into Upper and Lower Egypt, the north and the south, with twenty districts or provinces in the first and twenty in the second, one distinguished by the lotus, the other by the papyrus.

Among the multitudinous deities of early Egypt, two stand above the rest, the hostile brothers Seth and Horus, one the god of darkness and destruction, the other of light, having the sun and moon as his two eyes, sometimes worsted but never conquered. Seth was the divinity of Upper Egypt, with his seat at Ombos, Horus had his capital at Edfou, his symbol the sun's disc, with two mighty wings and the hanging snakes, the sign of sovereignty, born anew every day as he appears on the horizon. The worship of Horus specially spread to Upper Egypt, and that of Seth predominated in the Delta.

The foundation of the Egyptian religion is the worship of local gods, taken from the mass of deities of the spirit world by which the people are surrounded. They have their abode in animals of all kinds—cattle and geese, crocodiles and scorpions, wolves and dogs and cats, the ibis, the vulture and the frog, also in trees, a worship closely connected with totemism. But above all there is the spirit, the ghost of the departed, who exists after death, and rules the living. Every god has two aspects, one the free will of an immortal spirit, the other bound up with natural objects, which can act and suffer. The double

nature of the deity, partly spiritual and partly material, on the one hand reigning for ever in heaven, on the other buried with all activity in the earth, is the keynote of early Egyptian religion, which preserved this characteristic to the latest times. Divine worship established an indissoluble connection between god and man, involving natural obligations and necessary to the existence of both. The god gave protection to the community, and received in return all that he required—bread, meat, milk, wine, clothes, ornaments, flowers, and incense, as we read in their service books, all good and pure things which are laid upon the altar, “from which the god lives.” Hence arose a ritual and a multitude of priests, formed into four tribes. The gods had to be propitiated with sacrifices and magical rites, the worship took a sombre tone, the early gods were little better than malevolent devils.

Egyptian records give us the gods as the earliest rulers of the country, and then kings, the sons of gods. Government first develops in Lower Egypt, at Heliopolis at the head of the Delta, and Busiris in the middle of it. Here is born Osiris, son of the earth god Geb and the heaven goddess Nut. His sister and wife is Isis, mother of Horus. Seth is the brother of Horus, and succeeds him as king.

The calendar was of great importance for religious worship. It was a moon calendar, consisting of alternate months of twenty-nine and thirty days. To make things right, the year had to consist sometimes of twelve, sometimes of thirteen months. To remedy this, a sun calendar was introduced, the year consisting of three seasons, the inundation season from the middle of July to the middle of October, the winter or sowing season from the middle of October to the beginning of February, the summer or harvest season from February to June. For nine thousand years, the first rising of the Nile, from its lowest point in May, coincided with the first rising of Sirius in the early morning, fixed in the Julian Calendar as July 19, in the Gregorian as June 15. This was taken as the beginning of the new sun calendar, by which the year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days, four for each season, five additional days being intercalated between the years. This was not correct, and it was found that Sirius rose every four years a day later in the year, and it required 1461 years before the rising of Sirius returned to its proper position. We find from this that the earliest certain date in the history of the world is the day on which the reformed sun

The  
Calendar.

calendar was introduced into Lower Egypt—that is, July 19, 4241 B.C., or according to the Gregorian reckoning June 15.

The last dynasty recorded before Menes bears the name of the worshippers of Horus. They reigned over both kingdoms, the north and the south, divided at Akanthus. Both sections of the kingdom worshipped Horus, who thus became the oldest national deity of Egypt, his cult starting from Edfou and gradually dispossessing the cult of Seth in Upper Egypt. Horus is no longer the son of Osiris and Isis, but has become the sun-god, and is united with Seth in a common divinity. The records of these early times raise the question of the relations between Egypt and Babylonia, as we find in the earliest art of Egypt representations of hunting scenes similar to the Babylonian, similar writing in their hieroglyphics, and similar figures of winged griffons and lions with snake necks. It is certain that the two civilisations were connected, it is uncertain which was the older, but it is more probable that Egypt derived her religion and art from Babylon than Babylon from Egypt, Egypt being through the whole of her history rather an imitative than a creative power.

We now come to the hieroglyphics, the peculiar form of Egyptian writing. This early art of which we have spoken represents the forms of men and animals. In the time of Menes, hieroglyphics are fully established and developed; they must therefore have come into being during the time of the Horus worshippers. They are obviously abstractions from the delineation of animals and other common objects, and they are first found on the cylindrical seals used for the purpose of shaping earthen vases which are falsely considered as peculiar to Babylon. A deed of violence is represented by the two legs of a walking man, strength by the figure of a striking man. These signs also stand for words of similar sound; the same sign signifies *goose* and *son*, the same *lute* and *good*. In this way symbolical drawing developed first into a dictionary of useful words, then into a syllabary, and then into an alphabet. This eventually consisted of twenty-four consonants, the vowels, as in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, being left to be added by the speaker according to certain conventional rules. The alphabet was, however, always helped out by hieroglyphics.

The Egyptians were firm believers in the immortality of the soul, and the funeral ceremonies which expressed this belief have their roots in the time of the Horus worshippers and

lasted for more than three thousand years. The soul wandered in the lovely paradise of Jaru, with its fruitful cornfields, its copious rivers, its shaded avenues, while the spirit lingered near the place of the body's burial, long-  
 ing to resume its lost activity, to eat, to drink, and to enjoy. The king had an immortality of his own ; a god when alive, the gates of heaven were open to him after death, and he shone there as a star among stars, but he was subject to the jealousy and treachery of the deities of hell, and against them his burial rites must protect him. Osiris perished under the villainy of Seth, but he lived again in his son Horus, and with his help triumphed over his enemies. Each king, as he died, followed a similar course, and passed from death to a glorious resurrection. The elaborate ceremonies which typified this change are preserved in the Book of the Dead, and the ritual first intended for the kings was afterwards transferred to the common people ; but it is remarkable that these rites, which had their chief seat in Lower Egypt, are best preserved for us in the documents of the south.

**Funeral  
Rites.**

The two first dynasties, which lasted from 3300 to 2900 B.C., had their origin in This in Upper Egypt, and are known as the Thinite dynasties. Of these kings, Menes is the  
 greatest, and is supposed to have united the two  
 empires of north and south, and to have placed  
 upon his head the red and the white crowns which typified this sovereignty. But others may have done this before him, especially his predecessor, Narmer. This is now an obscure village, but the burial-place of the first dynasty lies in Abydos, a city well known to travellers, while Menes himself is interred at Negade. The reign of Menes and the founding of the new empire may be dated as 3315 B.C. His records, inscribed on ivory plates, show that he was a great conqueror. He not only ruled over Egypt, but extended his conquests to the south and the north-west. We find, strangely enough, indications that these early kings, holding a double sovereignty and a double deification, had also a double burying-place, one in Memphis and one in Abydos.

**The Thinite  
Dynasties  
—Menes.**

The list of the successors of Menes is uncertain. His son was apparently named Atoti. Then comes Chent, who gave to the hieroglyphics the form which they afterwards retained. Then follows Zet, but all authorities are agreed that the fifth king was Usaphais, with the Horus name of Ten. We need not follow out the bewildering catalogue of these monarchs with



distracting names, who ruled Egypt for the four hundred years from 3300 to 2900, during which time, sovereigns from This sat upon the throne of Horus. There are few monuments left to relate their history, but we have abundant evidence of the condition of their civilisation. The characteristics of the art and the government founded by them remained unchanged to the end. But there was no stagnation—on the contrary, a vigorous life. Archaic dress and habits lingered long among the common people, but in the higher classes there was continual progress, beginning with the sovereign and coming down to the aristocracy. We learn this from the graves which still exist, the most important of which is that of King Menes in Negade, an independent building surrounded by a massive wall. After Menes their graves are covered with inscriptions, so as to make the name of the dead live after his decease. The inscription of a king's name secured him immortality.

Egypt under the Thinites was essentially a kingdom. The sovereign had the double title of Horus and King of the two countries. Court ceremonial was fully developed.

**Egyptian  
Kingship.**

He was an incarnation of Horus—indeed of Horus and Seth—and was represented as the lion-tailed sphinx, who tore the people with his claws. He was a living god in human form, who lived on an equality with the gods. He was lord of life and death. His name was never spoken; in its place we find Pharaoh, the Great House, like the Sublime Porte. But, although a god, he has strict and definite duties to his subjects. He is surrounded by ritual like the Doge of Venice. In the festival of Set, which was celebrated twenty-five years after his accession, he mounts a lofty platform on which two thrones are placed, where he is crowned with the two crowns, white and red, the shepherd's crook and the scourge in his hands, clad in the shirt tunic of ancient times. There are many other festivals too numerous to describe. Each king built for himself a new capital, like Mogul sovereigns of India, a walled town with his palace in the centre. It was begun four years after his accession, and another was built four years after the festival of Set. There was an elaborate bureaucratic government, known to us chiefly by its seals, but its organisation is still obscure. Law was highly developed, and was certainly written. Annals were carefully preserved. A full account of all property in land and gold was kept by scribes to form a basis of taxation. Even the Thinites' art made great progress; stone was superseded by copper. Gold and precious stones

became common. There was an elaborate calendar, a minute study of the stars: the arts of reckoning and measuring were highly developed, also the practice of medicine. The Egyptians were surrounded by powerful neighbours, Libyans, Troglodytes, Nomads, Nubians. Crete was well known to them, as were Cyprus, and Byblos on the coast of Lebanon. Incense, so much used by them in worship, came from Punt, now Somaliland. But the greatest of all their rivals was the mighty Babylon, which possessed a culture not inferior, perhaps superior, to their own.

The history of Egypt after the Thinite kings, the worshippers of Horus, is divided into three empires—the Old Empire lasting from 2900 to 2000 B.C. and comprising nine dynasties; the Middle Empire extending from 2000 B.C. to 1580 B.C., containing five dynasties; and the New Empire, lasting from 1580 B.C. to 1090 B.C., containing four dynasties and representing the high-water mark of Egyptian power. As This was the seat of the first two dynasties, so Memphis was of the third. The great monarch of the third dynasty was the mighty Zoser, who raised Egypt to a high standard of power and culture. He incorporated Nubia into his kingdom, and is known as the builder of the step pyramid of Sakkara, which he apparently erected for his own sepulchre. He reigned for nineteen years, and was succeeded by Zoser II., who reigned for six years, but of whom we have no records. The last king of the third dynasty was Huni, who probably built the great pyramid of Bashur.

**The Three  
Empires.**

**The IIIrd  
Dynasty.**

The first king of the fourth dynasty, which extended from 2850 to 2700 B.C. was Snofru, who built the pyramid of Medun, known by the Arabs as the false pyramid. Here he placed his residence, and here was erected a mighty temple for his worship after death. Greater than Snofru was Cheops, with Chephren and Mycerinus, the builder of the great Pyramids of Gizeh, which are known to all the world, travelled and untravelled, as "The Pyramids" *par excellence*. His residence was in Gizeh, separated from Cairo by the Nile. His pyramid, the largest building in the world, contains three grave chambers, in the uppermost of which he is buried. Close by is his temple and three smaller pyramids for the officers of his court. He reigned for twenty-three years, and was succeeded by Tetepe, who lived at Abu Roos, and in the eight years of his rule had not time

**The IVth  
Dynasty—  
The Pyra-  
mids.**

to finish his pyramid. His son and successor Chephren returned to Gizeh, and, like his son Mycerinus, built a pyramid inferior in size to his father's. In the temple of Chephren were found nine statues of the king in granite, diorite, basalt, and alabaster. The temple of Mycerinus was begun in granite, but hastily finished in limestone and brick. The Sphinx, carved out of the living rock, belongs also to this period. Mycerinus was succeeded by four kings of whom we know little. The whole dynasty lasted about 160 years.

In the fourth dynasty, the whole government is concentrated in the person of the "Great God," as Pharaoh is called, and the efforts of the community are devoted to securing his worship both now and for all eternity. His residence once chosen, his temple and his pyramid are built and his cult secured by a numerous priesthood. The tombs become gradually richer. The dead body being secured from decay by embalming, pains are taken to provide for its sustenance. Besides the statue and the pyramid, there is a mastaba or quadrangular fortress for the use of the departed. The walls of both are painted with the annals of the dead man's life. Every expedient is adopted to make the short human life eternal. All this apparatus of dead worship is confined to the limits of the Pharaoh's court, extending, however, sometimes to an enormous distance, the centralisation of the cult following the centralisation of political authority. The will of the king is all powerful. He has under him a chief minister, the interpreter of his divine purposes. His seal-bearer was at first a member of the royal family, then the office became hereditary in a certain clan, and was, at last, thrown open. Besides, there are a commander-in-chief and a master of the works. The state officials are educated partly at court, partly in the temples. The allotment of their offices is known, but it would take too long to enumerate them—they were generally hereditary.

The king's revenue was derived partly from his domain, partly from taxes paid in money and kind. Accounts were made up every other year. Gold and copper were used for purposes of exchange, but barter was the usual practice. As in the Germany of the Middle Ages, the king could give away his land or lease it for a season. Eventually land could be inherited or sold, and of this we have numerous records. The great officials became in time great land-owners, and huge estates came into existence, with their armies of artisans and

other workers. Most of the land belonged to temples, which were built in great numbers by the kings of the Old Empire. The great god Ptah owed his divinity to his being the deity of the capital. The pyramids and mastabas of Gizeh were built from his quarries, and the stones hewed and shaped by his vassals. The government of the Pharaohs, however absolute, preserved a patriarchal and benevolent character. Together with occasional harshness of punishment, humanity prevailed. Life was generally happy, and family affection was the rule.

During the fourth dynasty, the strivings of the race were limited by the idea of Pharaoh. Worship had the single object of prolonging the material comforts of earthly existence; transcendental notions of a future life were entirely absent. But a religion so constituted was only possible with a powerful sovereign; a weak ruler would shatter the fabric, and this was what occurred. After lasting 140 years, the dynasty came to an end in 2540 B.C. The fifth dynasty continued the practice of worshipping the dead, and building pyramids, but religion began to assert itself, and the sun-god Re, already the ruling deity of neighbouring races, began to receive reverence. Re took the place of Horus, and Egypt became the capital of the sun worshippers. The first king of the dynasty was Userkef, and after him the sovereigns all bore names which ended in Re. Pharaoh became regarded as the son of Re. The sanctuaries and pyramids of the fifth dynasty are to be found at Abusir. The sanctuary of the sun is found at Abu Gureb, where there was a mighty obelisk, two hundred feet in height, an altar of alabaster, and provision for the slaughtering of animal victims. But there is no image of the god, no house of god, nor temple, as the sun-god has no abode on earth, but shines for ever in the heavens. A covered passage leads from the town to the summit of the mound from which Pharaoh saluted the rising of the sun every day at daybreak. The temple, like its sister shrine of Bubka is the embodiment of a great idea. The new worship of Re brought a higher spirituality into the mind of the Egyptians. It also affected the position of the king. Pharaoh is no longer the companion or the partner of the god, but his son: he is no longer the great god, but the good god. The three centuries of the Old Empire were a time of peace, although the Sphinx of the fifth dynasty holds in her claws Libyans and the inhabitants of Asia and Punt. The decorations of the buildings show a number of battle scenes. The presence of warships shows

Religious  
changes—  
The Vth  
Dynasty.

conflicts with Phoenicia and the Lebanon. Palestine and the Phoenician coast had become a dependency of Egypt. These struggles were continued under the sixth dynasty. The boundaries of Egypt were extended towards the second cataract. Large supplies of gold, precious woods, and myrrh came from Somaliland.

The high-water mark of the Old Empire is found in the fifth dynasty, which lasted from 2700 to 2540 B.C. The massive

**Art and Science.** hugeness of the fourth dynasty is now decorated by refined ornament, the monoliths and imposts

of granite are replaced by graceful columns. The carving of reliefs takes a new development, their light colouring, although light and shade are unknown, gives life and even humour to the figures. The large statues in which the spirit of the dead is supposed to reside are dignified and impressive. In smaller works, the ivory statue of Cheops stands pre-eminent. Imagination and realism are shown in the scribe of the Louvre and the statue of the court dwarf. Similar improvement is shown in the production of smaller artistic objects which already distinguished the Thinite period. The progress of science goes hand in hand with that of art. The mining of huge stone masses, the measuring of fields, the careful keeping of accounts, the practice of medicine, the so-called wisdom of the Egyptians, consisting mainly in the practice of magic, the elaboration of ritual with songs and music, the inculcation of morality and etiquette, are all characteristic of this period.

The fifth dynasty came to an end with King Unos: the founder of the sixth is Teli, but whether he acquired the throne by succession or usurpation, we do not know.

**The VIth Dynasty.**

We need not record the names of his successors, but only mention that one of them, Pepi II., is said to have lived a hundred years and reigned ninety-four of that time, by far the longest reign in history. The old traditions still continued; the worship of the dead still prevailed; the monarch still began his pyramid at his succession, the seat of the kings after Pepi I. being fixed at Sakkara. Stately graves were accorded to the great officials. Those of the monarchs or rulers of provinces are found in every part of Egypt. We find their offices becoming gradually hereditary and independent; as their power increased, that of the crown diminished. It is true that Pharaoh could still equally exercise his authority over the vizir and the numerous bureaucracy which were under him, but it became more nominal than real.

Yet the power of the empire over its subjects seemed unimpaired. The mines of Sinai were still worked, ships sailed to Punt, intercourse with Nubia was active. There was war with the Bedouins of Palestine and Syria, amongst whom the Hebrews must be reckoned. In five campaigns the land of the Hinusi was wasted, their castles destroyed, the fig trees and vines cut down, their farms destroyed, many thousands slain, countless prisoners captured. We do not know whether this ended in the entire subjugation of Palestine. The long-lived Pepi II. is the last king of Egypt whose name is, for a long period, found in the inscriptions; Manetho, the historian of Egypt, closes the sixth dynasty with the name of the Queen Nilocris.

The seventh dynasty is said to have reigned for seventy days, which probably implies an interregnum. The eighth dynasty, according to Manetho, lasted for 146 years. But our knowledge is very uncertain; what we do know is that the Old Empire is at an end about the year 2000 B.C., and the Middle Empire begins. It is easy to see that the authority of the Pharaoh who resided in Memphis had become a shadow. The unity of the kingdom still existed, but there were many conflicting claimants for the double crown, and the country had really broken up into a number of independent principalities. Further, the old lessees of the public land had now become proprietors. This season of trouble marked a decline in art. But it also marked the rising of a middle class, and we owe to it the numerous representations of the objects of daily household life which still exist. To this period belongs the Book of the Dead, the fullest account we have of the views of the Egyptians with regard to the relations of the present and the future life. We also see a fundamental change in the character of the Egyptian religion. The worship of the sun, begun at Heliopolis, and developed in the fifth dynasty, became more common, and resulted in the belief in one god. He is his own begetter and creator, and renews every day the mysterious operation. Every day the sun-child appears on the horizon and grows to a strong man, who begets himself again in union with his mother, the goddess of heaven, the great cow. He is the creator and awakener of all life, he forms and rules the world. All other deities are mere names, or are servants and assistants of the one. This is the sun monotheism of the Egyptian religion, pursued as a sacred mystery by the higher priesthood,

The VIIIth  
and VIIIth  
Dynasties.

and gradually disseminated through the country. No doubt the new learning greatly increased the influence of the priests.

According to Manetho, the eighth dynasty is followed by two dynasties, the ninth and the tenth, consisting of nineteen kings, reigning at Herakleopolis, lying south, at the entrance

**The IXth and Xth Dynasties.** of the Fayum. Their founder was said to be Achtoi, worse than all his predecessors, who eventually became mad, and was killed by a crocodile. This, however, is all uncertain. To this period

belong the graves of the nomarchs and high priests of Assiut. We learn much about the condition of affairs from the inscriptions of the first of them, Achtoi, who was brought up at Herakleopolis, and learnt to swim with the king's children, while his mother administered the district. He governed Assiut well as nomarch, and was faithful to his sovereign, who reigned over the whole of Egypt. But he possessed both an army and a navy. Under his successor the army played an important part, armed with long lances with copper points and wooden shields, covered with skin. There was also a royal guard of dwarfish negroes, armed with bows and flint-pointed arrows, wearing nothing but a loin cloth. During this time Thebes had risen to importance, and its sovereigns were regarded as the two Pharaohs. Thus the ancient Empire came to an end, losing itself like its own river in the sand.

Karnak was the seat of the worship of Amon, the deity of generation, and, for unknown reasons, received from the Greeks the name of Thebes, the city of the hundred gates. During the sixth and following dynasties, this district, which extended on both sides of the river, was in possession of a family, bearing alternately the names of Antef and Mentuhotep, which acquired great power and threw off the supremacy of the Pharaohs of Herakleopolis.

**The Middle Empire.** **The XIth and XIIth Dynasties.** Here ruled the twelfth dynasty, which lasted from about 2000 to 1788 B.C. The successors of these Antefs and Mentuhoteps, who founded what is called the eleventh dynasty, are not worth examining in detail. We know also little about the inner character of their rule. The first king of the twelfth dynasty was Amenemhet I., who won the crown not without a struggle. We know how he subdued his enemies with a fleet of twenty cedar ships. He was also subject to treacherous attacks, and with difficulty escaped being murdered. For the purposes of better government he fixed his residence at Lisht, at the

frontier of the two countries, although he and his successors never forgot their attachment to Thebes. After the attempt on his life, he shared the government with his son, Sesostri I., who carried on wars whilst his father attended to the domestic affairs of the kingdom. Sesostri was in the field against the Libyans when his father died on February 3, 1971, and hastened immediately to the capital. But he succeeded to a troubled inheritance.

Under Amenemhet and Sesostri, the power of the feudal nobility was by no means destroyed, nor was their hereditary character impaired, but the authority of the king over them was firmly established. Years were reckoned by the names of the sovereigns, and not by those of the local governors. The government assumed the form of a feudal monarchy, very rich and prosperous, full of political and private life. The country was divided into three great provinces, North Egypt, comprising the Delta, Middle Egypt, and South Egypt. The authority of the king gradually became more despotic. Under Sesostri III. (1887 to 1853) the power of the nomarchs became gradually less, and the condition of the nobles was entirely changed under this monarch and his successor, Amenemhet III. The country was governed, as in the Old Empire, by a large bureaucracy. Under them were countless categories of artisans who were fed in the royal palace. Accounts were carefully kept, and money of the time is still preserved. The king was supported by a large standing army, and he always had with him a numerous personal following, whose bravery in war he rewarded by the gift of precious arms, or gold ornaments, or by promotion to the office of general. Yet the kings, the sons of Re, eventually retained only a power as limited as the Pharaohs of the Old Empire. At the same time they were differently regarded from Snofru and Cheops. It was no longer considered the duty of the country to build for each a huge pyramid sepulchre. The interest of the country was put first, and good government was the chief consideration. It was best served by the authority of the king as the head of the state, but his power was undoubtedly limited.

The kings of the twelfth dynasty did their best to recover the position which had been held by the ancient Pharaohs, and they strove like the German Emperors to be not only guardians, but increasers of the empire. They fought against the Libyans and the Nubians. Sesostri the First boasted to have reached the

**Govern-  
mental  
changes.**

**Extension of  
the Empire.**



end of the world—that is, the second cataract at Wady Halfa. Sesostri III. went beyond this, and attacked the Troglodytes. The conquest of Punt (Somaliland), which had been begun by the eleventh dynasty, was continued by the twelfth. From this they brought myrrh, oil, panther skins, apes, ivory, and other precious things. The mines of Sinai were carefully worked, and the Bedouins kept in order. The authority of the Pharaohs also extended to Syria, and they imported cedar wood from Byblos. Palestine was attacked, and we hear of the reduction of Sichem. We find that relations existed with Crete, the Cyclades, and Cyprus. The scarabæus form of seal began to make its appearance at this time in place of the old cylinder.

The twelfth dynasty had a very energetic character, derived from their founder. Sesostri III. was, apparently, a great warrior, his successor, Amenemhet III., a great **Buildings.** builder. He enjoyed the possession of a powerful and well ordered kingdom—a Solomon after a David. The dynasty built the Ptah temple at Memphis, the Amon temple at Karnak, the Hathor temple at Dendera, the mighty Labyrinth, and erected the obelisk of Heliopolis, the Osiris temple at Abydos, the temple of Hershef at Herakleopolis. Their names and statues are found all over the Delta. The pyramids of the first two kings of the dynasty are found at Lisht, others at Dashur and in the Fayum, which became their residence and owes its cultivation to them. Lake Moeris was used for the regulation of the Nile.

The Middle Empire was as much distinguished in art and literature as it was in the power of its government. The **Art and Literature.** Labyrinth is due to this period. Sculpture made great progress, and began to take the forms of realistic portraiture. Painting was used in wall decoration, and jewelry became very beautiful and refined. A copious literature of the age is left to us, written in a classical style. But these works, admirable as literature, are not so useful for history. We find treatises on Medicine, Geometry and Arithmetic, religious hymns and services for the dead. Philosophy and Theology are well represented, and the great problems of human existence form the subject of prose and poetry. Speculations on the mystery of the world, which, arising in Egypt, were transferred to Greece, have their origin in the Middle Empire. We find also prophecies on the future of Egypt, of impending catastrophes, after the style of the Hebrew prophets, but the spiritual and moral elements are sadly wanting.

The troubles of the thirteenth dynasty and of the Hyksos begin to cast their shadows.

The brilliant period of the twelfth dynasty came to an end with the close of the long reign of Amenemhet III., which lasted from 1849 to 1801. His son, Amenemhet IV., reigned only nine years, and was succeeded by his sister Sebeknofrure, who occupied the throne from 1791 to 1788. We do not know whether

The XIIIth  
to the  
XVIIth  
Dynasty.

the sovereigns of the thirteenth dynasty obtained the crown by marriage or by usurpation, but, thirteen in number, they only reigned for a short period. Their names are almost unknown, and their united reigns only number twenty-five years, 1785 to 1760. After them follow a number of kings, most of whom were probably usurpers; amongst them the name Sebekhotep is very common. They were real or nominal sovereigns of the whole of Egypt, and we may attribute to them a period of about fifty years from 1760 to 1710. To them succeed a number of sovereigns, apparently thirty-four in number, to whom we may allot another fifty years from 1710 to 1660. Then follows the fourteenth dynasty, from Xoïs, in the north of the Middle Delta. Twenty-one names of them are preserved, and it is possible that their power did not extend over Upper Egypt, but that they ruled in the Western Delta as vassals of the Hyksos, whom we shall mention presently, who were settled in the Eastern. Although they fill up several of what are called dynasties, their rule was ephemeral, and we may say of them what Hallam says of the last Merovingians, "*Non racionam di lor, ma guarda e passa*" ("Let us not reck of them: look and pass by").

The natural result of this anarchy was the invasion of a foreign power, which is thus described by Manetho: "For reasons which I do not know, the deity became angry with us; people from the east invaded Egypt, and became masters of it. They conquered its guards, burnt its towns, destroyed the temples of the gods, and treated the inhabitants cruelly, killing some and enslaving others. At length they made Salitis their king. He came to Memphis, exacted tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and established garrisons in the towns, securing himself specially towards the east, in fear of an Assyrian invasion." Manetho then tells us that Salitis reigned for nineteen years, and that his people were called Hyksos—that is, shepherd kings. It is probable that the power of these kings lay in the north, and that native princes still continued to rule with precarious authority in the south.

Invasion of  
the Hyksos.

The Hyksos are elsewhere described as Syrian Semites, that is Canaanites; but it is possible that they were Hittites, who came from Asia Minor and overran Syria and Egypt, connected with the invaders who destroyed the Babylonian empire in 1760. Many Semites were mixed up with them, as some of their kings bear Semite names and some not. The conquerors brought with them a national god, called by the Egyptians Seth, who is identified with the Canaanitish Baal. Although there is great divergence in our authorities, we may reckon that the dominion of the Hyksos lasted about a hundred years—that is, from 1680 to 1580 B.C. The best known of the Hyksos kings is Chian, who reigned over the whole of Egypt. He resided at Auaria, near Lake Menzala, and his power probably extended over Syria and Asia Minor. It is possible that Hebron was one of the principal fortresses for the subjugation of Palestine. Scarabs of Chian have been found in Gezer, and traces of him in Bagdad, Babylon, and Crete.

The rule of the Hyksos had little effect on Egyptian culture. Native kings continued to reign as their vassals down to the seventeenth dynasty. At length a successful rebellion was organised against them, of which the centre was Thebes, which may be dated about 1590 B.C., and which led to the restoration of the Pharaohs. The scattered rulers of Upper Egypt clustered round Thebes, and the expulsion of the Hyksos is reckoned as the work of the eighteenth dynasty, who raised the power and splendour of Egypt to a height never before attained. The history of Egypt is from this time involved in the history of the other parts of the ancient world, the most notable of which was Babylon, and to this we must now direct our attention.

## CHAPTER II.

### BABYLON AND ASSYRIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO c. 1750 B.C.

A LITTLE below the point where the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris approach each other in their course, is the territory of the ancient Ktesiphon and the modern Bagdad. **The Euphrates and the Tigris.** They enter upon a broad plain which owes its origin to the alluvial soil of both rivers. The Euphrates, which is the higher of the two streams, sends numerous branches and canals into the lower-lying Tigris which irrigate the country. In the cold and rainless winter season the water is low and the canals nearly dry, but the Tigris begins to rise in March and the Euphrates in April, so that in June and July, after the melting of the snow in the Armenian mountains, the plain becomes a huge lake, like the soil of Egypt two months later. The consequence of this is that the whole district becomes intensely fertile, even more so than Egypt. But to render this useful requires a large expenditure of human labour. The river left to itself would, partly by haste and partly by stagnation, do more harm than good, so that dykes must be made and carefully attended to and injury prevented. This needs a strong government; and when this has been present Babylon has prospered. In the course of time, large additions have been made to the extent of the soil. The two rivers have united to form the Satt-el-Arab, which also receives the waters of the Choaspes and Euleus. The Tigris and the Euphrates have both altered their course: the level of the soil has been raised, and the course of the rivers lengthened. All these circumstances have been intensified by the neglect of the Mohammedans; so that the once flourishing country of Nebuchadnezzar and the Chalifs is scarcely to be recognised. Its ancient cities are represented by heaps of rubbish rising like islands in a barren waste. The increase of stagnant pools, desert soil, and the devastation of the Bedouins have gradually completed the

destruction. Still it would be a mistake to suppose that the whole of the low-lying territory was in ancient times a land flowing with milk and honey. The plains of Sinear, of which Babylon is the capital, were in these ages of very limited extent, certainly of smaller dimensions than the territory of Egypt. The chief towns lay at a small distance from each other. Under the successors of Alexander, a much larger extent of soil was brought under cultivation.

The country afterwards called Babylonia was in ancient times called Sinear or Sangar, and was divided into two parts, Akkad in the north and Sumer in the south.

**Sinear—the Sumerians.**

The principal cities of Sumer were Eridu, Ur, Erech, Larsa, Nippur, Lagash, and Ummur.

Those of Akkad were Kish, Opis, Sippar, Babylon, and Cutha. The Sumerians were a non-Semitic stock, probably Mongolians. There is little doubt that they were among the most ancient recipients of culture and religion, and if this be true, both material and spiritual civilisation began with a Mongolian race. Indeed we are tempted to assume that the world was first covered with a layer of Mongol culture, traces of which still remain in China and Thibet, in Finland and the Caucasus, perhaps even among the North American Indians, and which was afterwards destroyed—first by the Semites and then by the Aryans. These, however, are questions of controversy, and cannot be regarded as settled. The Akkadians

**The Akkadians.**

were undoubtedly Semitic. There is, however, no doubt that Akkadian civilisation was mainly derived from Sumeria, and that, particularly, cuneiform writing originated in the southern kingdom. Also the Sumerians were an older race, physically different from their neighbours. Their noses are small and pointed, their cheeks thin. They have a small mouth, finely modelled lips, a short but well formed chin, Mongol eyes and a low forehead. Besides cuneiform writing, they invented a sexagesimal system of numeration, which formed the basis of all counting and measuring throughout the whole extent of Babylonia.

It is difficult to establish a date for the beginning of civilisation in Sinear, when the first dykes were built or the first canals dug. The inhabitants were certainly peasants:

**Early Inhabitants of Sinear.**

their principal victim of sacrifice was the goat, their best gift from heaven, water. When the gods were angry the waters assumed the dimensions of a flood, and the inhabitants were all destroyed except the few who took

refuge in a ship and were saved upon a lofty mountain. There was no trace of the unity of social life: each settlement was constituted by itself. Their dwellings were made of mud compacted with sedge and straw. The houses of gods and nobles were constructed out of unburned bricks; the art of burning bricks was discovered later. These constructions were easily carried away by rain or destroyed by fire. But the fallen villages gradually formed a solid foundation upon which new villages could be erected. The dead were buried in pots which were used over and over again. The rivers continually changed their courses and necessitated new arrangements. Metals and other objects which led to the amenity of existence were derived from foreign countries, and the necessity of this led to abundant foreign trade and commerce. Art was, in these early days, almost entirely absent, but the minds of the inhabitants were turned in upon themselves and their practical needs, and literature and religion had their first beginnings.

In the year 3000 B.C., the greater part of Sinear was undoubtedly in the hands of the Sumerians. To what extent the population was Semitic, it is now impossible to say, but their dress does not show a Semitic character. The men were bald, the women wore long hair, the dress was a loin cloth, the feet were bare, the priests in the presence of the god were entirely naked. The principal towns have been already mentioned. The chief deity of the Sumerians was Ellil, the Lord of Storms, who had his abode in the mountains. His wife was Ninlil, the goddess of generation and fruitfulness. Ellil was the son of Ani, the father of the gods, who, in conjunction with Ellil, governed the world. Under these principal deities there was a copious Pantheon, and also a world of spirits who were not always distinguishable from the gods. Religion, however, played a far more important part in Babylonian life than in the Egypt of the Thinites or the Pharaohs of the Old Empire. The kings were favourites of the deity, and deities themselves. Religious observances dominated their whole life. The earliest Sumerian literature consisted largely of hymns. Every man, of whatever rank, was attended by a guardian angel who directed his destiny. Indeed it is probable that religion as we know it, the worship of an all-good and all-wise creator, began amongst the Sumerians, and was borrowed from them by the Egyptians and the Jews.

One of the most important contributions of the Sumerians to civilisation was the invention of cuneiform writing, which

Sumerian  
Civilisation.

changed into a form of writing similar to our own, much quicker than the Egyptian or the Semitic. Even if Sumerian writing began with hieroglyphics, they were soon given up. However, the credit of recording human speech into a continuation of different sounds, each expressed by a single sign, must be given to the Egyptians. Still greater advances were made when the systems of Semitic and Babylonian writing were formed into one, and each brought to the other the elements needed for its development. We possess an enormous mass of Babylonian documents written on imperishable clay, concerning not only affairs of public importance but the minutest private concerns. Every one possessed a seal for his private signature which was impressed by rubbing on soft clay. It is difficult to say what were the previous relations between Egyptian and Babylonian art. There are, indeed, two schools, one ascribing priority of culture to the Sumerians, the other to the Egyptians, and, until our researches in Babylonia are carried further than they are at present, it is hard to decide between them. But the productions of early Sumerian art are far inferior to the Egyptian, and they were soon surpassed by the advance of the Semitic Akkadians.

In the earliest times of which we have record, Sinear was divided into small principalities. The head of each bore the title Lugal, signifying king or lord, but generally also the title Patesi, that is, viceroy, which implies that they were not independent, but were regents for the local god, the word, indeed, perhaps originally signifying servant. There was also an over-king called Lugal Kalama, the king of the country, connected with the national god Ellil, whose seat was at Nippur. This was the religious capital, but the civil capital was Kish, situated in northern Sinear on the right bank of the Tigris. Another town, farther to the north, was Opis, and these two cities seem to have been the advanced posts of the Sumerians, from which they carried on a continual struggle with the Semites. The earliest known king of Kish is Mesilim, who lived about 2810 B.C. Another very important town has been found under the rubbish mound of Tello, bearing the name of Lagash. It was situated in the south of Sinear, on a broad stream composed both of the Tigris and of the Euphrates, and not far from the sea. It reached its summit of prosperity as one of the most important towns of the country under Gudea, about 2400 B.C., but at the beginning of the following millenary had entirely

**Cuneiform  
Writing.**

**Early  
Sumerian  
History.**

fallen. This, indeed, coincides with the fall of the Sumerian power. The earliest known king of Lagash dates from about 2800 B.C.

Another important town is Gischu, north-east of Tello. Lagash and Gischu were constantly at war with each other, and the frontier between them was settled by King Mesilim of Nippur. Gischu was, however, eventually conquered and plundered by Lagash and Uruk (Erech). Ur and other cities suffered the same fate. There were also wars with the neighbouring countries. The Elamites invaded the territory of Lagash and plundered it. We need not weary the memory of our readers with the outlandish names of these early kings. A king of Lagash called Eannatum, with the help of the goddess Ningirsu, raised Lagash to a position of predominance. Still more powerful was Lugulzaggisi of Gischu, who overthrew the power of Lagash in 2575 B.C. He became king of the whole of Sinear, and his inscriptions tell us that he conquered from sunrise to sunset, that Ellil made the way smooth for him from the Lower Sea of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Upper Sea. Without doubt, Lugulzaggisi fused the Sumerians into a powerful nation, which, however, was not long able to withstand the onslaught of the Semites.

The Semites had reached a high degree of civilisation. They had borrowed their writing from the Sumerians, but had greatly improved it. They showed themselves also decidedly superior in art. Their principal seat **Akkadian Civilisation.** seems to have been the point where the Euphrates enters the marshlands and sends its first canals into the Tigris. Here lies the city of Akkad, also written Agade. Close by this was Sippara, the seat of the sun-god, Shamash, whom the Akkadians revered. There was also a goddess, Ishtur or Astarte, also called Anunit. There was also a moon-god Sin; and, Babel, the Gate of God, was the seat of a local god, Marduk. The Semites of Akkad were distinguishable from the Sumerians by having long hair in carefully curled ringlets, and a well tended beard. The Sumerians had the upper part of their body naked, the Semites a short coat confined by a girdle, and sometimes a plaid fastened on the left shoulder so as to leave the right shoulder free. They also wore sandals. The symbols of royal authority were the sceptre carved at the top, a club, and arm rings. The Sumerians fought in a close phalanx, the Semites in open order, the principal weapon being the bow. They had also a spear to throw, and an axe, and, like the Sumerians, a helmet.



Their battles consisted of single combats such as are described in the Homeric poems.

There were other Semites settled in the country besides the Akkadians. The general name for the Semitic tribes of Mesopotamia was Subari: they lived chiefly in small towns situated on fertile oases on the banks of the Euphrates and the Chaboras, ruled by petty chiefs. One horde of the Subari was

**The Assyrians.**

formed by the Assyrians, who lived west of the Tigris between the two Zuls, and whose chief town and ruling god bore the name of Assur. We do not find their name before 2100 B.C., but they probably existed before this.

**Charrae.**

Charrae also, on the upper Belichos, was probably a Semitic settlement. It had been from long ages a seat of the worship of the moon-god, Sin, and the Assyrians took over the whole of the Pantheon of Sinear. In the middle of the third millenary, a new Semitic race makes

**The Amorites.**

its appearance under the name of Amorites, a Bedouin people originally settled in the Lebanon. They were distinguished from the Akkadians by cutting their hair short behind and shaving their lips. They seem to have spoken a kind of Hebrew. Their god was Hadad, who had thunder and lightning under his control and wielded a mighty hammer. They also had a god Amuru, who was afterwards identified with Hadad. The wife of Amuru was Ashrat, and they also worshipped Dagon, of whom we know little. The other Amorite god who played an important part both in Sinear and in Assyria was apparently called Ninib, but our knowledge of the language is so imperfect that we do not know how far he is to be identified with Hadad and Amuru, or how far the Sumerians may have altered his appellation.

The supremacy of the Semites in Sinear was founded by King Sargon of Akkad, who lived about 2500 B.C. A number

**Conquests of Sargon, King of Akkad.**

of legends have naturally attached themselves to his personality. It is said that his mother, after giving birth to him secretly, in the town of Azurpiran on the Euphrates, placed him in a chest and laid him, like Moses, amongst the reeds of the river. We find similar tales about Krishna in India, about Perseus in Greece, and even about Romulus in Italy. We have no details of the war by which Sargon conquered Sinear, but we know that after this he subdued Elam, the Gutaeans, and the Subari. But his great exploit was the conquest of the Amorites, which gave him the title of "Lord of the Four Quarters of the World."

This shows that the power of the Amorites extended from the plains of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. He also penetrated to the "Land of the Setting Sun," and traces of his domination have been found in Cyprus. These campaigns took place at a time when the Pharaohs of the sixth dynasty were establishing their power in Palestine and Phoenicia. He had relations with them, but probably did not go to war with them. On the other hand, the connection formed by Sargon between Sinear, the Amorites, and the Lebanon lasted a long time. The rulers of Sinear obtained stores and cedar wood for their buildings from the mountains of Lebanon. The Amorites took service under the Akkadians as mercenaries. Sargon also penetrated into the country of the Hittites. We are informed by a chronicle that in his old age all the subject peoples rose against Sargon and besieged him in Akkad, but Sargon marched against them and conquered them and destroyed their great army.

The son of Sargon was Naramsin (2470-2440 B.C.), who not only maintained but extended his father's empire. His chief exploit was the conquest of the land of Magan, whence came the valuable black stone diorite. As we do not know where diorite is to be found, we cannot tell for certain where Magan is, but it must have been on the sea-coast. The great palace of Sargon was in Akkad. Naramsin rebuilt the temple of Shamash in Sippara. Both kings erected the mighty temple at Nippur, the mountain house, built on a huge terrace and of burned bricks. Naramsin built in many other places, even in Babel.

Reign of  
Naramsin.

The Semites had now completely subdued the Sumerians and Sinear was now entirely Semitised. There is no doubt that the Semites introduced in some directions a higher culture, especially in writing and architecture. The reign of Naramsin was a high-water mark of culture, and we see that art had made great progress in truth and vivacity of expression since the reign of Sargon. His bas-reliefs are truly remarkable, and we see the same results in the seal-cylinders where the figure of the sun-god is represented as rising from the mountain, with the rays streaming from his shoulders. But the kingdom of Akkad was not of long duration. We do not know the names of any kings except Sargon and Naramsin, although some may have existed. We may assume that its fall came about through a recrudescence of Sumerian power, but ever after this Semitic culture prevailed in Sinear, and showed itself in the manners and even in the dress of

Semitic Art  
and Culture.

the later Sumerians. We know little of the political history of this time, except that the relations between the Amorites and Magan continued to exist. We also hear of two Semitic kings of Kish. After the fall of the power of Akkad, Sinear seems to have split up into small governments until the coming of Gudea of Lagash. This period of confusion probably lasted a hundred years, from 2440 to 2340 B.C. Gudea was probably a usurper, but he raised Lagash to a height of power unknown by any former state in Sinear. He says that he reigned over 216,000 subjects, which indicates a period of peace. Sumerian art reached its highest level under Gudea. Diorite, the hard black stone from Magan, difficult to work, was freely used for sculpture in his time. We find also objects in metal and mother-of-pearl. It is doubtful whether Gudea was an independent sovereign, and he may have been a nominal vassal of the king of Akkad.

A new Sumerian empire was founded by Urengur at Ur, a town situated on the Euphrates in the extreme south. At first he calls himself in his monuments the king of **The Dynasty of Ur.** Ur, afterwards the king warrior, the king of Sumer and Akkad. This shows that the Sumerians were again raised to a position of superiority over the Akkadians. There is no doubt that Urengur reigned over the whole of Sinear, as his monuments are found in Ur, Uruk, Larsa, Lagash, and Nippur. He came to the throne in 2304, and reigned eighteen years. His son Dungi had a long reign of fifty-eight years, from 2286 to 2229. Urengur and Dungi remind us of Sargon and Naramsin. Dungi fought many wars, especially in the second half of his reign. The dynasty of Ur was synchronous with the rule of the Pharaohs of Herakleopolis, when the power of Egypt was at a low level. Dungi called himself king of the four divisions of the world: he assumed the status of a god, built a temple for himself, and gave the priest of it the title of Patesi. Three kings followed—Dungi, Pursin, Gimilsin and Ibisin, all three Semitic names derived from the god of Ur. Their reigns lasted about forty years, down to 2188.

About this time, the empire of Ur, after existing for 117 years, underwent a revolution, and the power was transferred to **The Kingdoms of Isin and Lassa.** Isin, the situation of which has not been accurately determined. The sovereigns of this dynasty did not call themselves sovereigns of the four parts of the world, but contented themselves with the title of kings of Sumer and Akkad. It is possible that the dynasty of Isin

may have been Amorite, as the kings are named after Dagon. About the year 2150, a kingdom of Larsa came into existence, so that Sinear was divided into two parts. A powerful king was Pursin II., who reigned from 2065 to 2045. The kingdom of Larsa was finally destroyed by Hammurabi, king of Babel, in 1928.

The empire of Sumer and Akkad contains a century of splendour and two centuries of decline, with destructive invasions from outside. Indeed, all the states of Sinear seem to have had an ephemeral character, a contrast to the strong rule of the Pharaohs in Egypt. Unfortunately the monuments discovered give us but few details, and we find little but large temples with mighty courts. On the other hand, we have abundant records of the details of private social life. These are present in records of brick, far more durable than those of brass because there is no temptation to destroy them. The foundation of social order lies in the power of the king and his bureaucracy, but the family is strongly organised with patriarchal authority. Marriage is contracted by purchase; the wife retains her own property, and claims a divorce if the husband behaves badly; but concubines are common, as is also the practice of adoption. Each settlement has its own deity. Large towns like Babel belong to a later period. The population is divided into possessors of property called "Sons of a man," comparable to patricians or hidalgos, and the "Poor," who have a different wergild. The law of retaliation prevails, but may be mitigated by money payments. We do not know whether the poor were in any respect serfs, but there were slaves in great abundance, recruited from the neighbouring tribes. There were also free labourers, who worked for money wages. There was a strong contrast between the court and the temple, the residences of the king and of the god, resembling the cloister and the castle of the Middle Ages. The temples were the possessors of the greater part of the soil and of enormous wealth. They were also the great financiers and money lenders, and this is the reason why we find the records deposited with them. The chief productions of the soil were corn, oil, and dates, but we also find large herds of cattle. All mercantile transactions were fully developed: the usual interest charged for a loan was twenty per cent. per year. The standard of coinage was silver, but we do not know whence it came. Gold is also found, but copper, which had much value in Egypt, had here scarcely any. The silver was weighed by the sexagesimal system, the talent being sixty

**Social life  
in Sinear.**

minas, the mina sixty shekels, the shekel one hundred and eighty barley corns. The relation between gold and silver was probably thirteen and a half to one. The silver was kept either in bars or in wedges, as in Egypt.

The deities which represented the great cosmical forces were objects of primary worship in Sumer and Akkad—Anu, the god of heaven, Ellil the god of earth, worshipped at Nippur, and Er, the god of the sea, worshipped at Eridu. Besides these were Sin, the god of the moon, worshipped in Ur, and Shamash, the god of the sun, worshipped in Sippara and Larsa. But eventually, above all, there arose Marduk, the god of Babel. We thus reverence, rising from the foundations of local worship to the main components of the world we live in, sky, earth, and sea; then succeeds a raising of the spirit to the sun and moon, the rulers of the night and the day; and then the worship of a supreme god above all these. It is still a matter of controversy which nation has the credit of raising the spirituality of worship to a higher level, the Mongol Sumerians, the Semitic Akkadians, or the Egyptians, and the decision found will depend much on the personal proclivities of the investigator. A Jew will naturally give priority to the Semite, an Egyptologist to the Egyptians, while others, unaffected by these influences, will form what is probably the right opinion, that, whereas the Jews and the Egyptians borrowed much from others, the Sumerians stood alone, and were the first to speak with God face to face and to recognise the government of the world by one all wise, all good, and all powerful divinity.

We do not at present possess any literary remains coming direct from Sumer and Akkad, but it is probable that a number of Babylonian texts which exist as copies in the library of Assurbanipal are derived from this source. In their present state they came from Babel, and place Marduk in the foreground, but they show traces of an earlier origin. It is remarkable that the Sumerian language remained the sacred language in Sinear to the end, which shows that the earlier race cannot have possessed a very large religious literature.

Undoubtedly we owe to this Babylonian source much of the magic of later times. Divination from the livers of animals was highly elaborated; but this may have come not so much from superstition as from the close observation of a wandering people applied to matters which deeply affected their material

**Religion in  
Sinear.**

**Literary  
Remains.**

welfare. Herodotus tells us that the Babylonians brought the sick into the market places, and asked passers by if they knew of any methods of cure, which, by Egyptologists, is contrasted with the elaborate science of the Egyptian doctors. But the judgment of the comparative value of these methods will depend on the view taken of the value of scientific medicine. We also find that divination from the sky had a great importance amongst the Sumerians, a habit which has again been ascribed to the necessities of a nomad life. At any rate we find amongst them the first astrology and the first astronomy. The constellations were first distinguished and named by them, and, if they believed in the influence which the heavens exercise over human life, it is no discredit to have erred by adopting a creed which is the keynote of the Divine Comedy of Dante.

#### Divination.

Religious ritual was in the hands of a numerous priesthood. Many hymns used in worship are preserved, and some of them breathe a high spirituality. The consciousness of the omnipotence of God and the powerless nature of all human action is fully apparent in them, as well as the conviction that the efforts of men towards virtuous action are useless without the assistance of divine power. We are also taught in them that the unmerited suffering of the innocent must be regarded as a spiritual trial and the way to the attainment of a higher spiritual life. The Sumerians were also great grammarians and lexicographers, owing to the fact that a knowledge of two languages was indispensable to a large number of people. They also attained great eminence in arithmetic, but we must not forget that they always had a sexagesimal system, and that the number sixty and its higher powers held the first place in their calculations.

We have seen that the civilisation of Sinear had a great influence over neighbouring tribes. It extended in all directions, over northern Syria, over the plains of Mesopotamia, over the tribes on the Tigris, and in Elam. The netherlands where the united streams of the Euphrates deposit their alluvions became the spiritual centre of the whole district. On the farther side of the little Zab, on the right bank of the Tigris, is found the principality of Assur, of which we have already spoken. The name is connected with the Assher of the Jews, and the Ashera of the Amorites. Their princes were sometimes called *patesis* and sometimes kings: they also had priestly functions, but they never ceased

#### Assur.

to be regarded as viceroys of their god Assur. They extended their authority from the Tigris to the marches of Arbela, and even beyond the great Zab and to Nineveh on the left-hand bank of the Tigris. The first ruler of Assyria is Thusuma, who founded the kingdom of Babel, to which the lords of Assur became eventually subjects. About the same time Elam, the ancient rival of Sinear, began to take a new development, as we learn from the excavations at Susa, and its princes assumed greater authority and power. In 2188, Ibisin, the last king of Ur, was taken prisoner by them, and they probably destroyed the temple of Nippur. But a far greater effect was produced by the invasion of the

**The Amorite Empire of Babel.** Amorites. Starting from northern Syria, they gradually extended their power to the south, and about the year 2060 founded the empire of Babel. Fortunately documents exist which enable us to write their history. The first king, Samuabu, lived from 2060 to 2047. But much more powerful was his successor Sumulailu, who established the authority of Babel and the worship of Marduk on a firm basis, reigning for thirty years, from 2046 to 2011. He was succeeded by Sabu (2010 to 1997) and Apilsin (1996 to 1979), who built temples, dug canals, and restored wells. Then came Sinmuballit (1978 to 1959). We find in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis a record of this period; where it is said that Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Arioch, king of Ellasar (probably Larsa), Amraphel (probably Hammurabi), king of Shinar (Sinear), and Tidal, king of nations (which is wrongly translated), ruled for twelve years over certain tribes of Palestine, including Sodom and Gomorrah, which had rebelled but been subdued.

Of the two nations who were striving together for the crown of Sumer and Akkad, the Elamites of Larsa and the Amorites in Babel, the later named arrived at complete supremacy. The last empire we hear of before the final fall of Sumer and Akkad is that of Isin, whose rulers bear the titles of kings of Sumer and Akkad, and its greatest sovereign was Rimsin, who had the right to call himself king of Sumer and Akkad, after he had put an end to the kingdom of Uruk. Rimsin conquered Isin in the year 1962, and here the history of the ancient empire of Sumer and Akkad comes to an end, and that of Babel begins.

The greatest king of Babel was Hammurabi, who reigned from 1958 to 1916. His successes begin even in the first

year of his reign. In 1952, his power was fully established, and soon after he could assume the title of king of Sumer and Akkad and of the four parts of the world. **Hammurabi** By 1919 he had entirely destroyed the power **King of** of Rimsin and had become undisputed lord of **Babel.** the whole of Sinear. He made many canals, temples, and fortifications, but his great work was the foundation of Babel, which now became the royal residence, the mistress of all those which had preceded it, with Marduk as its supreme god. It was characteristic of his statesmanship that he did not destroy the local religions and deities, but gave them a place in the divine hierarchy under the authority of Marduk. The reign of Hammurabi, which lasted forty-two years, was coincident with a great change in the physical condition of the land of Sinear; the alluvial soil was increased, the beds of the rivers were altered, they flowed more slowly over a leveller soil, marshes and lakes made their appearance, the desert grew. The energy of a great canal builder like Hammurabi might delay the destruction which this implied, but could not prevent it, and in the hands of less competent successors it advanced with hastier strides. Hammurabi and his house did not spring from the Akkadian Semites who had been long settled in the land, but from Bedouin invaders. He had a large nose, a long beard, his lips shaved, and his hair cut short, whereas the Akkadians wore their hair long. He and his dynasty were evidently Amorites. We do not know the exact extent of his realms. It is probable that he subdued Syria, but of this we have no certain evidence.

We have many records of the reign of Hammurabi of very different kinds. They show us not only a high condition of culture, but a thoroughly well organised government. His correspondence with his high officials may be compared to that between Trajan and Pliny. It is clear that he took a personal interest in all the affairs of the kingdom. But the **The Code of** most important record of his reign lies in the **Hammu-** famous code, which is inscribed on a mass of **rabi.** diorite marble now in the British Museum. This was discovered in the year 1901, and has received great attention since from scholars of all nations. The king begins by saying how Anu Bel and Marduk, the supreme gods of Babylon, had called him to cause justice to prevail in the land and to destroy the wicked and the evil, and to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and he boasts that he has established law and justice



in the land and provided for the welfare of the people. The laws enacted are 248 in number, and may be divided into the following categories : penalties for false accusation, false witness, and wrong judgment ; laws relating to property, to land, to trade and commerce, to the law of the family, to criminal law, to navigation, to hire and wages, and to slavery. The character of the laws is clear and precise, but undoubtedly severe. A man is either guilty or innocent, wrong or right, and punished accordingly. There are no half lights or half judgments. Hammurabi stands undoubtedly as one of the great rulers of the world. His code has been compared with that of Moses, and they may be said to have a common origin. No code of this kind is an entirely independent creation. It is the product of the time, but receives the form which gives it authority from the genius of its composer.

Hammurabi was succeeded by his son Samsuiluna, who reigned from 1915 to 1878, by Abeshu, 1877 to 1850 ; and two others who bring us down to 1792. The last king of the dynasty was Samsuditani, 1791 to 1761, under whom the empire of Babel came to an end, having lasted for exactly three hundred years after its first foundation by Sumuabub.

It was destroyed by the Hittites, who came from the eastern part of Asia Minor, but our information about them is not complete. They had their abode in Chani in the plains around the Euphrates, and from this point

**The Hittite  
Invasion.**

plundered the country and made it tributary. They have been identified with the Hyksos, and this invasion of Sumeria may have been a prelude to the conquest of Egypt in 1750, but for further knowledge we must wait for more complete information. But this mighty invasion of the Hittites is only one aspect of a general migration of nations, which occurred at this time, moving from east to west. Indeed the distant regions of Thibet were at this time, and for many centuries later, filled with a barbarous population, which, like a human volcano, might at any time overflow and desolate the cultivated regions beyond them. There was the same reason for their incursion as for the later incursion of the Huns, which produced modern Europe. Among the advancing hordes the most powerful were the Aryans, who were the first to ride on horses, the chariots of Egypt and Babylon having been drawn by cattle and asses. Horses were indeed seen in Sinear about 1900, and their appearance gave a completely new character to the warfare of the East, but

for some centuries they were used only in chariots and not for riding.

To the north of the Semitic countries with which we have been dealing lay the mountain country of Asia Minor and Armenia. Their natural configuration had prepared them for a different history. **Asia Minor.** Asia Minor, surrounded on three sides by the sea, has always been a great land of passage, connected closely with the islands of the Aegean and the peninsula of Greece. It has no natural boundary towards the east, where it loses itself in the table-land of Armenia, itself penetrated by the Araxes and the Kyros as well as by the upper waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, and thus is, in spite of its difficult passes, connected with the outer world. The ethnography of this region is much confused, but it is by this path that the Aryans first penetrated into Europe. At that time, however, they had undoubtedly not yet developed their advanced type of culture as shown in Troy, Phrygia, and Cyprus. The most powerful people of Asia Minor in this early age were the Hittites, whom we have already mentioned. They overran Syria and Mesopotamia, destroyed Babel in 1760, and perhaps established themselves as Hyksos in Egypt. They also founded the kingdom of Milani on the Euphrates, which was afterwards destroyed by the Aryans.

The empire of the Hittites rose to great power in the fifteenth century before Christ in the mountainous district to the east of the Halys, where the remains of their capital are still to be seen. It spread over **The Hittite Empire.** Asia Minor and northern Syria, and long held its own successfully against the power of Egypt. But in the twelfth century it fell owing to a fresh movement in the great migration of the nations already spoken of. Hence the centre of gravity of the Hittite power was pushed towards the south, towards Taurus and Amasus and the north of Syria, where its fragments existed for a long time in small states, notably at Karkemish, close by the Euphrates. The Hittites have left many monuments behind them both in Asia Minor and in northern Syria, extending from the fifteenth to the eighth centuries before Christ, and even later. They used a hieroglyphic language of their own, but also employed the Babylonian cuneiform, so that their inscriptions are not difficult to read, and from these we learn that they were neither Indo-Germanic nor Semitic. It is possible that their origin is to be

found in the Caucasus, some of whose tribes, of Iberian origin, now represented by the Georgians, spread over Asia Minor. Their religion was, without doubt, founded on the worship of the two great powers, mother earth and the sun, whose marriage was every year consummated and dissolved by the course of the seasons. This religion reveals itself in the well-known story of Attis, in Crete also where it is connected with the birth of Zeus; in the mother of Didymos, Ida, Olympus and Sipylus, in Cybele, the goddess of the mountains, in Diana of the Ephesians, in the death of Adonis, and in the mystic ceremonies in which men were driven to imitate the extinction of the powers of nature. Other phases of this religion, however interesting, would be out of place in this book.

The most important monuments of the culture of Asia Minor are to be found in the ruins of Troy, a city inhabited by a

**Troy Town.** people called successively Trojans, Dardanians, and Teucrians, who worshipped Zeus and the mother of the gods. The rivers of Troy are the Scamander and the Simois, both falling independently into the sea. At the junction of the plains of these two rivers is to be found the rock of Hissarlik, and on this Troy was built. Its citadel Pergamus cannot have been founded earlier than 1500 B.C., nor destroyed later than 1200 B.C. It is therefore an example of the deeply interesting age which we have been endeavouring to describe. We can trace its culture minutely from the results of the excavations carried on energetically by Schliemann, and we now know the details of an early civilisation which had a wide extension. We find it spread over Phrygia and Cyprus, an island between which and Troy there existed a close connection. Troy, like Rome, was eminently a sea town, and thus had special facilities for spreading its influence. We find, therefore, traces of its culture in Sinear, and even in Europe as far north as the Danube.

We must now briefly consider the position of other parts of Europe. The Aegean is not a barrier but a bridge—a bridge  
**The Islands of the Aegean.** formed of islands. Indeed it was more than this, because the islands themselves became the seat of a culture which spread indifferently both to the east and to the west, and eventually had the result of overthrowing its place of origin. We are generally told that the earliest inhabitants of Greece were the Pelasgians, but who were they? Science cannot decide whether they were a Grecian or a non-Grecian race, but probably the first. No doubt the

earliest civilisation of the Aegean is to be found in Crete and the Cyclades. In the middle of the third millennium before Christ, Crete entered upon a course of powerful development, and for a long time exercised a supremacy over the Aegean world. The island is divided into two parts, and important results were introduced by the incursion of a foreign nation at the end of the third millenary, who were called by the Greeks Eteocretes, but by others Kapti, and of whom we know little except that they were adventurous mariners like the Vikings or the Normans, and were perhaps identical with the Etruscans. There were close relations between Crete and Egypt, Crete sending its warships to the valley of the Nile, and the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty extending their authority over the island.

**Crete.**

As to the mainland of Greece, we know little about the relations of it to the Balkan Peninsula. The Indo-Germanic nations, who inhabited this part of the world, fall into three groups, Greeks, Illyrians, and Thracians, with possibly a fourth, Epirots. The Greeks were pressed towards the south by the other races, possibly about 2500 B.C., and in the thirteenth century before Christ Greece was further invaded by the people known as Dorians. The earliest known inhabitants of Europe were probably Iberians, a small dark race who lingered long in the Mediterranean Riviera and in the valleys of the Pyrenees, their present living representatives being the Basques. England and Ireland were inhabited by Picts. The Mongolian tribes, now represented by the Finns, had also a large development, and may have occupied a great portion of Russia. It is tolerably certain that from the third millenary before Christ the greater part of Europe was inhabited by settled tribes, who lived in friendly intercourse and possessed a highly developed civilisation of the stone age type; also that the sea gave a great advantage in progress to those who dwelt by its shores. The stone age was succeeded by the age of bronze, the copper coming from the south. It was used in Egypt early in the fourth millenary; in Crete, Cyprus, Troy, and Sinear about a thousand years later. Gradually tin was used to harden it, but bronze does not make its appearance till about 2000 B.C. Gold and silver were used for personal adornment, gold being found in many rivers, but the origin of silver is obscure. The custom of burying the dead seems to have developed concurrently with the rise of bronze. The inhabitants of Europe appear to have been deficient

**The early  
inhabitants  
of Europe.**

in independent creative power and to have owed their development entirely to more advanced peoples of the south and the east. Consequently, we find that they have no history before the time of the Romans. Until the period of the great migration, and the introduction of Christianity, Western, Central, and Northern Europe owed their culture entirely to foreign sources; but, when they had once received it, they developed it with an energy and a success which came entirely from themselves. The beginnings of civilisation belonged undoubtedly to Egypt and to Babylon. Which was first, and which was more important, remains still a matter of dispute. A certain amount of civilisation grew up among the Semites in Troy and in Crete, and amongst the Indo-Germans, but the higher spiritual life was derived from Egypt and Sinear. When the movement began, Greece took the lead, Italy and Sicily long remaining passive and the rest of Europe untouched. What we can assert with confidence about culture does not assist us much in questions of ethnography. It is indeed probable that Scandinavia has been inhabited by the same race from the stone age to our own, but we can know nothing for certain. The debt which we owe to those nations with whose history these two first chapters have been concerned makes them well worthy of our serious study.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE INDO-GERMANIC RACE—EGYPT UNDER THE NEW EMPIRE, 1580-523 B.C.

BEFORE we proceed to treat in detail of the various nations of Europe, we must give some account of the Indo-Germanic race to which they all belong. This race was not confined to Europe alone: the Aryans in India and Persia, the Phrygians and Armenians in Asia Minor, were all Indo-Germanic. Wherever they came, they either subdued or overlaid the inferior races with which they came into contact: consequently the culture of the whole world is now of an Indo-Germanic character. No other race, not even that of the Semites, has been able to stand against them. We may naturally inquire what was the original home of the Indo-Germans, how they came into the world, and how their different branches were composed. Undoubtedly they were an independent people, not a mixture from several origins. At the same time it is difficult to derive them from a single race. The appellation Aryan, which was once very common, probably belongs only to the group which was settled in India and Persia. A further division into sections is extremely difficult, but we may establish a broad distinction between Eastern and Western. As to the time of their appearance, we find Aryan elements in Syria and Mesopotamia in the fifteenth century B.C., and their development in western India belongs to the same date. The Greeks were settled in the southern portion of the Balkan Peninsula at the same time, marking the transition from the stone to the bronze age. We may say therefore that the spreading of the Indo-Germanic race began about 2500 B.C., and that they had reached their farthest limits before the middle of the second millenary.

They were evidently a people mainly pastoral, to some extent agricultural. In Europe, at least, they had common words for ploughing, sowing, and mowing; they certainly possessed horses, but no pigs or geese. They built houses and crossed rivers and

lakes in boats, and spun and wove, and used bronze and copper, but no gold, silver, or iron—all which marks the end of the stone age. They were governed by a patriarchal system. We cannot tell precisely whether they burned or buried their dead, but it is possible that burning was first an honour to distinguished people, and then spread to all classes. They probably made their appearance not as small tribes, like the Semites and the Kelts, but in large hordes, like the Scythians, the Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols. There was room for the formation of these in the large plains which lay in the north of Europe and Asia.

They seem to have worshipped a common god, the God of heaven and light, the Djaus of India, the Zeus of Greece, the Jupiter of Italy. He was the father of gods and

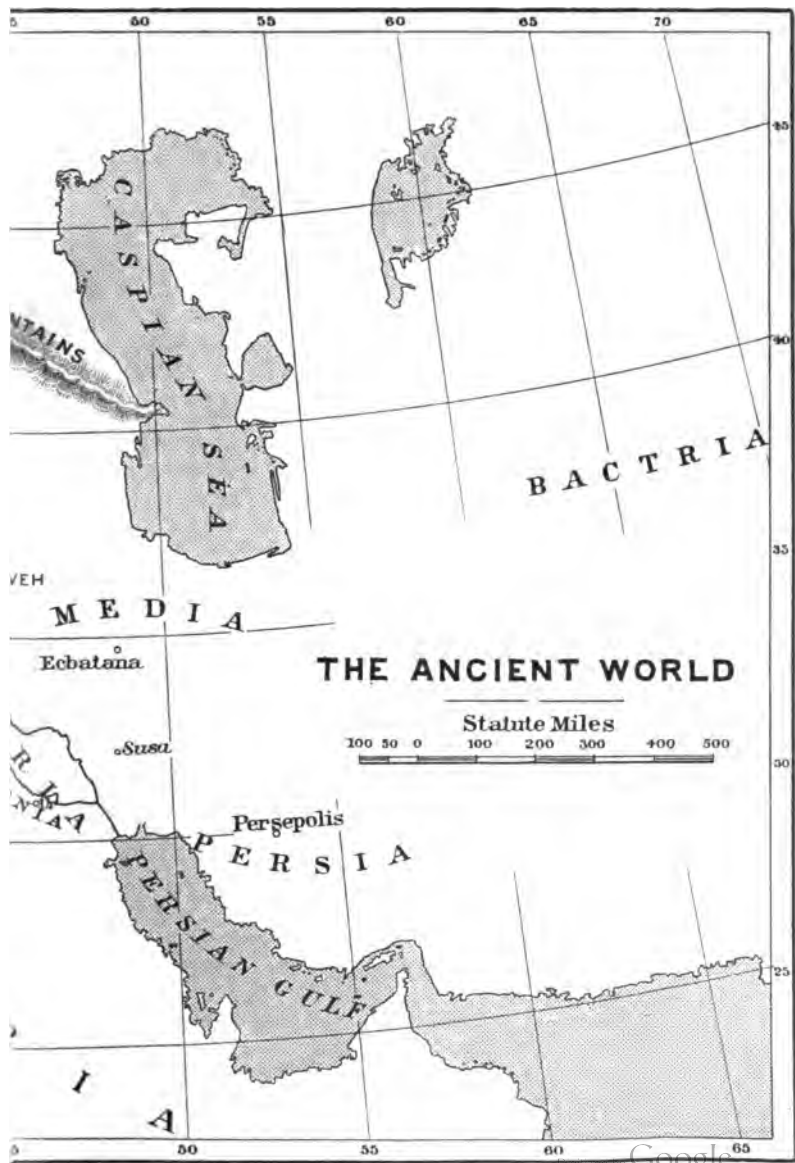
**Their  
Religion.**

men, the source of all life and all happiness, to be worshipped by prayers and sacrifices. This dominating position of gods of heaven is characteristic of the Indo-Germanic religion. It is indeed found in other nations, among the Turks, the Chinese, the Mongols, and, in the less attractive form of an angry god of storms, among the people of Asia Minor. But the essential difference is that, while elsewhere the divinities were local, with the Indo-Germans there was one supreme god of the whole race. There is also the difference that, whereas the Semites regarded God and Man as completely different, separated by an impassable chasm, the Indo-Germans had no such conception, but believed the divine and the human to be closely connected, so that the idea of an incarnation, foreign and even repulsive to the one, was familiar and even acceptable to the other. Next to father Zeus in Heaven is mother Earth, married to him by the rain which by their union produces all the fruits of the soil. In the great picture of Primavera, or Spring, by Botticelli, besides Venus and the Graces, and Flora, scattering her wealth of flowers, stands Mercury, the God of Gain, with his caduceus bringing on the rain cloud, the source of all wealth and prosperity. The third deity is the fire of the hearth, symbolising the peace and protection of the home, its smoke arising as an offering to heaven. It is remarkable that, when at Baalbec Antoninus Pius, the most religious and one of the greatest of the Roman emperors, built in the third century a shrine, a wonder of the world, for the celebration of the fundamental worship both of Semites and of Aryans; and he erected two temples—one to the Heaven and the other to the Earth, while close by stands the round temple of the Hearth, of uncertain origin.











Gifted as the Indo-Germans were above all other nations of the world, their first home and their origin are uncertain. The idea that they came from India, and that Sanskrit is the oldest of their languages, must be given up, and the European origin of the Indo-Germans cannot be maintained. It is most likely on the whole that this gifted race in both its branches, those who call hundred by the word *centum* and those who call it by *satem*, lived originally in the great high table-land of Central Asia, and this conclusion, long suspected by intuition, has been confirmed by the most modern discoveries. It is curious that the solution of this great problem should lie in the investigation of the Wusum nations and the more complete knowledge of the Tokarish language. We can at any rate affirm that the earliest Indo-Germanic settlement of which we have knowledge arose at the close of the Neolithic age, about 2500-2000 B.C., and announced their individuality by the practice of burning their dead.

Their original Home.

A great portion of the table-land of Iran and of northern India was inhabited in historical times by a branch of the Indo-German stock calling themselves Arian or Aryans, meaning nobles or lords. We have already seen that Aryan tribes and gods make their appearance by the Matani, in north-western Mesopotamia, and also in Syria; and that Aryan traces are found in Cossoean tribes which in the eighteenth century came down from Mount Zagus into Sinear. About the same time the Eastern branch of Aryans, the future Indians, were occupying the land of the seven streams, bordered by the Indus, the five rivers of the Punjab, and the river of Kabul. The Vedas, the religious hymns which contain the earliest forms of Indian speech, worship, and civilisation, cannot be later than 1555 B.C., so that we may fix the settlement of the Aryans in the homes which they were to occupy soon after 2000 B.C. In historical times we find them divided into the two great branches of Indians and Iranians, that is Persians. There is no doubt that both branches came from the neighbourhood of the Pamirs, the roof of the world. They possessed horses both for riding and driving: they drank together the magic juice of the soma, from a plant found in their ancient homes, but now unknown. Some of them remained as nomads, but the greater number became settled and lived in communities governed by chiefs, who had only a

The Aryans.

Indians and  
Iranians.

limited power, and were controlled by a militant aristocracy. A king was chosen only in time of war. They worshipped the original Aryan divinities of the heaven, the earth, and the fire of the hearth, through the medium of a highly organised priesthood. The soma drink was their most sacred possession, a benefit to friends, a lesson to enemies, the giver of health, happiness, and immortality, as well as of insight and offspring. They believed in the immortality of the soul and in the power, for good or harm, of the ghost, who had to be propitiated by the living. They were mighty drinkers of wine. Herodotus tells us that the Persians decided matters when drunk, and reviewed their decisions next morning when sober. To this habit is due the cult of the Soma, and the worship of Dionysus, the deity not only of intoxication but of drunken inspiration. The Indians and Iranians took different roads, one towards the contemplative, the other towards the active life. The Iranians were led by Zoroaster to practical effort and to conquest, while the Indians were content with mystic reflection, from which they have never emerged, and but for which the English could never have conquered or governed their country. They allow us to rule them because it is a matter of indifference to them who is the ruler. With the Indians, the Devas—and Indra as their chief—have a dominating position. Mitra and Varuna are inferior to them: the Asuras are regarded as enemies of the good. In the religion of Zoroaster, Ahura is the name of the highest god, Mithra stands at his side; on the other hand the Devas, the deities of contemplation, are devils, and Indra is one of them.

We have seen from this narrative that the civilisation of Egypt and Babylonia reaches certainly as far back as 5000 B.C., and probably further back still. Then comes the oldest culture of Crete and Troy, always in connection with that of the south-east. Europe begins to move at the commencement of the third millenary, and the Indo-Germans and Aryans at the beginning of the second. The Chinese, that marvellous people, who for the present lie outside our scope, began their civilisation about the same time. Our position to-day is dependent upon everything which these nations have done during the last seven thousand years, and traces of their earliest work still survive amongst us. At the same time, as in the animal world, progress has been very various, and some peoples, after reaching a certain stage of development, have been unable to advance further. Undoubtedly human culture is traceable far

beyond the limits which we have set ourselves, but we do not propose to cross this frontier on the present occasion.

#### EGYPT UNDER THE NEW EMPIRE, 1580-523 B.C.

The liberation of Egypt from the Hyksos was the work of Thebes, and it is in that city that we find the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty, which succeeded them, **The XVIIIth** and the worship of Amon or Amon Ra, the king **dynasty.** of the gods, which gave Thebes the name of **Dynasty.** No Amon, the town of Amon, the Diospolis of the Greeks. The new rulers, by their conquest of the Hyksos, filled the nation with a self-confidence which is shown in the splendour of their buildings. Few inscriptions tell us the details of their reign, but both banks of the Nile are covered with their works, the greatest of which are the ruins of Karnak. They ruled for over two hundred and fifty years, from 1580 to 1315 B.C. The first of them was Thutmosis I., whose grave is a rock tomb in the Valley of the Kings, and one of the most important was Thutmosis III., who conquered Syria and strengthened Egyptian influence in Asia Minor. Amenophis III., called Memnon by the Greeks, who reigned from 1411 to 1375, held correspondence with the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, and Matani, as we know from the documents discovered at Tel-el-Amarna. He built much in Nubia and at Luxor, where the colossal temple, dedicated to Amon Ra, is one of the wonders of the world. The two colossal figures, which are really portraits of the king, decorated the entrance to his temple, which has now almost entirely disappeared. In Roman times they were believed to be the statues of Memnon, the son of Eos and Tithonus, who was slain by Achilles in the Trojan war. The southern of the two statues is the better preserved, but the northern is the famous relic which, in Roman times, was supposed to utter a melodious sound at sunrise as a tribute to his mother Eos, whose tears fell in the form of dew upon her beloved son. It was heard by many travellers, as is testified by the scribblings of many of them from the time of Nero, but it ceased altogether after Septimius Severus. Under Memnon's rule, and in consequence of the reduction of the Semites, the worship of Baal and Astarte made their appearance in Egypt, and an active intercourse was kept up with Syria. Indeed Egypt became a world power. His successor, Amenophis IV. (1375 to 1358) declared the

sun-god of Heliopolis to be the chief divinity, and indeed the sun star, the disc of the sun, to be the only god, so that the gods of Thebes had to give way to a more powerful rival. He even left his residence and established himself in Middle Egypt, where the ruins of Tel-el-Amarna show the remains of his palace. But this revolution lasted only a short time: the supremacy of the Theban religion was restored, and only records and rubbish heaps remain to tell us of his greatness.

The glories of the eighteenth dynasty were surpassed by those of the nineteenth, whose king Ramses II., the son of Sethos I., was probably the greatest monarch whom Egypt ever possessed. Sethos I. fought against the Libyans and the Syrians, and the mighty race of the Hittites, who, even under the previous dynasty, had pressed from Asia Minor into Syria, and had threatened the Egyptian possessions in that country and in Palestine. His temples are to be seen in Karnak and in Abydos, his tomb in the Valley of the Kings, and his mummy in Cairo.

**Ramses II.** His son, Ramses II., probably reigned from 1292 to 1225 B.C., but it is difficult to separate his exploits from those of his father, as they have been much confused by Greek historians, who, indeed, welded together father and son into a single person, Sesostris, whose name is as mythical as many of his alleged exploits. We hear of his fighting at the head of a countless host of infantry, cavalry, and war chariots; marching through Asia to the conquest of Scythians and Thracians, then back to India in the distant east, and to the Ethiopians in the south. We find monuments of his prowess erected in different parts of the ancient world, many of which were seen by Herodotus. Towards the end of his reign he developed a great activity in building, so that his name is found in nearly all Egyptian ruins. The great rock temples of Abu Simbel, far up the Nile, were his work; his buildings are seen at Karnak and Luxor; the Ramaseum, the great temple dedicated to Amon on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes, is his also, and is probably the same which is ascribed by the historian Diodorus to Osymandyas, another name for Ramses. Shelley says, "My name is Osymandias, King of Kings: look on my works, ye mighty, and despair." In the reliefs of this temple are depicted the events of the great battle of Kadesh, in which Ramses broke the power of the Hittites. At the Nahr-el-Kelb, the Dog River, just

north of Beirut, are many reliefs carved in the rock; there are several of Ramses; side by side with them are reliefs of Sennacherib and other kings of the Assyrians, showing how that people, advancing towards the Mediterranean seven hundred years later, acquired the coveted sea-coast which had been conquered by the Egyptians. This conquest was the fruit of the battle of Kadesh, after which the Dog River was fixed as the southern limit of the Hittite empire. In the sculptures of the Ramaseum, the king, towering above the other warriors in his chariots, lays low with his arrows the Hittites, or treads them under foot with his horses; many are drowned in the river, on the banks of which we see the towers of Kadesh, crowded with Hittite warriors, some of them helping their drowning comrades from the stream. Besides this, his works are found at Abydos, Memphis, and Bubastis: his tomb is in the Valley of the Kings—his mummy, an admirably preserved portrait, in the Museum at Cairo. When, in the time of the early Roman empire, Germanicus, the son of Drusus, visited Egypt, the priests discoursed to him more than anything else on the glories of their hero, Ramses II. We must not pass over in silence his colossal statue in Memphis, of which only fragments remain, but which was formerly erected by him, together with that of his wife and his four sons, before the ancient temple of Ptah. The face of the statue is well preserved, and it bears the inscription, "Ramses, Miamun, Sun, chosen by Ra." He was also an active maker of canals. He may be regarded as, if not the greatest, at any rate the most typical of all Egyptian monarchs.

After a long reign of sixty-six years he was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Menepthah, a large number of his children having died in his lifetime. Menepthah followed in the footsteps of his father, but did not equal his glory. Inscriptions show that he subdued the swarthy negroes and the fair peoples of Asia. The rock temple of Hathor, at Benihassan, was built by him. He repelled an invasion of the Libyans, accompanied by Mediterranean peoples who may have been Achæans, Sardinians, Sicilians, and Etruscans, and destroyed them. Manetho records that he was driven from his throne by a rebellion of his subjects, and lived for ten years in Ethiopia. After Menepthah came a period of anarchy, which was put an end to by raising to the throne King Setnacht, the founder of the twentieth dynasty, which

Reign of  
Menep-  
thah.

The XXth  
Dynasty.



reigned from 1200 to 1090 B.C., but whose domestic quarrels at last brought to an end the glory of Thebes, whose hundred gates with their crowds of marching warriors fired the imagination of Rome, and fill modern travellers with admiration.

Ramses III. was the greatest monarch of the twentieth dynasty. He subdued the Libyans and conquered in two sea fights the

**Ramses III.**

**—End of**

**the New**

**Empire.**

allied fleets of the Mediterranean peoples to which we have alluded. He reigned for thirty-one years in power and glory. The great temple built by him is to be found at Medinet Habu, a part of Thebes on the west bank of the Nile. It is a colossal work, and is formed on the model of the Ramaseum. He is called by Herodotus, Rhamsinitus, and built the famous treasure house which was eventually plundered by the cunning thief who succeeded in marrying the king's daughter. His tomb is still to be seen in the Valley of the Kings, but his magnificent sarcophagus of red granite is in Paris, and the case of it in London. His mummy is among the treasures of the Museum of Cairo. Towards the end of his life, he became more and more given to works of piety, and made rich presents to the priests of Amon, the result of which was that the high priest of that deity became virtually the ruler of the country. This state of things continued, and indeed became worse, under the Ramses who succeeded him with the numbers from IV. to XII., until at last Herihor, high priest of Amon, himself ascended the throne.

With the last of the Ramses, the power of Egypt came to an end. The twenty-first dynasty, that of the Tanites, which lasted from 1090 to 945 B.C., took its rise in Tanis, the Zoar of the Bible, on the road between Cairo and Mansurah in the fertile Delta. The priests

**The XXIst  
Dynasty.**

were the real rulers for the phantom kings, among whom was Psusennes, who had commercial connections with King Solomon, and supported him in war against his enemies. One of his daughters was one of Solomon's wives. After his death the friendly relations between Egypt and Israel came to an end. Pinotem I., high priest of Thebes, by marrying a Tanite, became king of all Egypt, and was succeeded by his sons, who held the same office. Nubia became independent.

The twenty-second dynasty (945 to 745) B.C., was formed by kings of Libyan origin, who came into Egypt originally as mercenaries, like the Manchus, settled in the Eastern Delta, and acquired power by the weakness of the throne. They

placed their residence in Bubastis, not far from Zagazig. The power of Thebes declined more and more: princes of the royal house became priests of Amon. The founder of the dynasty was Sesonchis, also called Shesonch, and in the Bible Sisak. We are told in the first book of Kings that, when the ten tribes rebelled against Rehoboam and chose Jeroboam as their king, Sisak marched against Jerusalem and took the treasures of the temple and the palace, and the golden shields which Solomon had made. In the temple of Karnak built by him, we see him holding his spear over a number of conquered enemies. He is coloured red, and near him is the God Amon in blue, holding rows of kneeling and fettered prisoners by a cord. Their shields bear the names of Mahanaim, Bethoron, Megiddo, and the king of Judah. But under his successors the kingdom fell on evil days, and was broken up into a number of small principalities.

This dark time of Egyptian history lasted for two hundred years. Upper Egypt was conquered by Ethiopian kings, whose capital was Napata, above Wady Halfa. In 730 B.C. Tefnacht, prince of Sais and Memphis, attempted to gain the lordship of the Lower Nile, but was conquered by King Pianchi of Ethiopia, and Memphis was subdued. Bokchoris, son and successor of Tefnacht, succeeded in effecting what his father had failed to do, and acquired the lordship of Lower Egypt, but Sabakon of Ethiopia overthrew him and had him burned, and the whole of Egypt again became Ethiopian.—three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, lasting from 812 to 663 B.C. Of these, Sabakon assisted King Hezekiah of Judah against the Assyrians. Taharka also, the Tishakah of the Bible, did the same thing, but was conquered in 670 B.C. by Esarhaddon and compelled to fly to Ethiopia. The whole of Egypt was subdued by the Assyrians, a few small kings, such as Necho of Sais, remaining in their territories as vassals of Assyria. All attempts to drive the Assyrians from the country failed. In 663, Tanutamon, the son of Shabako, made a fruitless attempt to recover his independence, and was driven back, but at last, when the Assyrian armies were occupied by wars in Babylonia and Elam, Psammetichus of Sais, the son of Necho, assisted by King Gyges of Lydia, succeeded in throwing off the Assyrian yoke. He drove out the alien government,

**XXIIInd  
Dynasty.**

**The  
Ethiopian  
Conquest.**

**The  
Assyrian  
Conquest.**

**Psamme-  
tichus.**

obtained a supremacy over the small princes, and separated Ethiopia from Egypt.

Thus began the twenty-sixth dynasty, lasting from 663 to 523 B.C., when the country fell under Persia. It was a period of

**XXVIth  
Dynasty.**

revived prosperity. Commerce received a stimulus by the connection with Greece; art also took a new development. A new form of literature arose, but it took the shape of an imitation of the glorious past rather than the striking out of an independent line. It is, therefore, properly called the period of the Egyptian Renaissance. Necho

**Necho.**

the son of Psammetichus conquered Syria (Josiah, king of Judah, falling in the battle of Megiddo), taking advantage of the fact that Assyria was engaged in a bitter struggle for existence against Babylonia and Media. He was, however, defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and thus lost his pre-eminence in Syria and Palestine. Apries, called in the Bible Hophra,

**Apries.**

endeavoured to recover Syria, but could not prevent the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586. He was slain in a rebellion seventeen years later, being strangled, and buried in his father's grave, so that the words of Jeremiah (xliv. 30) became true, "Behold! I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of those that seek his life."

**Amasis.**

The recovery of Syria was effected by his general, Amasis, who assumed the crown, but for security married a daughter of Psammetichus II., son of Necho. He did his best to draw Egypt into the sphere of world intercourse and commerce. The Ionian and Carian mercenaries, against whom he had fought, he settled in Memphis, and formed them into a bodyguard. He made an alliance with the people of Cyrene, married a lady of that city, and formed the establishment of Greeks in Naucratis on the banks of the Nile, and this speedily became the richest commercial city in the country. He assisted the inhabitants of Delphi to build their temple, which had been burnt down, and enriched the Grecian shrines with costly presents. He conquered the island of Cyprus, of which the Tyrians were no longer able to keep possession; he so increased the wealth and prosperity of the country that it is said that the valley of the Nile contained in his time twenty thousand inhabited cities. He was a cheerful, if rather a vulgar soul, certainly a striking personality, and Herodotus says of him that he did his business early in the morning, and then drank and amused himself and gave himself up to every kind

of sport and pleasure. He said that a bow must not always be strung, and his bow was often loose. He was an intimate friend of Polycrates of Samos. The dynasty came to an end with Psammetichus III., who was conquered by the Persian King Cambyses at Pelusium.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, 1850-606 B.C.—JEWISH HISTORY TO 537 B.C.

OPPOSITE to the town of Mosul, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, lay the city of Ninus or Nineveh, the mighty metropolis of the Assyrian Empire. The date and manner of its foundation are obscure. Before the cuneiform inscriptions were solved we had to depend upon the accounts of the physician Ctesias, who gives us a long list of kings reigning over these parts of Asia for many hundred years, and culminating in the personalities of Ninus and Semiramis. According to him, their successors led a contemptible existence in their palaces, until Sardanapalus fell in 864 before the combined attack of the Medes and the Babylonians. This is now known to be fabulous: Ninus is the mere incarnation of Nineveh, as Romulus is of Rome, and the history of Semiramis is so overlaid with legend that it is impossible to say what is false and what is true with regard to her. We have already heard of Asur, the cradle of the Assyrian race, some fifty miles south of Nineveh, not far from the confluence of the lesser Zab with the Tigris. King Tiglath Pileser, who lived about 1120 B.C., informs us that 641 years before his time the priest king of Assur erected a temple to Anu and Sin. A line of priests gradually gave way to a line of warriors, who made war against Babylon. The conquest of Babylon is attributed to Tuklatader in 1290 B.C., but his success was of short duration. We do not reach firm ground till the advent of Tiglath Pileser before mentioned. He was a great conqueror, penetrated into Armenia, and reached the source of the Tigris; fought in wars to the lake of Van, conquered Carchemish, but in 1111 was defeated by the king of Babylon. His successors, however, were not able to maintain the glories of his reign.

With the commencement of the ninth century a more successful epoch once again dawned for Assyria. Assur Nazir Habul

(883-858) attempted to restore the empire of Tiglath Pileser. Besides pressing into Armenia, he reached the Orontes and the Lebanon, and the kings of Sidon, Tyre, Biblos, and Arados, towns on the Mediterranean coast, all brought him tribute. His son Shalmaneser

Further  
Conquests.

II. (858 to 853) followed in his footsteps. In 854 he marched against Hamath, and defeated the Syrian league. He also made war in Armenia and Babylon. The Chaldeans, now mentioned for the first time in history, paid him tribute. He tells us that in the eighteenth year of his reign he crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time, fought against Hazael, king of Damascus, destroyed 16,000 of his warriors, 1121 of his chariots, and 410 of his cavalry, and besieged him in his capital. He took tribute from Jehu the son of Nimshi. On the black obelisk, preserved in his house, are seen representations of the elephant and the camel, the rhinoceros and the hippopotamus, also numbers of lions and apes. At the close of his reign his son Assurbanipal rose against him, and was supported by Asur and a large portion of the kingdom. His successor, Samsi Bin (823 to 810), restored order, and with the help of his son Bin-nirar II. (810 to 781) restored the prosperity of the country. The great object of the Assyrian kings seems to have been to extend their empire to the Mediterranean, the Lebanon, and Damascus, which necessitated the conquest of Tyre and Sidon, Palestine, Edom, and Philistia. These kings were followed by Shalmaneser III. (781 to 771), who fought especially against Armenia, Asurdanil (771 to 753), and Asurnirar (753 to 746).

Nineveh was a mighty city. The prophets Jonas, Nahum, and Zephaniah, who foretell its destruction, speak of its splendour with exuberant eloquence, and the cautious and prosaic Xenophon, who visited the city two

Nineveh.

hundred years after its fall, confirms the account given by Otesias and Herodotus. Ezekiel says of it (xxxi. 3-10): "Behold! Assur was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowy shroud and of a high stature, and his top was among the clouds. The waters nourished him; the deep made him to grow; her rivers ran round about his plantation, and she sent out her channels into all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied and his branches became long by reason of his many waters, when he shot them forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in

the length of his branches, for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him; the fir trees were not like his boughs and the plane trees were not as his branches, nor was any tree in the garden of God like unto him in his beauty. I made him fair by the multitude of his branches, so that all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God envied him."

**Tiglath Pileser II.** (747-745) was the mightiest of Assyrian monarchs, and, owing to his connection with events which are recorded in the Bible, the best known. He endeavoured to complete the conquest of Syria. He attacked the city of Arpad, north of Aleppo, and after three years' resistance it fell into his hands in 740, despite the assistance given to it by King Uziah of Judah and other princes. In 738 he carried off Menahem from Samaria. Phul, mentioned in the book of Kings, may have been the same as Tiglath Pileser. Later, Damascus was conquered and its last king, Rezin, killed. King Pekah of Israel fell before him, and his diminished realm came into the hands of Hosea. Shalmaneser IV. (727-722) was succeeded by Sargon II. (722-705), the strongest and most important of all the great kings of Nineveh. In his first year he captured Samaria, and boasts that he led 27,280 of its inhabitants into captivity. He also carried off to Nineveh King Hanno of Gaza, and 9000 of his subjects, whilst the conquest of Ashdod completed his mastery of the Phoenician coast. He subdued the kings of Armenia, the Medes, and Merodach Baladan, who had usurped the throne of Babylon. In 709 he made a triumphal entry into Babylon, and styled himself king of Sumer and Akkad.

Sargon was murdered in 705, and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib. In his reign, Hezekiah of Judah and the other Syrian princes sought against him the aid of the Ethiopian Tirhaqa, who then ruled over Egypt, and probably defeated him. The Babylonians rose against him, and were supported by the king of Elam. However, with considerable difficulty, he succeeded in re-establishing his authority. The most magnificent of the Nineveh palaces was built by him, and the splendours of his court excited the admiration of the Greeks. He was murdered in

**Esarhaddon III.**

681 by his sons, and was succeeded by Esarhaddon III., who reigned from 681-668. This king succeeded in reconquering Egypt after a terrible march through the desert, in which his army was attacked by twelve hundred snakes

and flies with large wings. Tirhaqa fled to Ethiopia, and Esarhaddon secured the title of king of Upper and Lower Egypt and Ethiopia. His conquest of Syria is celebrated in the sculptured monuments of Nehr-el-Kelb, placed by the side of those of Ramses. Dying of old age, he left to his son Assurbanipal the task of ruling the mighty empire which he had created.

Assurbanipal, better known as Sardanapalus, who reigned from 668 to 625, had first to put down a rising in Egypt, and two years later his empire received a severe shock from the rebellion at Babylon of his brother, Sammuges, who **Assurbanipal.** was supported by Chaldea, Syria, and Palestine, as well as by the Arabians and the Egyptians. He was, however, able by extraordinary energy to establish his authority, and took Babylon after a three years' siege, in which the inhabitants suffered incredible hardships. Sammuges was burnt in an oven, and the rebels were buried alive. The king then entirely subdued the mountain tribes of Elam. He left behind him magnificent buildings, but the stories of his luxury and self-indulgence are false. He was a hero to the last.

The destruction of Nineveh took place under his son Sarakos, and it was he, and not Sardanapalus, who, when he found the defence of the city hopeless, collected his wives and his treasures into the citadel and set fire to it. **Fall of Nineveh.** The prophecy that Nineveh could only fall when the Tigris took sides against it was fulfilled by the rising of the river to an incredible height, which destroyed a large part of the walls. In the year 606 the mighty city was entirely burned, as the condition of its remains now testifies, and the throne of Assyria perished with it. The prophecies of the Hebrew prophets were fulfilled. Nahum could say with truth, "Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria! thy worthies are at rest; thy people is scattered upon the mountains and there is none to gather them. There is no healing of thy hurt; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap their hands over thee; for upon whom has thy wickedness passed continually?"

#### JEWISH HISTORY TO 537 B.C.

The Jews were a branch of the Semitic race, who, leaving their original seat in Mesopotamia, gradually drew towards the south-west, and settled in southern Canaan in the neighbour-



hood of Hebron, and then extended themselves towards Egypt on the one side and toward Sichem on the other. In doing

**Origin of  
the Jews.**

this they cut themselves off from the nature worship which they had practised, and developed the worship of one God, which became, and has always remained, the mark and the strength of the Jews. Abraham, the leader of this wandering, gradually, by treaty and by purchase and by services rendered in war to the neighbouring tribes, became possessed of all lands which

**Abraham.**

he occupied, and it is said that he extended his authority as far as Damascus, Eliezer being his representative in that city. The history of Lot also shows that the Hebrews went to the south of Canaan, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, and occupied the country beyond Jordan. Here we find the Ammonites and the Moabites, tribes closely related in customs and religion to the Hebrews, having either broken off from them, or fallen behind them in their spiritual development. The Ishmaelitic Arabians were also connected with the Hebrews. Indeed, in the Arabian traditions, Abraham is said to have been the founder of Mecca and the builder of the Caaba. The Edomites also are said to have been descended from Esau.

The name Hebrew, meaning the people from the other side of the river, was first given to the family of Abraham by the people of Canaan. We will not repeat here or comment upon the account given in the Bible, which is so well known to us, but rather relate the history of the Jews and of their relations with other nations from the standpoint of the History of the World, with which we are mainly concerned. After Jacob, we find the name Israel, which contained in itself the appellation of God. Whatever may have been the original connection between them, there can be no doubt that Ammonites and Moabites, Midianites, Edomites, and Ishmaelites were all closely connected with the Israelites. They had similar customs, and they all calculated by the number twelve, perhaps originally derived from the twelve signs of the Zodiac, a number also found in the twelve sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother.

Of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt it is difficult to give a clear historical account. There is little doubt that they were

**The**

**Israelites in  
Egypt.**

driven there by hunger, and that Joseph by his wisdom and prudence obtained a high position in the court of Pharaoh. Josephus identifies the Israelites with the Hyksos, and their presence in the country was undoubtedly contemporaneous, but it is impossible to believe

that they were identical. The Hyksos were, as far as we know, a warlike invading people, who laid the land waste and made the people tributary to them, whereas the Israelites were peaceful shepherds, well received by the inhabitants. At any rate their sojourn in Egypt had a great influence over their development.

It is probable that the Exodus took place in consequence of the hard labour to which the Israelites were subjected in the building of the canal, projected by Ramses, for the union of the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, and partly in the building of Pitom, aided also by the danger, felt by the Israelites themselves, that they might become Egyptianised, live in houses instead of in tents, and adopt a settled civilisation. So they departed, taking with them some Semites who had settled in Egypt, and a certain number of the Egyptians themselves. That the Exodus had a religious character is shown by the fact that it was led by Moses and Aaron, who both belonged to the priestly tribe of Levi. The Exodus is recorded in many different ways by different historians, including the Roman historian Tacitus, but they all agree in the fact that it arose from the efforts of the Pharaohs to deprive the Israelites of their free nomad life, and to unite them with the Egyptians in habits of agricultural industry, and living in towns, at the same time endangering their religious beliefs. So they wandered into the desert to seek a new home, pursued by the curses and hatred of the Egyptians, who regarded them as contemptible and unclean. The catastrophe at the Red Sea formed an impassable barrier between them and their oppressors. Their first halting-place was the Ayun Musa, the wells of Moses, about four hours' march from Suez. Then, passing through the wilderness of Sur, they reached Elim, with twelve wells and seventy palm trees. They then approached the mountains of Sinai, travelling through the wilderness of Sur, where they suffered severely from hunger. At Sinai, laws were promulgated for the nation under its new conditions, which remain, even at the present day, the basis of all law for the Jews, and form part of their sacred writings. The code of Moses is similar in many respects to the code of Hammurabi already described. At last they reached the wilderness of Paran, towards Hebron, where they remained for several years. It lies between Egypt, Palestine, and the mountains of Edom, and is now called El Tih. They then went

**The Exodus.**

**The Wanderings in the Desert.**

**The Code of Moses.**

to Kades, where they felt great anxiety as to whether they could penetrate into Palestine in the face of the tribes who opposed them. We do not know how long this condition of things lasted. Forty years is an expression for a generation; the actual wanderings could not have occupied more than three years, and it is difficult to account for the remaining thirty-seven. But the sojourn in Kades gave the opportunity for organising the Israelites for war, and for consolidating the Ammonites and the Moabites into a league against the tribes of Canaan. They were at last able to overcome the opposition of the hostile king of the Amorites, and occupied the pasture land of Gilead and the country west of the Jordan. Moses, however, the second founder of the nation, died before the

**The Con-** entrance into the land of promise. Once begun,  
**quest of** the conquest of Palestine was rapidly effected.  
**Palestine.** After crossing the Jordan, the camp was pitched in Gilgal, and Jericho, a peaceful city, was taken by storm. Then followed the fall of Ai, and both cities were destroyed. The Hivites in Gibeon now entered into an alliance with the invaders. A quick night march of Joshua's saved them from the vengeance of the Amorites. Joshua succeeded in finishing the battle in the valley of Ajalon before darkness came on. The conquest of Canaan by the Israelites has been compared to the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians. In either case the land was newly divided, and the old inhabitants crushed. But, after the first successes, the reduction of the country proceeded more slowly, and the land was divided among the tribes before it could be said to belong to them. They had to complete its subjection by the sword. After the death of Joshua, who was a clever and successful general, the Canaanites again raised their heads and renewed the struggle.

The Israelites held the heights, but the Canaanites, who fought with horses and chariots, defended the plains and the  
**Hebrews** fruitful valleys and occupied the towns. The  
**and** Hebrews, who fought on foot and with simple  
**Canaanites.** weapons, and, even at a later period, had a dislike to horses and chariots, and preferred riding on asses, had some difficulty both in capturing the country and in holding it when captured. They lived for a long time side by side with the native population, and sometimes entered the service of the wealthy merchants on the Phœnician coast. Consequently they lost their cohesion, and matters were made worse, in some cases, by the return of the original owners. The

Israelites never gained possession of the towns on the sea-coast, or of the strong places in the interior. Jebus, later Jerusalem, did not come into their possession until the time of David, and the same is true of Gaza and of many other famous places. We are told that Asher and Naphthali dwelt "among the Canaanites."

The consequence of this was that the Israelites lost their sense of unity, and became a collection of independent tribes, of which Ephraim and Judah were the chief. **Corruption**  
The religious tie became looser. There were **of Hebrew**  
sanctuaries of Jehovah at Gilgal, Bethel, and **Religion.**

Shiloh, but there was no central place of worship, and a kind of idolatry grew up. The Canaanite worship of Baal had its effect, and we find names like Jerubbaal becoming frequent among the Jews. The religion of Moses and the idolatry of the heathen existed side by side. The pure worship of Jehovah became corrupted by sensuality, and the representation of the divinity by carven images made its appearance. It was probably the religion of Moloch which induced Jephthah to sacrifice his daughter. This state of things was declaimed against on the rise of "judges" who defended the worship of the national God. Twelve of them are mentioned, **The Judges.**

but there were probably many more. To them belonged Othniel of Judah, Ehud of Benjamin, Deborah of Naphthali, Gideon of Manasseh. But it became necessary to have a strong and united government. The Philistines, who, in the time of Samson, had subdued Judah and Simeon, now began to attack Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh. The priest Eli was chosen as judge and leader of the people, and he seems **Eli.**  
at first to have answered their expectations. But

when he became old and blind, and his sons fell into bad courses, the power of the enemy increased. They defeated the Israelites at Aphek and captured the ark of God. Eli, on hearing of the disaster, fell from his chair and broke his neck.

In this extremity arose a great judge, Samuel, brought up as a pious child in the temple of Shiloh by Eli. He called the people together at Mizpah, and Jehovah declared himself on his side. The Philistine army was en- **Samuel and**  
tirely destroyed, and the captured towns were re- **Saul.**

covered. But the peace with the Philistines did not last long, and the people clamoured for a king. Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, the son of Kish, the tallest and hardiest among his people, enraged at the excesses of the Ammonites across the Jordan, who, under Nahash, attacked Jabesh Gilead, summoned the

people to him, and, passing the Jordan, defeated the marauders. After this the people assembled at Gilgal, and, after a thank-offering, made Saul king. The reign of Saul is placed between 1080 and 1058 B.C. or, by some, between 1055 and 1033. But, although Saul had been crowned by Samuel, discord inevitably arose between the temporal and the spiritual powers. Saul was, at first, the humble disciple of Samuel, but his victories made him proud, and he disliked the presence of the prophet. Samuel lived in Ramah, and devoted himself to the creation of "schools of the prophets," a body of enthusiastic worshippers of Jehovah and preachers of his religion, whose natural vigour was stirred and deepened by the study of music. Saul lived a patriarchal existence at Gilboa, enjoying his reputation as an heroic king, with his four sons and two daughters, and he favoured the efforts of Samuel in the development of religious zeal, so that men said, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

**David and  
Solomon.**

We need not relate the well-known story of David, familiar to all who attend religious worship, or the sad ending of Saul, whose sun set among the clouds of mental disorder. David reigned for forty years, and his son Solomon for thirty. Hommel places these dates as late as 1000 to 960 for David and 960 to 930 for Solomon. David acquired Jerusalem, and established there the ark of God. When he entered it, he brought rich booty with him, a hundred chariots of war from Hadadezer, golden shields from the conquered towns, and a quantity of copper. He was a mighty ruler, and yet a man after God's heart. He was also the writer of a large portion of the Psalms, although modern research denies him the authorship of many. His son Solomon came like Augustus after Caesar. He did not extend the empire beyond its existing boundaries, but he gave it unity, strength, and power of defence. It extended from the boundaries of Egypt to the Euphrates, from the flourishing town of Thapsacus to Gaza on the Philistine coast. He fortified his army with horses and chariots of war, following the example of Egypt and bringing them from that country. He gave great attention to commerce, especially with Tyre and Sidon and Egypt. Jerusalem became a place of exchange between the east and the west. He made arrangements for the caravan trade, and for that purpose chose the oasis of Tadmor in the desert. Israel, which formerly had only corn and wool to offer, now took part in the general commerce of the world, and, although a large portion of the profit came into the treasury of the king, yet the

people gained both in material wealth and in the happiness and prosperity which accompanied it. In later years the Jews looked back with longing to the happy days of Solomon, when Judah and Israel lived in security, every one, from Dan to Beersheba, under his own vine and under his own fig tree.

The glory of Solomon's reign consisted largely in his buildings, for which, like his father, he employed Phoenician artists and architects. In this he determined to emulate the example of the Egyptian and Babylonian kings. Solomon went to Hiram, king of Tyre, to say that he intended to build a house for Jahve his God, and that for this purpose he was having cedars cut down in Lebanon, and he called Hiram to help him, as none were so skilful in working cedar wood as the Sidonians. The cedar trees were cut down in Lebanon, worked at Sidon, and brought by sea to Joppa, and by land to Jerusalem. From the temple led a magnificent staircase, which the king alone might ascend, to the royal palace. This consisted of three separate buildings, state rooms for public occasions, a house for himself, and a house for his Egyptian wife. The palace was surrounded by gardens and vineyards, and by artificial water works extending a long distance. He also built a fortress, Millo, to fill up the space between Mount Moriah and Zion, the city of David. He also erected country houses in other places, especially in the Lebanon, perhaps the most beautiful spot on the surface of the globe. There was a summer palace on the heights of Lebanon, a vineyard in Baal Hamon, and an ivory tower on the summit of Anti-Lebanon, where the eye could wander over the plains towards Damascus.

Besides this splendour in building, Solomon was celebrated for his wisdom, and his name stood all through the Middle Ages, even down to our time, for the very quintessence of recondite learning and practical insight. He was equally remarkable for the possession of natural and supernatural powers. We are told that God gave Solomon wisdom and much understanding as the sand of the sea-shore, and his wisdom was greater than all the sons of the East and all the wisdom of the Egyptians. He spoke three thousand proverbs, and his sayings were a thousand and five. He spoke about trees, from the cedars of Lebanon to the hyssop that grows out of the wall; he spoke about cattle and about birds, and about worms and about fishes; and people came from all nations and kingdoms to hear the wisdom of Solomon. One of

Solomon's  
Temple.

The Wisdom  
of Solomon.

these visitors was the queen of Sheba, who came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices and very much gold and precious stones. They made each other magnificent presents of very great value, but it is impossible to say precisely where Sheba is. Not inferior to Solomon's wisdom and riches were the splendour of his court and the general prosperity of the capital. We are told that he "made silver in Jerusalem to be as stones, and cedars made he to be as sycamore trees that are in the lowland for abundance." His court and position recall those of Louis XIV. of France at Versailles. But there were shadows in the splendour. The simple patriarchal

**Evils of  
despotic  
Govern-  
ment.**

kingship could not be changed into the despotism of an oriental monarch without serious evil consequences, and Solomon's own character was not devoid of weakness and sensuality. As in Egypt, the public buildings threw intolerable burdens upon the people. In spite of his wealth, Solomon became seriously in debt to Hiram of Tyre, and he was obliged to cede to him, besides large payments of money, twenty wealthy cities on the Tyrian frontier. The tribes became jealous of the commanding position of Jerusalem and of the splendour of its temple. He also offended the prophets. The creation of an absolute kingdom impaired the theocracy which it was their duty to preserve. He was opposed by Ahijah and Shemaiah, as David had been opposed by Gad and Nathan. They did not approve of his tolerance towards the religion of his wives and concubines, nor could they bear to see altars raised in Jerusalem to Astarte of the Sidonians, Milkar of the Ammonites, and Chemosh of the Moabites. Ephraim and the northern tribes became jealous that their altars were neglected. When Solomon was occupied with the building of Millo, he remarked among the overseers a strong young man, who pleased him so much that he placed him over all the workers of the house of Joseph. This was Jeroboam, the son of a widow of Ephraim. To him came Ahijah the prophet from Shiloh, and, seizing Jeroboam's new cloak, tore it into twelve pieces, and, giving him ten of them, said, "This will the Lord, the God of Israel, do; he will tear off ten tribes of the house of David and give them unto thee." Upon this, Jeroboam took up arms against Solomon, but was conquered and fled to Egypt, where he was received in a friendly manner by Sisak, king of Egypt, whom we have already mentioned. He was able to form a conspiracy with his friends, which broke out after Solomon's death.

After Solomon's death, the tribes met at Sichem in Ephraim, and sent for Solomon's son, Rehoboam, then forty years old, born of an Ammonite mother, and asked him to lighten the burdens which his father had thrown upon them. He demanded three days for consideration, and at the end of that time refused to make any abatement of his rights, saying, indeed, that his father had lashed the people with whips, but that he would flay them with scourges. The reply to this was, "What have we to do with David? To your tents, O Israel!" Thus the kingdom was divided. Jeroboam first chose Sichem for his capital, but afterwards moved to Tirza. The essence of the decision lay in the antagonism between Ephraim and Judah, between the old shrines of Bethel, Gideon, and Shiloh, and the new temple of Jerusalem, between patriarchal monarchy and despotism, between north and south. No doubt the national feeling was better exhibited in the ten tribes of Israel than in the small kingdom of Judah, yet Judah eventually won the victory, and it was from Judah that Christ came.

Rehoboam  
—Division  
of the  
Kingdom.

The first step of Jeroboam was to restore the ancient sanctuaries, but he did this by erecting in Dan and in Bethel a temple with the image of a bull, which he introduced from Egypt, and calling upon the people to worship it. He also made priests out of the common people. In this he fell away from the spiritual standard which the best minds of the nation had always followed, and of which they were now in favour. He soon had to undergo the trial of war. The Ammonites and Moabites revolted against Israel, the Edomites from Judah. The Ammonites made an alliance with Damascus and with other tribes as far as the Euphrates, and Jeroboam took up his residence in Punel, in order to attack them.

Jeroboam.

After Jeroboam had reigned twenty-two years he was succeeded by his son, Nadab, but he held the throne for only two years. As he was fighting against the Philistines, and was encamped at Gibeon in the northern tribe of Dan, he was murdered by Baesha, an officer from the house of Issachar, who seized the crown. After killing what remained of Jeroboam's family, Baesha made war against Judah, and entrenched himself in Ramah, where he built a fortress as a defence against the southern kingdom. Upon this, King Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam, procured the assistance of Benhadad

Revolutions  
in the  
Northern  
Kingdom.



of Damascus, who marched into the northern territory around the springs of the Jordan, and checked Baesha in his career. Asa destroyed Ramah, and used the materials to fortify Geba and Mizpah. After Baesha had reigned twenty-four years in Tirza, he was succeeded by his son Elah, but the new king was murdered by Zimri, the leader of half the cavalry, who aimed at the crown and exposed the family of Baesha to the same fate which had befallen that of Jeroboam. The army, however, would not recognise the pretensions of Zimri, and made Omri king in his place. Omri marched against Zimri, who was in Tirza, and pressed him so far that he took refuge in the innermost rooms of his palace, set it on fire, and perished in the flames. Omri, who was a man of considerable tact and intelligence, removed his capital to Samaria, made peace with Judah and Benhadad, and established a commercial union between Samaria and the Phœnician coast. He was succeeded by his son Ahab as king of Israel.

Ahab at first followed in the steps of his father with a view to securing a peaceful and prosperous reign. He married Jezebel, the daughter of the king of Tyre, and came into close connection with the Phœnicians. He erected a charming palace with

**Ahab and  
Jezebel.**

large gardens and an ivory house. This produced similar evil effects to those which we have seen in the reign of Solomon. Jezebel brought in her own religion, and Ahab built a large temple to Baal, served by 450 priests. We must now turn to Judah. Rehoboam had sought to defend his small kingdom by fifteen well-garrisoned fortresses, but in the fiftieth year of his reign

**Rehoboam's  
Successors.**

Judah was invaded and plundered by Sisak king of Egypt, the ally of Jeroboam, an exploit of which we have a representation in the southern outer wall of the temple of Karnak. Rehoboam was followed by Abijah, and Abijah by Asa, who returned to the worship of Jehovah. He strengthened his kingdom internally and without, repulsed an army of Ethiopians and Egyptians who attacked him, and brought back much spoil to Jerusalem. As we have already heard, he was less fortunate in his war with Baesha, but he died full of years and honours, and was long regarded as one of the best kings that Judah ever possessed. He was succeeded by Jehosaphat, who also supported the worship of Jehovah. He built castles and towns and reorganised the army. When the Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites invaded his country and occupied

Engedi upon the Red Sea, he marched against them and defeated them, taking much spoil. Jehosaphat reigned like David and Solomon over all the country down to the Persian Gulf, where he kept some ships of Tarshish. The Philistines did him homage, and even the Bedouins of Arabia gave him a tribute from their flocks.

Under Ahab and Jehosaphat the relations between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah entered into a new phase. The two kings sought to live at peace with the world, and began by living at peace with each other, and their alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Jehoram, the son of Jehosaphat, with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. Unfortunately their union had the effect of introducing the worship of the Tyrian deities, which had already begun in Israel, into the southern kingdom, and the threatened corruption of the people's faith was withstood by the energy of the prophets. We have already heard of the school of the prophets and of the saying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" The prophetic power, which was given in some measure to Saul, was also shared by David, and to a greater extent by Solomon. After the division of the kingdom, the authority of the prophets still continued, mainly perhaps in the north, and we know that the usurpation of Jeroboam was first suggested to him by Ahijah. The prophets always defended the cause of patriotism and of the national religion. For a time it seemed as if the two powers of the king and the prophets would dwell together in peace, but dissensions between them broke out, first in the southern kingdom, and we see King Asa throwing the prophet Hanan in prison. The quarrel reached its height when the splendid sensual worship of Astarte usurped the place of the simple sacrifices of the Jewish people. The prophets, who had not objected to the calves of Dan and Baal, saw with very different eyes the gorgeous and seducing cult of the Tyrian deities. They raised their voice against innovation, and roused the people to opposition.

Jezebel, the passionate consort of Ahab, proceeded to stronger measures. She ordered all the prophets of Jehovah to be slain and their altars overthrown. The defenders of the ancient faith had to flee the country and to hide themselves in caves and deserts. Obadiah, a royal official, concealed a hundred in caves. The greatest of them, Elijah of Tishbi in Gilead, a prophet mighty in word and deed,

escaped to the other side of the Jordan, and concealed himself by the brook Cherith, where, it was said, he was fed by ravens. When the brook dried up, after a drought of three years, he went to a widow living at Sarepta in the land of the Sidonians, where he restored her little son to life. After this he had an interview with King Ahab, who said to him, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" Elijah replied, "It is not I that trouble Israel, but thou and thy house, because they go after idols." He asked Ahab to call together all the priests of Baal, who fed at Jezebel's table, to meet at Mount Carmel, and thus the drought which afflicted the country would come to an end. Then followed the well-known struggle between the power of Baal and the power of Jehovah, which ended in the triumph of the true God. Baal refused to hear the cries of his worshippers; but when Elijah called upon Jehovah fire came down from heaven, consumed the sacrifice, with the wood, and the earth, and the stones which composed the altar, and licked up the water round it. When the people saw this they fell on their faces and cried "Jehovah is God!" Elijah exclaimed, "Seize the prophets of Baal! let not one of them escape!" He took them down to the brook of Kishon, and slew them all. The scene of this notable occurrence lies at the back of Carmel, and is visited by many travellers. Then the long wished for rain descended, and the drought was at an end.

Ahab mounted his chariot and drove to his palace of Jezreel, but Elijah ran on before him and entered the city first. Jezebel swore to avenge her prophets by the death of their murderer, and Elijah had to fly and to hide himself. He lost confidence in his mission, and was deeply depressed until Jehovah appeared and comforted him. Yet he was a prophet indeed, and his words burnt like fire.

The last years of Ahab were troubled with war. Benhadad, king of Damascus, overran Samaria. Ahab was, at first, prepared to submit; but at last his spirit rose, and he summoned his warriors, 7000 strong, placed the young men of the provinces in the front rank, and began the battle. They made a sudden attack on Benhadad's camp, and the king escaped with difficulty. A similar attack was made in the following year, and Ahab, who had Benhadad in his power, spared his life and made a treaty with him, much against the wish of the prophets, who mistrusted him. Their mistrust was justified by Benhadad's refusal to surrender Ramoth Gilead, one of the strong places which were to be given

War with  
Damascus.

up according to the treaty; upon which Ahab and Jehosophat levied war against him. The struggle resulted in the entire defeat of the allies. Ahab behaved with great personal valour, but was slain; and when his chariot, which brought his body to Samaria, was washed in the pool of Samaria, the dogs licked up the blood which ran from it, in fulfilment of Elijah's prophecy.

The good understanding between Israel and Judah continued under Jehoram, the son of Ahab, who succeeded his elder brother Ahaziah after he had reigned two years. He was defeated by Moab, which declared its independence; and another Jehoram, of Judah, who succeeded his father Jehosophat, suffered similar treatment at the hands of Edom. Elijah was now succeeded in his prophetic mission by Elisha. The revolt of Moab and Edom had stimulated Ben-  
Elisha.

hadad to activity, and he besieged Samaria, causing great misery in the town; but he was driven to sudden retreat by the approach of the king of Assyria, Shalmaneser II. A quarrel broke out between Jehoram and Elisha, who had at first been friends, probably owing to the influence of the queen-mother, Jezebel, who still continued to worship her Tyrian deities in Jezreel. Elisha returned to Damascus, where he cured Benhadad of a serious illness. But while he lay on his bed of sickness the king was treacherously murdered by Hazael, who took his place. Elisha stirred up Hazael to make war against Israel, and the battle took place at Ramoth Gilead. Jehoram betook himself, a sick and wounded man, to his palace at Jezreel.

As King Jehoram lay ill in Jezreel, and Ahaziah, who had lately succeeded his father Jehoram as king of Judah, went to visit him, Elisha sent one of his prophets to the camp at Ramoth Gilead to anoint Jehu, the commander  
Jehu.  
of the army, king of Israel. He was accepted by his generals, and drove in haste to Jezreel to establish his authority. He was met by Jehoram and Ahaziah, who, when they were aware of Jehu's treachery, turned and fled. Jehoram was slain by an arrow driven through his heart by Jehu's own hand, and Ahaziah, severely wounded, died at Megiddo and was buried at Jerusalem. As Jehu drove through the streets of Jezreel, Jezebel called out to him from the windows of the palace, "Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?" Jehu ordered her to be thrown down, and the dogs licked up her blood. Jehu sullied his victory by the murder of seventy members of the royal family in Samaria, and exhibited their heads before the palace

in Jezreel. Not content with this, he slaughtered all those who were in any way connected with the house of Ahab, and treated the brothers of Ahaziah in the same manner. He then, by an act of gross treachery, summoned the priests of Baal to a banquet, and when they were assembled put them all to the sword, pulling the house down over their heads. In return for this he was promised that his descendants should sit on the throne of Israel to the fourth generation. In

**Athaliah.** Judah, Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel and the mother of Ahaziah, determined upon vengeance.

She seized the reins of government, and to secure her position murdered the whole of the royal family, excepting Joash, the infant son of Ahaziah, who was saved by his aunt.

The reign of Jehu was worthy of its beginning—it was a time of disaster and disgrace. Israel became tributary to

**Revival of Israel under Jeroboam II.** Shalmaneser II. of Assyria, and all the country in the land of Jordan from Aroer to Bashan fell into the hands of the king of Damascus. Matters became still worse under his son Jehoash, and it

was not till the accession of Joash and Jeroboam II. that the people began to recover confidence. The second of these kings subdued the Moabites, recovered the north and the east, and made friends with Damascus and Hamath. The people of Israel dwelt in their tents as in the days of old. The prophet of this age is the shepherd Amos. Athaliah retained for six years the blood-earned government which she had established in Judah, the only instance of female rule among the Hebrews. She favoured the worship of Baal and Ashur, and the tribes seem to have made little resistance. But the example of Israel was not without influence. Jehoiadah, the high priest, summoned

**Restoration of Joash.** the guards of the temple, exhibited to them the young King Joash, who had been so carefully preserved, and made a plan for his restoration.

On a certain Sabbath, when the porch of the temple was crowded with people, Jehoiadah brought the boy into the temple and had him solemnly anointed. The guards proclaimed him king with the sound of the trumpet, and the people took up their cry. When Athaliah heard the noise of the shouting, she came into the temple, and saw Joash standing by a pillar with the crown upon his head. She called "Treason! treason!" and rent her clothes. The people forced her to return to the palace, where she was slain. They then made their way into the temple of Baal, murdered the priests, and destroyed

its sanctuaries with its statues and altars. Joash remained true to the old faith, and followed the advice and guidance of Jehoiadah.

The young king, however, had his troubles. Hazael, king of Syria, summoned to the assistance of the Philistines in Gath, conquered Judah in the field, and pressed Jerusalem so hard that Joash was forced to buy him off with the treasure of the temple and the palace. So long as Jehoiadah lived, Joash kept in the good path, but after his death he fell into bad courses, and the worship of Baal began to raise its head. When Zachariah, the son of Jehoiadah, rebuked him for this, he caused him to be slain. Eventually Joash was murdered by two of his court officials, and was succeeded by his son Amaziah, who was twenty-five years of age.

Amaziah was fond of war. He attacked the rebellious Edom, defeated the Edomites at Seir, and killed ten thousand prisoners. Elated with his victory, he sent a challenge to Joash, king of Israel, to fight **Amaziah.** against him. Joash was unwilling to accept it, but, Amaziah insisting, he defeated him at Bethshemesh, and took him prisoner. He pulled down part of the wall of Jerusalem, and carried off plunder and prisoners. Amaziah was released from captivity, but was shortly afterwards murdered. Uziah, his son, succeeded at the age of sixteen, and had **Uziah's prosperous Reign.** a prosperous reign, similar to that of his contemporary, Jeroboam II. He restored the old religion, reorganised the army, and rebuilt the portion of the town which had been destroyed. With his invigorated host he subdued the Edomites, reduced the Bedouins to order, and restored the arsenal of Eziongeber on the Red Sea. He fought against the Philistines, and captured Gath and Ashdod. Indeed, he extended the frontiers of the kingdom farther than those of David. He favoured commerce and agriculture. His fame spread far and near, even to Egypt; but all this prosperity and glory did not prevent the prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah from thundering against the corruption of their country. Uziah was succeeded by his son Jotham, who followed in his father's footsteps.

The fortunes of the northern kingdom were in strong contrast to this prosperity of Judah. Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam II., the last survivor of the house of Jehu, was murdered after a reign of six months, and his murderer Shallum was slain after a month's reign by the bloodthirsty Menahem. The

country was in a condition of anarchy; it was threatened by the Syrians on one side and by the Philistines on the other; foreign

**Anarchy  
in the  
Northern  
Kingdom.**

help was necessary to secure order, which some wished to obtain from Egypt, others from Assyria. Menahem determined for Assyria, and procured the assistance of Pul, by the payment of a hundred talents of silver and the promise of a yearly tribute. We learn the terrible condition of these times from the denunciations of the prophet Hosea. Menahem was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, who, after a reign of two years, was murdered by one of his officers, named Pekah, who ascended the throne of Samaria. The evils of his reign are denounced in the prophecies of Zechariah.

King Pekah of Samaria, to resist the threatened onslaught of the Assyrians, made an alliance with King Rezin of Damascus,

**Pekah  
attacks  
Judah.**

but, instead of drawing Judah into the alliance against the common enemy, preferred to reduce her to the condition of a vassal state. King Jotham did his best to withstand this intention, assisted by the fiery patriotism of the great prophet Isaiah. But on the succession of his son Ahaz, matters took a different turn. While the Syrians wasted all the country on the east as far as the Dead Sea, Pekah broke in on the west, and carried women and children, with much plunder, to Samaria. The Philistines occupied Bethshemesh, Ajalon, and Timna, and the Edomites made raids upon the south. Ahaz, the first king of Judah who exhibited a doubt as to the saving power of Jehovah, not only offered sacrifices to the gods who were assisting his enemies, but sacrificed his own son to Moloch. He did even worse than this by calling in the Assyrians against his enemies. He sent

**Ahaz in-  
vokes the  
aid of  
Assyria.**

all the gold and silver out of the temple and the palace to the king of Assyria, and said to him, "I am your servant and your son: come down and help me out of the hand of my enemies, who have arisen against me." Tiglath Pileser answered to his call, conquered Damascus, killed King Rezin, and carried off the inhabitants whom he made prisoners to the river Kur in Media. He then transported nearly half of the ten tribes, Naphthali in the north and Gilead in the east, partly across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, and partly to the cradle land of the Assyrians beyond the Tigris. While the Ammonites took possession of the deserted districts, Pekah ruled over what remained as vassal of the king of Assyria, until he fell a victim to a conspiracy.

Ahaz hastened to Damascus to ask the Assyrian king for his assistance, and robbed the temple at Jerusalem of its remaining treasures in order to reward him. He went so far as to establish the form of Assyrian worship in the holy city. The Jews were forced to become sun worshippers. The indignation of Isaiah was powerless to stop these abuses.

Under Shalmaneser, the successor of Tiglath Pileser, matters became worse. He subdued a large portion of the Phoenician coast, but he could not succeed in taking the island of Tyre, which resisted his efforts. Hosea, the son of the murdered Pekah, was stimulated by

End of the  
Northern  
Kingdom.

the Tyrians to stop the tribute paid every year to Nineveh and enter into negotiations with Egypt, then under the rule of an Ethiopian dynasty. The Egyptians, who saw with dread the growing power of Nineveh, used the Jews as a convenient buffer to stop its advance. Isaiah, with statesmanlike insight, foresaw that the might of Assyria was irresistible, that Phoenicia and Ephraim must fall before it, and that even Egypt could not stand against it.

Isaiah and  
Hezekiah.

The result of this was to make Hezekiah, who had succeeded Ahaz, cautious in his proceedings. When Shalmaneser heard of the intrigues of Hosea, he hastened back to Samaria and threw him into prison. The people rose in rebellion, indignant at the treatment of their king. Sargon took Samaria after a three years' siege, and the people were either enslaved or banished. Some were sent to Egypt, or to Europe; some were sold into slavery, or were carried off to Assyria. Samaria was occupied by new inhabitants. It is probable, however, that more of the original population remained behind than is actually recorded in history.

While this was the fate of Israel, the southern kingdom enjoyed thirty years' rest under the government of Hezekiah, assisted by the advice of Isaiah. Sargon was succeeded by Sennacherib in 705 B.C., and under him the Assyrians proceeded to new conquests.

Assyrian  
Conquests.

They subdued Cilicia, they overthrew Philistia to the frontiers of Egypt, they conquered the Arabian tribes to the south and east of Jordan. Hezekiah strengthened Jerusalem against the threatened attack, repaired the walls, strengthened Millo, and built an aqueduct. Then he withheld the yearly tribute paid to Nineveh, and sent to Egypt for assistance. Isaiah was entirely opposed to these proceedings, and the event proved him to be right. Sennacherib hastened to exact vengeance for



this treachery. Hezekiah tried to buy him off with all the treasure that he could collect, but in vain. Sennacherib insisted on the surrender of the capital, and Rabshekeh, the

**Sennacherib** king's chief butler, was sent with a division to  
**threatens** attack the city. Then followed the wonderful  
**Jerusalem.** catastrophe which fired the imagination of the

Jewish chroniclers and is immortalised in the verse of Byron. The insults heaped by Rabshekeh on the power of Jehovah roused the wrath of the Jewish population and the patriotism of Israel. Hezekiah took Sennacherib's letter into the temple, and invoked the assistance of his God, not in vain. Just as inevitable destruction seemed impending over the holy city, the invading army disappeared as if by magic. The retreat was probably due to the news that Nineveh itself was threatened, but we cannot wonder if future generations ascribed the marvellous salvation to the hand of an avenging angel who wrought destruction upon the invading army.

In the year 697 B.C., Hezekiah was succeeded by his son Manasseh, a boy of twelve years old, who occupied the throne

**Manasseh.** for fifty years. He deserted the religion of  
 Jehovah for the worship of the sun. He per-

secuted the prophets who resisted him. This produced a condition of civil strife which exhausted the strength of the country, and we are told that Manasseh was carried off to Babylon in chains, but the historical dates of these events are not very trustworthy. The worship of Jahve revived again

**Reign of  
 Josiah.**

under the reign of Josiah, the son of Ammon and grandson of Manasseh, a child of eight years old, whose reign lasted from 640 to 609. In his reign occurred an invasion of the savage Scythians, who laid land and cities waste, and drove the inhabitants of Canaan to take refuge in caves and forests, a prophecy recorded in the writings of Zephaniah. In his reign also the book of the law, which had been lost, was found by the high priest Hilkiah, in the temple, and was read to the people, who entered into a solemn agreement to observe its precepts. The spirit of this reform is to be found in the book of Deuteronomy.

Unfortunately these reforms were hindered by the outbreak of new wars. Assyria was hastening to its fall. The Medes

**Battle of  
 Megiddo.**

and the Chaldeans were advancing against it, threatening Nineveh. Josiah took advantage of the opportunity to recover Samaria, and to restore the worship of Jahve. At the same time, Egypt began to

extend itself under Necho, and Josiah endeavoured to check him. A great battle took place in the plain of Megiddo, and Josiah was entirely defeated. The king was mortally wounded, and carried, as a corpse, in a chariot to Jerusalem. The prophet Jeremiah wrote lamentations over him which remained long in the mouth and memory of the prophets. This was indeed the end. Josiah was succeeded by his younger son Shallum, but when Necho heard of it he summoned him to his camp at Riblah and

**Judah  
subject to  
Egypt.**

sent him in chains to Egypt, where he remained for the rest of his life. He was succeeded by his elder brother, Eliakim, who, taking the name of Jehoiakim, reigned as a humble vassal of Necho. The king of Babylon was now Nebuchadnezzar, who, in the year 606, had entirely defeated Necho in the battle of Carchemish. As soon as he had leisure he directed his force against Canaan and besieged Jerusalem. Jehoiakim died, and was followed by his son, who is called by the double name of Jehoiachin or Jeconiah. After three months he

**Battle of  
Carchemish  
—Judah  
subject to  
Babylon.**

fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who carried him off to Babylon, and then plundered Jerusalem not only of the treasure which remained in it, but of all its able-bodied population, 7000 in number, its armourers, smiths, and carpenters, its priests and prophets, amongst whom was Ezekiel. The miserable relics of the nation were enlisted to the cause of Josiah's third son, Mataniah, under the name of Zedekiah, who took the oaths and preferred the security of vassalage.

The great prophet of this unhappy age was Jeremiah. As the material power of Judah sank, her spiritual strength and insight rose to a height of fervour which has since dominated the religious minds of all ages, a striking evidence of the fact that matter is indeed nothing, but spirit is everything.

**Jeremiah—  
End of the  
Kingdom of  
Judah.**

Egypt now began to raise her head under King Hophra, who entered into communication with Zedekiah and stimulated him to rebellion. Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who was in exile, supported him in this policy, but Nebuchadnezzar was prompt in action. He invaded Judah with a large army, and laid siege to Jerusalem. Jeremiah prophesied failure, but the Jews continued their resistance. All was in vain. Zedekiah fled from the city by night, but was captured in the plain of Jericho. A large number of Jews went to Egypt, accompanied by Jeremiah, who, however, had protested against this exodus into Egypt

instead of out of it. A residence near Pelusium was assigned to them by Hophra; many of them also settled in Memphis. Five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, the few Jews who remained there joined the Ammonites and Moabites in an attack on the Chaldeans of Phoenicia, but they were entirely defeated, and the ruin of the country was complete. Jeremiah spent the rest of his days in Egypt, and it is said that he met his death by being stoned by his countrymen.

We must now turn to the exiles in Babylon. It is not known what became of the ten tribes of Israel. England, **The Jews** America, and many other places have been put **restored by** forward as the seat of their refuge, but it is **Cyrus.** certain only that, wherever they went, they lost all traces of their origin. After the fall of Babylon, Cyrus sent the Jews of the southern kingdom back to their country. Ezra tells us that the train consisted of 736 horses, 245 mules, 435 camels, and 6720 asses. They set out in the year 537, forty-eight years after the destruction of Jerusalem—42,361 free people, 7337 servants, all under the leadership of Zerubabel. Some members of the ten tribes may have accompanied them. After six months' travel, they reached the holy city. They found their country deserted, but their first care was to rebuild their temple and to create a new Jerusalem. The Samaritans offered to take part, but they were not allowed to do so. The restoration took many years under different leaders, and the work was not completed until the middle of the fifth century before Christ, chiefly by the exertions of Nehemiah and Ezra.

## CHAPTER V.

### MEDES AND PERSIANS.—GREECE AND THE PERSIAN WARS, 780-479 B.C.

THE centre of the Iranian tableland is a great salt desert without drinkable water, and without habitation, very hot in summer, and almost uninhabitable. Agriculture is only possible in a few places where there is water. In other parts, Iran is only habitable on its edges.

**The Table-land of Iran.**

A large portion of it has been scarcely visited by Europeans. The district inhabited by the Persians is of a different character. It has a moderate temperature, and plenty of rain. An ancient traveller says of it: "Here reigns a mild climate: the country is full of plants and well irrigated meadows. It bears plenty of wine and all other plants, except the olive. It possesses fruitful pleasure gardens; rivers with clear water and lakes irrigate the land. Horses are bred there, and beasts of burden, and the woods are full of wild animals." The most important of the Persian races were the Pasargadae, the Maraphians, and the Maspians, living mainly in "hollow Persis"—that is, in the valley of the Araxes and its tributary the Cyrus. The religion of Zarathrusta, the Zendavesta, became the property of all the settled tribes. On the other hand, the worship of Mazda was introduced into Media in the eighth century. The Magi were a priestly cast of the Medians. They practised the custom of having their dead consumed by dogs and vultures, whereas the Persians buried their kings. The Persians make their appearance in history at the beginning of the sixth century. In 596, the Achaemenid Theispes, of the tribe of the Pasargadae, conquered a large part of Elam, with its capital Susa. It became subject to the Median kings, of whom Deioces founded in 780 the capital Ecbatana, and was succeeded by Phraates, Cyaxares, and Astyages. In 553, Cyrus the son of Cambyses rose against Astyages, overthrew the Median empire, and, in a little more than ten years, subdued the whole of Asia Minor. His son Cambyses added the valley

**Persians and Medes.**

of the Nile to his possessions. An attempted usurpation of the Magi, which threatened the existence of the Persian empire, was put down by Darius, who grasped the reins of government with a firm hand.

There is no doubt that Persia was a mighty and well governed empire, as may be gathered from the impression which it made on men like Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Xenophon, who saw it at its prime. The sovereign was undoubtedly the king of kings. Aeschylus says that he might claim to reign over all men from sunrise to sunset, and evidently considers him the monarch of the whole world. And it was the maxim of the dynasty, as taught by Ahuramazda, to practise right and punish wrong—to reward friends and chastise enemies. The Medes held the first place in the empire next to the Persians. Cyrus adopted the Median dress and ceremonial. Ecbatana was a residence of the great king. It was soon found that Susa, in the fertile plain of Elam, was the best site for the seat of government. The custom was to dwell in Ecbatana during the hot summer months, to remove to Babylon for the winter, and to pass the spring in Susa. But Persia always remained a national state. However far its kings might reside from their native country, however motley a crowd of nations they might rule over, they never forgot whence they came. They were always buried in Persepolis. Autocratic sovereigns, they were attended by a council, who were treated with great honour. Indeed, the members may have considered themselves as the equals of the king. Judges were appointed by the king, and the office was sometimes hereditary. The first duty of a Persian was to love his king. Every capable man obeyed the king's summons to arms—the rich man on horseback, the poor man on foot. The young Persian nobles were educated at the court, not only in manly exercises, but in the arts of government. The duty placed before them was to do right, and to speak the truth. At twenty years of age, they entered either the army or the public service.

The king became very rich and spent freely, giving to his friends not only money but independent military commands and portions of territory. The Persians were a

**The King.** people healthy, strong and beautiful, religious, brave and loyal, generous and merciful in war, in contrast to the brutal Semites. Although they were fond of wine, they only had one meal a day. They had a special horror of debts and lies. The kings were not regarded as gods like the Pharaohs

in Egypt, but they stood high above their subjects. Their relative position was that of master and slave. Before the king, the subjects threw themselves into the dust. Any one speaking to him had to conceal his hands: the slave who worked his punkah was not allowed to breathe upon him. He wore a highly raised tiara. He dined alone, except on feast days. He always appeared in a carriage with a large escort. The days of his birth and his accession were kept as holidays, celebrated with huge banquets with compulsory attendance. In a lion hunt, any one throwing a spear before the king was punished by death. He had a large harem. Marriage between near relations being considered honourable, it was common for him to marry his own sister. Darius married several of the daughters of Cyrus, and one of them, Atossa, who had previously married Cambyses, was the mother of the crown Prince. There was a very large court and a number of eunuchs. The King's personal doctor generally came from Egypt or from Greece. The kings had large domains called parks, or paradises, which are frequently mentioned in Xenophon.

Government was administered by a huge bureaucracy. In all important discussions, the king was assisted by seven councillors. The king was the supreme judge, **System of** the fountain of punishments and of rewards. **The Govern-** highest honour was to be styled a "benefactor," **ment.** to receive a robe of honour and a horse of honour, together with land and subjects in private property. A law once promulgated by the king could not be altered. The government was carried on, according to the old oriental practice, in writing. The official language was Persian, but other languages were employed in different districts, for instance, in the west Aramaic, which had taken the place of Aryan as the language of commerce and diplomacy. In contrast to the numerous small provinces of the Assyrian empire, Cyrus established large provinces, governed by satraps, called in Babylonish, pashas.

Cyrus divided Lydia into two provinces with the respective capitals of Sardis and Daskylium. Media was also formed into two satrapies; Armenia formed one; Egypt, together with Libya and Crete, formed a single **The** province. The satraps had to provide for order **Satrapies.** and security in their provinces, to put down any attempt at rebellion, to punish thieves and robbers. Cyrus' greatest praise for a satrap was when any man might travel through his district wherever he pleased without danger. He was the chief judge

in civil and criminal matters. He had also to raise the taxes, and to see that land was properly cultivated. To exercise these functions, he had troops of his own and a sturdy body-guard. Indeed, his position was almost royal, and was frequently hereditary. The court of the satrap was a copy of the court of the king, and was very large. When Nehemiah, in 445 B.C., was governor of the small province of Judaea, a hundred and fifty prominent Jews dined at his table, and there was provided for them a bullock and six sheep, as well as bread and wine. The satrap of Babylonia had a stable of 16,000 mares and 800 stallions, and four villages for the support of his hounds.

We must not overlook the fact that, in the Greek republics under Persian influence, the government was in the hands of

**The Greek** a resident, called by the Greeks a tyrant, that  
**Subjects of** is, irresponsible ruler, who for his own interest,  
**Persia.** combined with the interests of Persia, secured the obedience of the community. He paid the tribute to the empire, and commanded the army and navy, but in other respects the community was left to govern itself. These republics had their own coinage, weights, and measures; they had their own town council and could levy taxes at their pleasure, and their own troops. But the Persians gradually rased their walls. They possessed a limited autonomy, but they could not forget that they were not really free.

An important mark of civilisation was the existence of the great roads which met at Susa. The chief of them was the

**Roads.** King's Road which led from Ephesus and Sardis to the capital. It was an ancient road of commerce, which, starting from Sardis, in the valley of the Hermon,

passed on to the table-land of northern Phrygia, and then over the Halys to Pteria in Cappadocia: then, crossing the Euphrates, it went through Armenia and Assyria, and then along the Tigris to Susa. Another road went from Babylonia through the Zagros mountains to Lebanon, and thence to the frontiers of Bactria and India. These roads were measured by parasangs, and were kept in good repair. On the King's Road there were, at equal distances, posting houses and inns. Gates also were erected at convenient places, so that no one could pass without being recognised. The king's orders were conveyed by postilions riding day and night; "quicker than horses," as the Greeks say. There was also telegraphic communication by fire signal. The satraps were not left to themselves, but were kept

in order by inspectors, called the king's eyes, men of high rank who paid unexpected visits. There was, undoubtedly, an elaborate system of espionage, but the empire was held together by a strong feeling of national pride. So long as the king commanded the confidence of his nobles and his people, he was certain to be obeyed by his troops.

The Persian empire united in itself two methods of using gold and silver as means of exchange, one employing coins, the other bars of metal, or rings and other pieces which could be weighed. Coins were, after a **Coinage.** great struggle, introduced in Phœnicia and Carthage, but were scarcely found at all in Egypt and Babylon. After all, coins had only a legal circulation in the places where they were coined: elsewhere they must be valued by weight, and the bars were almost equally serviceable. In other parts barter alone prevailed. We find coins used on the Indian frontier, but in Persia itself money was very scarce, and was only found in large gold pieces. Coinage began with pieces of gold and electrum which could be easily carried about: the making of coins of a smaller value belongs to a later period. Into these arrangements Darius introduced a thorough reform. He made a new gold coin, a stater, of the value of a little more than a sovereign. It showed the image of the king on his knees shooting from a bow. Besides this there was a silver shekel of the value of a little more than a shilling, twenty silver shekels making one gold daric. The silver mina contained a hundred silver shekels or five darics, and was worth something more than five pounds. The silver talent was worth three hundred darics, and ten silver talents were equal to one gold talent, which was worth about £3500. Gold became the standard in the Persian system of coinage, and this had a great influence over the whole of the civilised world. Copper was coined according to the requirements of each town.

The subjects of the crown naturally paid taxes. Herodotus tells us that in the days of Cyrus and Cambyses the amount of the tribute was not fixed, but the subjects brought presents as they pleased. The government was **Taxation.** assisted by the huge amount of spoil derived from successful wars. Darius saw that a different system was required, and that an organised taxation was necessary. He therefore determined the tribute to be paid by each of the twenty large satrapies, which depended upon the value of their respective territories. Herodotus reckons that the whole of the tribute paid



amounted to about a talent a day, that is, about £1,250,000 a year. But tribute paid in kind was not given up. Cappadocia gave every year 1500 horses, 2000 mules, and 50,000 sheep; Media about twice as much. Besides this, presents were made of carpets, robes, tents, sofas, gold and silver vessels, thousands of arms, beasts of burden, vegetables, silk, and pickled meat. Besides these resources the crown also took tolls for the use of the roads, and the products of mines and forests. The tribute thus paid was kept in treasure-houses, the gold and silver being cast in ingots. The expenses of the court were enormous. Fifteen hundred persons dined at the king's table every day: a thousand animals were slaughtered daily for the king, and their carcasses divided amongst his guests. What they could not eat they took home. A name for a Persian official was one who ate the king's bread and salt.

The present population of the Asiatic provinces of Persia is about thirty-five millions, but in ancient times it was un-

doubtedly larger. If we add the six or seven millions of Egypt, the empire cannot have held less than fifty millions. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Persia itself, that is, the province of Persis, did not exceed half a million. The general rule of the Persians under Cyrus over their subjects was mild and tolerant, like that of the British in India. The practice of the transplantation of whole populations from one district to another, which was common amongst the Assyrians and Babylonians, was seldom exercised, and when it was, the people, like the Jews, were frequently sent back again. In religious matters, great regard

**Religious Policy.** was felt for the native beliefs. Cyrus told the Babylonians that he regarded Marduk of Babel as their king. Cambyses and Darius performed sacrifice in the temples of Babylon and Egypt. Sacrifices were made in the name of the Persian king to the God of the Jews, to the gods of Greece, and to all the gods of the surrounding tribes. They not only believed and favoured the religions of their subjects, but they built and endowed temples for their gods. This policy of toleration, which now forms a part of every wise government of dependencies, undoubtedly began with Cyrus. He gave back to the Jews the vessels of the temple, which had been plundered by Nebuchadnezzar, and he ordered it to be rebuilt. Artaxerxes gave privileges to the Jewish priesthood, and established their authority over the people. Darius had already done the same in Egypt.

It was against this mighty empire, thus firmly constituted, that the Greeks had to exercise their strength. Since the fall of the Lydian empire, the Greeks of Asia Minor had been subjects of the Persians. Samos had been captured by Darius, Barka by Aryandes. The eastern part of the Mediterranean had become a Persian lake. The ships of the peoples of the coast were combined into a great imperial navy, in which Phoenicians and Greeks vied with each other for the favour of the great king. Miletus was now the chief of the Ionian island cities, and was governed by Histiaeus, who was the leader of the Greek contingent in the war against Scythia. He was considered to be the most trustworthy of all the Persian vassals, a position due to his faithful guardianship of the bridge over the Danube. It would indeed have been madness if he had acted otherwise. His object was to pass as the foremost man in the Greek world. The king, warned by Megabazus, invited him to the court, and his place was taken by his son-in-law, Aristagoras.

In order to make our narrative clear we must now go backwards. The Medes had remained for five hundred years under the rule of the Assyrians, chiefly famous for their breeding of horses, when, as we have already mentioned, they declared in 780 their independence under Deioces, and built a new capital, Ecbatana. His successor Phraates (655-633) continued the struggle against the Assyrians, but was defeated. Under the rule of his son, Cyaxares (633-593), Media was devastated by Scythian nomads, and kept in subjection for twenty-eight years. But Cyaxares not only succeeded in getting rid of the invaders, but in 606 B.C., in conjunction with Nabupolassar, king of Babylon, he destroyed Nineveh and thereby increased his own possessions. He is regarded as the founder of the new Median empire. He subdued the Persians who resided in Pasargadae and Persepolis, and extended his dominions as far as the Halys. His successor Astyages (593-529) married his daughter Mandane to a Persian prince, and their son Cyrus (558-529) was the founder of the Persian empire, of which we have already given a description.

In 549, Cyrus crossed the Halys and captured Sardis, the capital of Lydia, which was governed by the wealthy Croesus, the friend of the Athenian lawgiver Solon, who had warned Croesus against the instability of human fortunes. The con-

quest of Lydia made him master of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor. He then turned his attention to Babylon, which

**Conquests  
of Cyrus  
and Cam-  
byses.**

he subdued in the reign of Belshazzar, otherwise known as Nabonetus, and became master of Syria, Palestine, and Phoenicia. This was in 539 B.C. The way to Egypt now lay open before him, but his designs against it were interrupted by another invasion of the Scythians; he fell at the river Jaxartes in a battle against the Massagetes, and the conquest of Egypt was left to his son Cambyzes (529-523). He was succeeded by Darius (522-485), but before mounting the throne Darius had to put down a rebellion of the Medes, who set up one of their number as a false Smerdis to represent the brother of Cambyzes, who had been murdered by him. Darius was the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid noble. He strengthened his position by marrying Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and his admirable government of his dominions has been already related.

The narrow strait of the Bosphorus and Hellespont made no halting place for a conqueror's enterprise, and Darius now

**Darius  
invades  
Europe.**

carried his operations into Europe. Miltiades of the Chersonesus became his vassal: the Greek towns on the Black Sea submitted. Although the Scythian enterprise was a failure, Darius succeeded in organising the Greek towns on the southern coast of Thrace. Byzantium, Chalcedon, and Antandros were conquered by the fleet of Otonos. Lemnos and Melos were subdued: the army of Megabazus occupied Perinthus and the northern coast of the Aegean. The Persians acquired the fruitful country of the Strymon, with the gold mines of Pangaeus and the silver mines of Dysorus. Amyntas, king of Macedon, was forced to give earth and water to the great king. The Persians strengthened their possessions with numerous forts. An attack upon Greece became imminent, and we must now consider in what condition that country was when it had to undergo the trial.

#### HISTORY OF GREECE TO 479 B.C.

There is no doubt that the Greeks came into the country occupied by them from the north, but the accounts usually given of the division of their tribes and of subsequent invasions is of little or no historical value. When they arrived in the Balkan peninsula they were nomads. Flocks of sheep and goats were their most

**The Early  
Inhabitants  
of Greece.**

precious possessions, giving them milk, cheese, and clothing. They were divided into tribes, each governed by a king who was both judge and leader in war, and was assisted by a council of old men, who stood between him and the assembly of the free people. Their first advance in civilisation came from their connection with the East, and gave rise to what is known as the culture of the Mycenaean age, which undoubtedly was derived from that of Troy, and is deeply penetrated by the influence of Egypt and Babylon. The first place among the princes of the Mycenaean epoch was occupied by the rulers of the Argive plain, the chief towns of which are Mycenae, Troezen, and, especially, Argos. Next came the lords of Thebes and Orchomenus, and also Thessaly. Athens and the eastern coast of Greece occupied a position by themselves. The Trojan war, whatever may have been its cause, exhibits Mycenaean civilisation at its highest point. Without this it would have been impossible for an expedition of such magnitude, composed of heterogeneous elements, to take place at all, still less to have a successful result. Military expeditions were also undertaken against Sardinia and Egypt.

**The Mycenaean age.**

To this succeeds the age of Greek colonisation. New homes had to be found for the surplus population of a niggardly country, and the extension could only be made by sea. The first great stream of Greek colonisation belongs to the Mycenaean period, following the usual course into the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. The settlements in Cyprus are the natural consequences of the expeditions against Egypt and Syria in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries. Cyprus owes its civilisation partly to its mines of copper, partly to its position between Asia Minor and Phoenicia, and not far from the mouth of the Nile; early mariners who needed to rest in a safe harbour every night could not neglect so convenient a halting-place. In Cyprus, the culture of the East and West mingled as they did nowhere else. We do not know where its inhabitants originally came from. We find there Trojan, Babylonian, and Hittite influences. The king of Cyprus also paid tribute to Pharaoh, and it was undoubtedly closely connected with Syria. At the same time it played no merely passive part, but exercised a considerable influence over both Syria and Greece. Another stream of colonisation proceeded from northern Greece, stretched in the first instance towards Lesbos, the colonists bearing the name of Aeolians, the origin of

**Early Greek Colonies.**

which is unknown to us. Another stream consisting of Ionians came from Middle Greece, and occupied the islands of the Aegean and the coast near to them. It is generally agreed that they proceeded mainly from Athens, but it is probable that other parts of Greece were associated with her. We may lay down as a general truth that the first epoch of Greek colonisation should be placed in the years 1300–1100 B.C. It is the culmination and also the close of the first period of Greek history.

The next fact that meets us is an invasion from the north, known in legends as the return of Heracleidae and in history as the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus. The

**The Dorian  
Invasion.**

Dorians are believed to have been originally settled in northern Thessaly, and this is probably true, but whether they entered the Peloponnesus as a body or filtered into it gradually, it is difficult to say. At any rate, from their time dates a new era. The power of nobles and of certain select families increases; towns and municipal governments make their appearance; kings of the old type disappear, and their place is taken by an aristocracy. A new kind of colonisation appears which we may place in the eighth century, directed towards the Hellespont, Pontus, and Cilicia, as well as to Sicily and Italy. A new era begins in the seventh century. The democracy and the power of the towns become developed; the military state of Sparta arises; new laws are passed corresponding to new social exigencies. Literature reaches a high standard of excellence, in the elegy, in Iambic verse, and in lyric poetry. We find also tyrants or autocratic sovereigns in Ionia and the Lydian empire, in Corinth, Sicyon, and Megara. This is the age of Solon, who, be-

**Solon.**

coming archon at Athens in 594 B.C., found himself entrusted with the duty of solving the question of a new social order, and drawing up a new code of laws. The future of the country lay in his hands. He is the first Greek statesman with whose personality we are well acquainted, and he has left an account of himself in his own poems. Above everything, he sought after moderation. He was no radical, but an intelligent statesman who knew what he wanted to obtain, and the way to obtain it. He enjoyed unbroken cheerfulness and power of enjoyment to an advanced age. His first duty was to rescue the peasantry from a condition of hopeless debt. He abolished all debts which were secured on the land or on the person of the debtor, and declared them illegal for the future. He also

bought back at the public cost many citizens who had been sold into foreign countries. These proceedings were revolutionary, but they were carried out without bloodshed. The democracy would have preferred a division of the country and the plundering of the great land-owners, but Solon left them in the possession of their estates, though, at the same time, limiting their use of them.

To this period also belongs a further stage of Greek colonisation, and the foundation of the power of the Carthaginians and the Etruscans. The most important colonies were founded in the Black Sea. The towns of "Great Greece" in Italy, on the coast of Naples, as well

**The Greek Colonies.**

as Cyrene, entered upon a period of great prosperity. Sybaris, Croton, and Metapontum became world renowned. Milo, the prize-fighter, was the special glory of Crotona, having gained thirty-one prizes in the four national games, and, indeed, no town in Greece possessed so many Olympic victors. Sybaris did its best, but probably preferred spiritual to animal culture, and from this the name Sybarite has come, very unjustly, to be used as a term of reproach. A similar development took place in Sicily. Agrigentum was founded in 580 B.C., and the whole south coast fell into the hands of Dorian colonists. A great part of the west coast of Italy fell into the hands of the

Etruscans, so that the sea which washed it received the name of Tyrrhenian. They made continual war on the Greeks. They aimed at the possession of Corsica, as the Carthaginians aimed at Sardinia. These two powers formed an alliance, and in the year 540 B.C. made a joint attack on the colony of Alalia in Corsica, which had been founded by the Phocaeans. Although the event of the battle was doubtful, the Phocaeans were compelled to evacuate their town, and retreated to Rhegium in the south of Italy. The battle of Alalia was the first important blow struck against the development of Hellenism, and the Phocaeans, who had founded Marseilles, fell from their high position.

**Greeks, Carthaginians, and Etruscans.**

While the Carthaginians, the Etruscans, and the Dorian cities in Sicily were contending together in unrest, the East, in the middle of the sixth century, seemed to be in a condition which promised a long duration of peace, as the large powers had found a condition of equilibrium. The advance of the Medes had been stopped by Nebuchadnezzar; peace reigned between Egypt and Babylon;

**The East in 550 B.C.**

Amasis had returned from the conquest of Syria. The development of Sardis under Alyattes and Croesus had reached its goal: Miletus was at the height of its prosperity, which was shared by Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Attica was extending her territory, having incorporated Eleusis, annexed Salamis, and established herself in the Hellespont. Sparta was aiming at supremacy in the Peloponnesus, chiefly by its victory over Tegea. Indeed, the military community of Sparta was by far the strongest power in the Greek world, and foreign powers began to make alliances with it. Croesus sent gold for a statue of Apollo, and Amasis a breastplate; both powers desired the assistance of Sparta for their wars in Asia.

Cyrus rose against the Medes in 553, and in 550 Astyages fell into his hand. All the powers banded themselves against the upstart—Neboned of Babylon, Amasis of Egypt, Croesus of Lydia, who had secured the help of the Spartans. In 546, Croesus advanced into Cappadocia, with an army as yet unconquered. Cyrus drove him back, and followed him, and, before any of his allies could come to his assistance, completely defeated him, the Lydian cavalry being terrified at the Persian camels. A fortnight later, Croesus fell into the hands of Cyrus, and the great Lydian empire was at an end. This is one of the great crises

<p><b>Fall of the Lydian Empire.</b></p>	<p>of history. Croesus, the noble, benevolent, generous prince, suddenly fell from his elevation, and remained ever afterwards to the Greeks an emblem of the mutability of fortune. The result was that, about 545 B.C., the whole of the mainland of Asia Minor was subject to the Persians. This had a profound effect on Grecian life. The Lydians were so closely connected with the Greeks that</p>
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<p><b>The Greeks of Asia Minor.</b></p>	<p>they could easily mingle with them; the Persians were entirely different. The great king was afar off, and was represented by officials who had no sympathy with republican governments. So the Asiatic Greeks became discontented, and left their country. The Phocaeans went first: the Chians founded settlements at Marseilles and Alalia. The Teians went to Abdera; Bias of Priene proposed that the whole Ionian race should leave Asia Minor and found a settlement in Sardinia. But this scheme, which might have changed the face of the world, was not carried out.</p>
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Cyrus became master of Syria and the Phoenician coast after the fall of Babylon in 539, and died in 529. Cambyzes

completed the conquest of the East by the conquest of Egypt in 525. Then followed an interval of twenty years, which was occupied by the creation of a Persian fleet and by preparation for the attack on the West. It was also the epoch of the development of Athens.

**The Persian Peril.**

The mastery of this city which Pisistratus had won for himself in 561 was not of long duration; he was driven from the country by a combination of the nobles and the people of the coast. Ten years later he returned with a large army, landed at Marathon, and, supported

**Athens under Pisistratus.**

by Thebes, defeated the Athenians at Pellene. In 545 B.C. he established a strong government resting on the support of the peasants in the mountains. His rule was prosperous. He supplied Athens with water, and built many temples. He favoured commerce and founded colonies. He established a kind of monarchy which was superior to party, and lived on the Acropolis like the ancient kings. His position resembled that of the Italian princes of the Renaissance. The nobles were attracted to his court. He kept the form of the old constitution and preserved the law courts, but took care to keep all power in his own hands. The loss of political freedom was compensated by the increase of material prosperity. Pisistratus died peacefully in 528 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Hippias. Notwithstanding his large colonial possessions, he did not create an Athenian navy, but he established close relations with the islands of the Aegean, especially with Samos. This island, the queen of the Aegean, had been acquired by force and fraud by the chief possible rival of Pisistratus in the Grecian world—Polycrates—who had an army of a thousand archers and a fleet of a hundred and fifty oared ships, and whose reign was brilliant in every respect.

The balance between these conflicting powers was held by Sparta, which had risen to a position of great authority. She was the strongest military power in the Grecian world, and was rightly regarded as the sword of

**Sparta.**

Greece, having the last word in all disputes. She did her best to avoid foreign complications and to confine her attention to the Peloponnesus. She established a Peloponnesian league, a confederacy of a very loose character, a type of those leagues which came afterwards. The constitution of Sparta was peculiar; there were two kings, belonging to two different houses, and five ephors, who were originally civil judges but attained great political power. Even the kings were obliged



to appear in their courts. They naturally restricted the limits of the royal power, a fact which was deeply resented by the kings of the house of Agis.

In the meantime literature and art flourished greatly under the family of Pisistratus. The founder had done a great deal for religion. Besides building on the Acropolis, where he lived, the Erechtheum, which may be regarded as a family shrine, he erected there a new temple, a hundred feet long, for the purpose of the Panathenaic festival. He introduced into Athens the worship of the Olympic Zeus and the Pythian Apollo. He made in the market place an altar to the Twelve Gods, and built a temple to Dionysus, and was the founder of the huge shrine of Demeter in Eleusis. He also established the great Panathenaic festival and the cult of Dionysus, which was the origin of the Athenian theatre. His younger son, Hipparchus, took poetry under his especial protection. He invited to Athens Anacreon of Samos and Simonides of Ceos. He favoured Lasos of Hermione, who was the inventor of the choric part of the Athenian drama and the first student of musical theory. To this age belong the beginnings of Greek tragedy, which has exercised so profound an influence over the art of the world. Also the sculpture of this time, which we style archaic, was a worthy forerunner of the great school of Pheidias.

The autocratic governments of this time, glorious and magnificent as they were, were put an end to by the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes, and the consequent fall of the Egyptian monarchy. The fall of Polycrates followed as a natural consequence. When Darius Hystaspes had established his authority in Persia and crushed the Magi, he wielded his power with a firm hand, and became master of the Ionian coast. Political life was dead, but literature still survived. Memorials of this age are the writings of Anaximander of Miletus, of the historian Hecataeus, of Heraclitus of Ephesus, and Hipponax of the same city, who in his bitter satire represented faithfully the unhappy circumstances of his time.

A natural result of these events was the fall of the house of Pisistratus. In 515 Darius crossed the Bosphorus, subdued Thrace, and attacked the Scythians. Miltiades, the governor of the Chersonesus, became his vassal, and even Hippias did homage to him. In 514 a plot against the Pisistratids by Harmodius and Aristogiton caused the death of Hipparchus; but Hippias resisted

**Art and Literature in Athens.**

for four years longer, and it was not till 510 that Athens could be called free. Then Harmodius and Aristogiton became the heroes of the democracy; their statues were erected in the market place; their descendants were feasted at the public expense in the Prytaneum, where songs were duly sung in their honour. Unfortunately, Athens owed her freedom not to a rising of the people, but to the efforts of exiled nobles, supported by the assistance of Sparta. However, Cleisthenes placed himself at the head of the people and introduced a new constitution, corresponding to the new state of things, and **Constitu-** aiming at the entire destruction of the power of **tion of** the nobles. The old tribes, which were based on **Cleisthenes.** strict family connections, were abolished, and ten new tribes brought into existence, founded not on race but on population and habitation. The territory was divided into three sections, the city, the coast, and the interior, and by an ingenious arrangement each of these parts was represented in every tribe. The fiction of blood relationship was kept up, each tribe being presided over by a divinity. The unit of political organisation was the deme. Each of these villages, large or small, possessed a form of self-government and had a demarch at its head, who was responsible for the list of the citizens, each of whom bore the name of his deme. The children of settlers and slaves might become citizens. The ancient phratries still existed, chiefly for religious purposes. The upper chamber or Boule was increased in number from four hundred to five hundred, fifty from each tribe. In 502, ten strategi or generals were chosen from each tribe, who, with the third archon, called the polemarch, formed a council of war, the command of the army changing from day to day. The ancient court of the Areopagus preserved much of its power. The archons were elected by vote, and only the richest citizens had access to the higher offices. A meeting place for the popular assembly was provided in the Pnyx. In order to prevent the recurrence of despotism, a system of ostracism or banishment was introduced by which a dangerous citizen might be compelled to leave the country. This was first used in 487.

Attica thus became a democracy, a country governed for the people and by the people, with a constitution of which those who partook of it were proud, and which was admired **Athenian** by those who lay outside it. It rested on the **Democracy.** broad foundation of the middle classes, and was, therefore, in a later age regarded as conservative. This

momentous change was effected not without severe political conflict, but without bloodshed. A number of emigrant nobles joined Hippias, hoping to return by the aid of the Persians. But Athens was for the time set free from the *stasis*, the strife of parties, which was the ruin of so many Greek states. The popular party had never failed in having men of noble birth at its head, Solon the Medontid and Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonid, and they were supported by many of their own rank. The nobles still retained their landed property, and this strengthened the material and intellectual position of their city. For at least a hundred years more the people saw in their aristocracy the chosen leaders of the government, and they on their side were ready to devote their property, their capacity, and even their lives to the service of their country.

The struggle which had been so long impending between the Persians and the Hellenes broke out in consequence of the Ionian revolt. The aristocrats were driven out of Naxos and found a refuge in Miletus, where they were well received by Aristagoras. He proposed to Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, who was satrap of Sardis, that he should conduct an expedition for their restoration, and in consequence, in the spring, a fleet of five hundred ships sailed against Naxos. The expedition ended in disaster, and the position of Aristagoras was threatened. He determined to meet the danger, and to lead a rebellion against the Persians. He saw that his only hope lay in the support of the democracy, so he laid down his aristocratic position and placed the government of Miletus in the hands of the popular assembly. The spirit of rebellion spread to the whole of the west coast and to the islands; the democracies were restored, leaders chosen, and troops collected. Aristagoras sought assistance in Sparta and Athens. Sparta, with some hesitation, refused; but the Athenians, confident in the strength of the Cleisthenian constitution, sent to the Ionians twenty ships under the command of Melanthus. It was strange that they did not see that this small force was insufficient to do any good, but would inevitably draw down the wrath of the Persians upon the head of Athens.

In the spring of 499, the insurgent troops, together with the forces sent by Athens and Eretria, marched upon Sardis. Artaphernes defended the citadel, but he could not prevent the town from being burned. The Ionians, however, were soon compelled to retreat, overtaken at Ephesus, and defeated. The

Athenians and Eretrians returned home. In the meantime a Phœnician fleet, manned by Cilicians, sailed to attack Cyprus, which had joined the insurrection. The Persians gained a decisive victory in the plain of Salamis, and it was of little use that on the same day the Ionian fleet defeated the Phœnicians at sea. Cyprus fell entirely into the hands of Persia. Persian forces were now advancing on all sides against Miletus. Aristagoras died in 496, and Histiaeus, whom Darius had sent to Miletus to quell the insurrection, met with a melancholy end, three years later. The Phœnician fleet which had operated against Cyprus now made its appearance in the Ægean, strengthened by additions from Egypt, Cilicia, and Cyprus. The Ionians collected what ships they could lay their hands on in a large bay, close to Miletus, shut in by the island of Lade. For some time the two fleets watched each other in idleness, but, when the decisive moment came, the ships of Samos sailed home and were followed by the Lesbians and others. The rest of the fleet was destroyed after a brave resistance, and Miletus was first besieged and then stormed in 494 B.C. In the following year the insurrection was put down. The inhabitants of Miletus were carried off in exile to the Tigris, and the country given up to Persians and Carians. Mardonius, who was sent to Asia Minor as Persian governor in 492, adopted a popular policy, and established democratic constitutions.

**Burning of  
Sardis.**

**Battle of  
Lade.**

It is at this time that we first hear of the founder of the Athenian naval power, Themistocles, the son of an Athenian father and a foreign mother, a man of extraordinary ability but contemptible private character. Themistocles saw that it was absolutely necessary to meet the Persians at sea, and when he became archon, probably in 493, took the first step towards the foundation of a fleet by making the harbour of Piræus. In the same year Miltiades came to Athens with a large following and a plentiful supply of money. The arrival was not popular with the political chiefs, but the populace saw in him their chosen leader against the Persians. He believed that he could withstand the Persian attack with the Greek phalanx, but he had no respect for the naval plans of Themistocles. The hoplites naturally belonged to the ruling classes, but the fleet was manned by men of a lower class, who would, in return for their services, demand political rights, and so

**Athens and  
the Persian  
Peril**

the question of defence by land or sea became affected by political considerations.

Mardonius made elaborate arrangements for the attack upon Greece. His first attempt failed partly through the difficulty of marching through Thrace, partly through the destruction of his fleet in rounding the promontory of Mount Athos. The command of a new army was now given to a Median, Datis, who was accompanied by Artaphernes, a nephew of Darius. His army was much smaller than that of Mardonius, certainly not more than 20,000 men and a few cavalry. The ships were used merely for transport.

Datis set out from Samos in the summer of 490. After passing Naxos and sacrificing to Apollo in Delos, he reached Eretria, which he occupied and destroyed. He then sailed to Attica, and landed in the plain of Marathon. The Athenians were taken by surprise, and had to depend upon their own resources. They sent to Sparta for help, which could not come for a long time, but a thousand Plataeans joined them on the field of battle. Miltiades collected a force of ten thousand hoplites; but had neither light armed troops nor cavalry. The rich men who had horses gave them up, and served as hoplites. The Athenians were full of patriotism, but were terrified at the number of their enemies, their appearance, and their reputation for being invincible. Could not the struggle be deferred?

Miltiades was convinced that it must be decided now or never, and persuaded the polemarch Kallimachus to march to Marathon. Yet for several days the armies remained in position, the Greeks fearing to fight in the plain, the Persians desiring it. At the same time, the Persians could not wait, and they heard that the Spartans were approaching. Datis determined to attack, and Miltiades prepared to receive him. He was not able to pursue the usual Greek tactics of outflanking the enemy, but he strengthened his wings as much as he could at the risk of depleting his centre. As soon as the Persians came within striking distance, he ordered an advance at the double, and a violent struggle took place between man and man. The Persians broke through at the centre, but the Greeks conquered on the wings, and were then able to unite and restore the balance in the centre. The Persians fled, and were driven into the marshes in the northern part of the plain, where most of them escaped to their ships or threw themselves into the sea. The Athenians captured seven

**Persian  
Prepara-  
tions.**

**The  
Persians  
in Attica.**

**Battle of  
Marathon.**

ships, while Datis sailed away with the rest. It is said that the Persians lost 6400 men, the Athenians 192.

Datis hoped to round Sunium and renew the attack at Athens, but he soon found that this was impossible, and he sailed away to Asia. The Spartan contingent of 2000 men arrived shortly after the battle, but they could only visit the battle-field and offer congratulations. The Athenians were indeed covered with glory, and the name of Miltiades was in every mouth. It was not likely that the Persians would give up the task they had set themselves, but the preparations for it would occupy several years. Besides, in 486 B.C. there was a rebellion in Egypt, and in the autumn of 485 Darius died and was succeeded by Xerxes, the eldest son of Atossa. In 484 Xerxes succeeded in recovering Egypt, and in the following year he began his preparations for the invasion of Greece.

In the meantime, Miltiades had died. An ostracism took place in 487 by which Hipparchus, son of Charmos, was exiled, and a similar fate befell Megacles, the son of Hippocrates, in the following year. The constitution was now altered, so that the archons were chosen by lot, thus becoming mere officials, and a considerable step was made towards pure democracy. The people became sovereign. They were, indeed, checked by the Council of five hundred, which was chosen from the three richest classes, but its members too were chosen by lot, as were also its president and his council. The Areopagus had a most conservative influence. It consisted of men of weight and experience, chosen for life; it was independent of the popular assembly, and had the duty of protecting the laws against violation. It also had a certain authority over finance, and in some respects resembled the Senate of Rome. However, the fact remained that political power was placed in the hands of the people, and that the Areopagus had little but a retarding authority. The people had full power of decision, though none of initiative. The principal safeguards against unrestricted democracy were the strategi or generals. These were chosen for their merits, and they had the privilege of attending the council whether elected to it or not.

Xerxes began his preparations for the expedition against Hellas in 483. He took every precaution against its being unsuccessful. Mardonius again assumed the position of chief

adviser. Army and fleet were to co-operate together. In order to avoid the dangerous coast of Athos, a canal was cut through the isthmus, which took three years to make. Bridges were thrown over the Strymon and the Hellespont. Stores of provisions were laid down, ships were built, and munitions collected. The army had orders to assemble in Asia Minor in the autumn of 481, in order to begin operations in the following spring. No expedition of the great Napoleon was more carefully and thoughtfully organised.

Xerxes found a good deal of support in Greece itself. The nobles of Thessaly and Thebes were on his side, as well as Argos. Demaratus, king of Sparta, and the Pisistratidae accompanied the expedition. If Gelon, king of Syracuse, who had a powerful fleet and great treasure, had been able to assist Athens, it might have been a cause of great difficulty to Xerxes. But, unfortunately for the Greeks, an alliance was made in 480 between Persia and Carthage, so that the whole of Eastern civilisation, from the Atlantic to the Indus, was banded together for the destruction of Hellenism in the person of Athens. In the presence of danger, the Athenians pursued an energetic naval policy.

**Naval Policy of Athens.** Aristides was ostracised in 482, and Themistocles was given a free hand in building his fleet.

It was to consist of 200 triremes, of which 180 were completed, each of them costing a talent, paid for by the state from the produce of the mines of Laurium. The ships were small and undecked, and could only hold fourteen hoplites and eight archers. They were manned by 7000 rowers, taken chiefly from the thetes, the lowest class of citizens, with perhaps a few *metoeci* and selected slaves. A corps of light armed bowmen, composed also of thetes, was added to the force of hoplites. By the policy of Themistocles, Athens was now the possessor of a fleet far superior to that of Corinth, Aegina, and Corcyra, and probably to that of Gelon. But, in creating the fleet, Themistocles had also founded the democracy of Athens. Old aristocratic traditions were broken up for ever. The horny hands to which were entrusted the oar which was to save the community could no longer be excluded from voting in the ballot-box.

In the autumn of 481 Xerxes sent to all the Grecian states, with the exception of Athens and Sparta, a demand for earth and water, the refusal of which would be his pretext

of war. How was the Hellenic world, which stretched, a scattered and unorganised collection of states, from the Rhone to Cyprus, from the Crimea to Cyrene, to meet this danger? The burden of its defence fell on Athens and Sparta alone. Even the Delphic oracle failed in this crisis to inspire a patriotic courage. A congress of Hellenic states was held in the Isthmus of Corinth, to form a league for the purpose of self-preservation. The names of the states who attended it are engraved on the bronze serpent pillar which was once at Delphi, but is now at Constantinople. Besides the two great leading states it contains the names of Euboea, Colchis, and Eretria, of many of the Cyclades, of Thespieae and Plataea, of the Corinthian colonies of Leucas, Anactorium, and Ambracia, of the Phocians and other small colonies of Middle Greece. It was resolved that the states which surrendered to the Persians should in case of victory, be devoted to destruction, and their property divided among the allies after paying a tithe to the Delphian deity. The command of both fleet and army was entrusted by the congress to the Spartans. But fortunately the ephors of the day were wise and generous enough to leave the burden of the defence to Themistocles and the fleet, and to keep the army back in a position of reserve.

Xerxes left Sardis in the spring of 480, crossed the bridge over the Hellespont in May, marched along the coast of Thrace, and reached Salonica in July. Here he met the fleet, which had passed safely through the Athos Canal.

**Advance of  
Xerxes.**

We may assume that the army did not number more than 100,000, and that the fleet, perhaps over a thousand at full strength, did not at Salamis largely exceed the force of the Athenians. The Greeks at first intended to occupy the pass of Tempe, but it was soon seen that this could not be defended. It was therefore determined to sacrifice Thessaly, and to take up a position at Thermopylae, where the sea between Euboea and the coast of Thessaly makes a narrow fiord, which rendered the action of the Persian fleet impossible at its mouth. On the south side of the fiord, beyond the mouth of the Spercheios, the spurs of Oeta run down to the sea, and leave space only for a narrow road. A small body of men occupying Thermopylae might delay the land army for a few days, and give time for the decisive naval battle. The Grecian fleet, commanded by the Spartan Eurybiades, took up a position at the north of Euboea, between the promontory of Sepias, which forms the southern extremity of the Magnesian



coast, and the island of Skiathus. Thermopylae was occupied by King Leonidas of Sparta, with an army of 4000 Peloponnesians, among whom were 300 Spartiates; together with 700 Thespians from Boeotia, 400 Thebans, and a few others from Locris and Phocis—an army quite sufficient to defend the pass. The Persian fleet met on the coast of Magnesia with a terrible storm which raged for three days, and destroyed on those iron shores about 400 ships. The two fleets and armies

**Battles of  
Thermo-  
pylae  
and Arte-  
misium.**

now stood opposed to each other, Xerxes before Thermopylae, the fleet before Artemisium. On the fifth day, Xerxes attacked the position of Leonidas, and the Greek fleet advanced against the Persian. The Persians had attempted to send a detachment of their fleet round through the Euripus to attack the Greeks in the rear, but a heavy storm ruined all their combinations. The two battles lasted long without any success on the Persian side, but Xerxes at last succeeded in crossing the mountain and surrounding the Greeks. Leonidas and his Spartans determined to defend the pass till the last man, and, if necessary, to die at their posts. Indeed, the last survivor perished on a hill which commanded the entrance to the pass. The sea battle was indecisive, but the Greeks suffered serious losses, and determined to preserve their remaining ships for a more favourable occasion. When the news of the catastrophe of Thermopylae arrived, they retreated at night through the Euripus and reached the Ionic Gulf. The Greeks had failed both by sea and land, but the heroic death of Leonidas and his Spartans had strengthened their determination and inspired them with the resolution to conquer or to die.

The victories of Thermopylae and Artemisium left central Greece open to the army of Xerxes. They brought him many friends, including the oracle of Delphi, whose guardians were afraid lest their temple should be plundered. The only defensible point was now the Isthmus of Corinth, where a strong Peloponnesian army assembled under Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas. Greece, north of the isthmus, even including Athens, was surrendered to the enemy. Of the Athenians, the women, children, and slaves took refuge in Salamis, Aegina, and Troezen, the men went to man the fleet. Only the poorest part of the population was left behind, and fortified themselves in the Acropolis. When they refused to surrender, the rock was stormed by the Pisistratid emigrants,

and the temples were burned. In the meantime the Greek fleet assembled at Salamis. The losses of Artemisium had been repaired, and Aeschylus, who was present, reckons the number of the ships at 310. Their position prevented a Persian advance upon the isthmus, because the invaders would be exposed to an attack on both flank and rear. The hearts of the mariners sank within them when they saw the Persian fleet anchored in Phaleron, and the smoke rising from the ruins of the Acropolis, but, under the influence of Themistocles, they held a firm countenance.

But would the Persians risk a sea battle?—would they not prefer to land immediately in the Peloponnesus? There was a great deal to be said for this, and perhaps it was the wisest course. But Xerxes felt that if the

**Battle of  
Salamis.**

Greek fleet were destroyed, the war would be at an end, and he determined to attack. To strengthen his resolution, Themistocles sent him a crafty message that the Greeks were discontented and inclined to run away, and that he would have an easy victory. He therefore gave orders at night to close up all passages and to begin the attack in the morning. The Grecian fleet was posted in a bay on the east coast of the island, enclosed by a tongue of land on the north, which was separated by something less than a mile from the mainland, and on the south by a ridge about two miles long, bearing the name of Cynosura, the little island of Psyttaleia lying between them. Thus the sea between Salamis and the mainland was almost entirely enclosed, and turned into a sound about three miles long and a mile broad. This sound was in the night completely enclosed by the Persian ships, drawn up in three lines. The island of Psyttaleia was occupied by Persian troops, with the object of seizing the shipwrecked Greeks, and the small bay between Megara and Salamis was also occupied in order to prevent the Greeks from escaping. The king took up his position on Mount Aegaleos to see the issue of the fight. At daybreak on September 28, 480, the whole Hellenic fleet advanced with shouts of battle to attack the enemy, the right wing led by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians, who were opposed to the Phoenicians. The battle was not long in doubt. The Persians, embarrassed by their numbers, and crowded into a close position, were quite helpless, although they fought bravely under the eyes of their king. They had no chance; the sea was full of wrecks and corpses; the Athenians, taking the lead on the left wing, drove the disabled

vessels into the arms of the Corinthians and Aeginetans on the right. Aristides destroyed the troops in Psyttaleia with Athenian hoplites and archers. When, after the battle had lasted twelve hours, night put an end to the conflict, the Persian fleet was entirely destroyed, and the freedom of Hellas was secured.

Themistocles advised the pursuit of the Persian army and the destruction of the bridge over the Hellespont, and, though the bridge had been destroyed already, the appearance of the victorious Greek fleet on the coast of Asia Minor would have dealt a death-blow to Persian supremacy. But his advice was rejected by the allies, and he thought it too dangerous to lead the Athenians by themselves. Hence the fruits of the victory of Salamis were, to a great extent, lost. Xerxes determined to retreat. Cleombrotus thought of attacking him, but was prevented by an eclipse of the sun, which took place on October 2. We are told that on the very day of Salamis a battle of nearly equal moment took place in Sicily. Here the Carthaginians had collected a large army of mercenaries, Phoenicians and Libyans, Sardinians and Corsicans, Iberians from the Ebro, Ligurians from the Alps. They were under the command of Hamilcar, son of Mago, the creator of the

**Battle of  
Himera.**

Carthaginian army. In the spring of 480, this army landed at Panormos, and marched on Himera, which lay towards the east. The Greeks gained a complete victory, the Carthaginian army was annihilated, and Hamilcar met his death. The position of the Greeks in Sicily was secured: Hellenism had prevailed over Semitism.

In 479 was fought the battle of Plataea, but, before this took place, Themistocles, the blue water champion, was deprived of his command, and his old enemy,

**Battle of  
Plataea.**

Aristides, established in his place. At the end of June 479, Mardonius advanced against Attica, hoping to win over the Athenians to his side, but Aristides was staunch. The Spartans hesitated for a long time, but determined at last to cross the isthmus and to attack Mardonius. He was compelled to retire into Boeotia, having first laid waste the country. The army of Athens under the command of Aristides joined the Spartans in the plain of Eleusis. After many changes of fortune, which we have not space to recount, the Greeks gained a complete victory. Mardonius fell with the flower of his Persians, and the rest fled. The camp of the Persians was stormed, and booty beyond belief fell into

the hands of the Greeks. Pausanias gained a victory which has immortalised his name. The struggle between lance and bow was decided, and the supremacy of the disciplined hoplites assured. While Pausanias and Mardonius stood opposed to each other at Plataea, the fleet of Leotychides left Samos for the coast of Asia. The Persians were afraid to risk a sea fight; partly warned by the result of Salamis, partly because they could not trust their Ionian allies, they determined to send the Phoenician ships home, to march to Mycale, and there to intrench themselves. The Persian army at Mycale was under the command of Tigranes. The Greeks advanced to the attack apparently on the same day as the battle of Plataea. The Persians fought bravely, but their officers had lost their heads and Tigranes fell. The Persian army was destroyed, and the fleet burned. The flame of insurrection burst forth in Ionia, the tyrants were overthrown, and the Persian garrisons driven out. The impossible had taken place. The onslaught of the mightiest sovereign in the world and his Carthaginian allies had been shattered by the heroic resistance of a small portion of the Hellenic nation, and the crisis of the world's history had been decided.

**Battle of  
Mycale.**

## CHAPTER VI.

### HISTORY OF GREECE, 478-387 B.C.

IN the spring of 478 the fleet of the Hellenic League crossed the sea under the command of Pausanias. Aristides and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, commanded the Attic contingent. The

#### Liberation of Cyprus.

Greek towns of Asia Minor had been really set at liberty by the battle of Mycale, so the fleet went to Cyprus, where it had little difficulty in performing the same office for that island. It was still more important to open the Black Sea to Greek commerce and to liberate the straits which led to it. Pausanias took Byzantium,

#### Pausanias at Byzantium.

and spent the winter there. It was soon found to be a mistake to entrust the command to the power which had the smallest fleet. But Pausanias felt himself to be the military commander of Hellas. He

surrounded himself with a bodyguard of Persians and Egyptians, and assumed the dress of an Eastern sovereign. The Ionians who had been set free from one tyranny would not submit to another, and they finally joined the Athenians. The rest of the Greeks, with the exception of the Peloponnesians, followed their example, and Pausanias was recalled. The

#### The Delian Con- federacy.

Spartans made the best of a bad job. The result of this was the formation of the Delian confederacy, which was organised on the principle that the states comprising it should pay money instead of a contribution of ships. The treasury was placed in Delos, and the accounts were to be kept by a commission of ten. Aristides fixed the sum required every year at 460 talents, that is, about £120,000, and decided what portion of it was to be contributed by each member.

The first object of the league was the entire expulsion of the Persians from Europe. It was only natural that a confederacy of this kind could not be carried on without a certain amount of jealousy and suspicion, and Athens had to use force in keeping her authority over Naxos, Erythrae, and Colophon. In

Athens, after the battles of Plataea and Mycale, there was a truce to party strife. The city seemed disposed to enjoy her greatness, to glory in her past, and to look forward with hope towards the future. The return of the emigrant nobles was regarded as impossible ; the original statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton had been carried off by Xerxes to Susa, but new statues were erected in their place. Phrynicus and Aeschylus vied with each other in representing the victory of Salamis on the stage. The bones of Theseus, the founder of Athens, were brought by Cimon in triumph from Scyros to Athens. The people were reminded that Menestheus, an Athenian, had fought with distinction in the Trojan war, and that his name had been immortalised in the Iliad, the Bible of the Greeks, and that the Athenians were autochthons—the original inhabitants of the soil, not imported from elsewhere. But amongst so active-minded a people the cessation of party spirit could not last for long.

**Position of Athens.**

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was the undoubted leader of the constructive party, but he soon found an antagonist in Themistocles. This statesman had remained behind in Athens, leaving the foundation of the Delian League to Aristides and the conduct of the war to Cimon, which rather increased than diminished his influence. Cimon was a most attractive personality. Tall, with a copious crop of hair, full of the lust of life, a friend of wine and sport, but yet not a stranger to culture, generous with his princely fortune, decorating the city with groves and buildings, which were open to all, he was the undisputed master of the state. Themistocles was a complete contrast to this. An interloper amongst the nobles, stingy with his wealth, in manners rather repellent than attractive, he was marked out for the leader of an opposition, and a ground for party differences was found in the support or denunciation of the war against Persia. Themistocles turned his eyes towards the West, and called two of his daughters Italia and Sybaris. He wished to place the commercial prosperity of Athens upon a broader basis, to make peace with the East, to seek new developments in the West, and to prepare for the inevitable conflict with Sparta.

If Sparta was to retain her supremacy in the Peloponnesus, it was necessary for her to secure the assistance of Athens, and for the purpose she supported the party of Cimon. Themistocles was ostracised in the spring of 470 ; the Athenian fleet lent its aid in driving the rebellious Pausanias out of Byzan-

tium, where he had established himself as a forerunner of Wallenstein. He was denounced by the ephors, and was at last starved to death in the temple in which he had taken refuge. Letters from Themistocles were found among Pausanias' papers, and the Spartans determined on his destruction. He was accused of high treason and condemned. He was hounded from city to city by the two rival states, who now acted together for the last time. At last he fled to the court of Susa, where in 465 Artaxerxes had succeeded the murdered Xerxes. At length he died at Magnesia in the valley of the Meander; his bones were brought back to Athens and secretly buried there. He was, in many respects, the greatest statesman of his time, and he has left a permanent impression upon the history of the world; but he had not the strength or the good fortune to secure himself by the attainment of a dominant position against the attacks of those who detest genius and originality, and who hate rather than admire qualities and capacities which they do not possess themselves.

The great battle of Eurymedon, won by Cimon against the Persians, was fought in the autumn of 466. It was an attempt to secure Lycia and the south coast of Asia Minor against Persian domination. Cimon had increased the size of the triremes and covered them with a deck, so that they were superior to the Phoenician vessels. Cimon gained a great victory both by sea and land, and carried home enormous booty. The result was the entire destruction of Persian pretensions and the making of the Aegean into an Athenian lake. The extent of the Delian confederacy was

largely increased. In a single generation Athens had been transformed from a mere province, with a few possessions outside, into the ruler of an empire extending over the whole of the islands and coasts of the Aegean as well as the passage of the Hellespont, with a definite and energetic policy which could set its face against the widely extended power of the great king. This had a powerful effect upon the social position of the city. Athens dominated the commerce of a large portion of the world: Pontus, Sicily, Italy, the northern coast of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Cyrene, and their trade was protected by her powerful fleet. Carthage alone had an independent position. The Piraeus was, next to Carthage, the principal port of the Mediterranean. Athens was crowded with foreigners seeking commercial

gain. It became the chosen home of culture. Its praises were sung by Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar; philosophers took up their abode in it, especially Anaxagoras of Clazomenae; Polygnotus of Thasos, the great wall painter, came to live in Athens, together with his pupils. Attic art became famous throughout the whole of Greece, and crowds from every part of the Grecian world thronged the Dionysian and Panathenaic festivals. Attic drama became the model for all dramatic art; the plays of Phrynicus and Aeschylus were performed in Sicily. Towering above all stood the genius of Pheidias, the creator of a new idea of Pallas and of Zeus. When the people of Elis had completed their temple of Zeus in 455, they wished Pheidias to make the great ivory and gold statue of the "Father of the Gods." The city itself assumed a new appearance. Cimon had planted the market-place with plane trees, and had adorned the groves of Academus with stately walks and open spaces. A colonnade was built in the market-place, which Polygnotus decorated with paintings at his own expense. He represented there the battle of the Amazons, the destruction of Troy, the battle of Marathon. Athens was connected with her harbour so as to make a single city. The Acropolis was made into a mighty shrine for Pallas Athene, the tutelary goddess of the city. A great temple was begun for her, the completion of which was deferred by political differences for ten years.

The government of Athens still lay in the hands of the well-to-do, but the prosperity of the country had been caused mainly by the successes of the fleet, which was manned by the working classes. Victory, even on land, had been mainly owing to the fleet and the proletariat. Agriculture lost its prosperity by the importation of foreign corn. It was found more profitable to grow vegetables, and the chief article of export was olive oil. Athens, like England, had to live on the produce of foreign countries, and therefore the command of the sea, especially the entrance of the Hellespont, which secured the control of the Crimea, became a matter of life and death. The great land-owners lost their position; the town took the place of the country, commerce of agriculture; artisans became masters of factories, shopkeepers became merchants, money-lenders became bankers. It is calculated that in the year 460 the Athenian citizens numbered about 60,000. The employment of capital became necessary to meet the increased complexity of social needs. The usual interest was 12 per cent.,

Political  
and  
economical  
position of  
Athens.



but in case of sea risks this was increased to 20 per cent. or even 33 per cent. During the Peloponnesian war, the usual wage was a drachma a day. As all citizens were required to serve in the fleet or in the army, the *metoeci* and the freedmen, who were generally artisans, became more numerous than the citizens. Foreign slaves were also purchased in very large numbers. Next to Chios, Athens had more slaves than any other city in Greece. The result of this was that the citizens were gradually withdrawn from manual labour, and yet they required servile assistance both for their own comfort and for their financial prosperity. There naturally arose two parties, one the party of wealth and position, who wished things to remain as they were, the other the party of progress, who wished for radical changes; and the struggle raged, as has always been the case in England, round the question of altering the constitution.

The first object of the radicals was to get rid of the Areopagus, which was a strongly conservative institution. It was, like the House of Lords in England, the great hindrance to democratic advance. Of the two parties, whose views were very similar to those held by the corresponding parties in England, the conservatives were probably the more numerous, but the liberals were better organised. After the ostracism of Themistocles, Cimon was the foremost man in Athens, and after the death of Pausanias there was no one in Greece who could compare with him. But he was an aristocrat from head to foot, the born champion of the conservative party. He also desired the preservation of the Delian confederacy, friendship with Sparta, war with Persia, and a moderate treatment of the allies. Themistocles had been

Policy of  
Cimon.

overthrown by a coalition between Cimon and the Alcmaeonids, but, its object obtained, this unnatural alliance came to an end. A powerful leader, one of the greatest statesmen of all times,

Pericles.

now began to make his appearance. Pericles, son of Xanthippus, was on the spindle side the great nephew of Cleisthenes. His political teacher is said to have been Damonides of Oa, a man of great ability, who combined the teaching of theory and practice. Under his influence Pericles became gradually the political successor of Themistocles. He joined himself with the remnants of the Themistoclean party, the foremost of whom was Ephialtes, the son of Sophonides. We know little about his personality except that he was an honest man of blameless character, but one who

supported democracy with a fiery zeal which earned the hatred of his opponents.

The struggle between the two parties seems to have begun after the battle of Eurymedon, when the absence of Cimon from Athens for three years gave his enemies **Attack** an opportunity. Ephialtes commenced with an **on the** attack upon the Areopagus. When Cimon re- **Areopagus.** turned to Athens he found that his popularity was diminished, and that he was suspended from his office. However, the attack upon him, in which Pericles took a prominent part, failed, and he was again elected strategos for the next year; indeed, in the summer of 462, he was allowed to lead a large force to assist the Spartans against the Messenians. His absence gave Ephialtes an opportunity which he did not hesitate to use. He proposed to deprive the Areopagus of its political power. A law to this effect was passed. Ephialtes was shortly afterwards murdered, which shows the bitterness of the conflict. When the Spartans knew that the radicals had conquered in Athens, they distrusted the presence of Athenian hoplites in their country, and feared lest they might make common cause with the Messenians. They were therefore anxious for their departure, and asked Cimon to withdraw, although the need of their presence was as great as ever. This behaviour of the Spartans confirmed the victory of the democratic party at Athens. When Cimon attempted to repeal the law passed about the Areopagus, he was ostracised in 461, and had to leave Athens.

A number of radical measures were now passed, the principal of which was the payment of all officers appointed by lot, including the members of the council and the **Complete** judges. Judges for each action were chosen by **Democracy** lot out of a number of 6000, who changed every **established.** year, to which every citizen of good character could be admitted. As each court contained several hundred judges, thousands received the pay on every day that the court sat. Their pay was two obols, that is, threepence, but it must be remembered that those offices which required skill and education for their conduct were still unpaid, such as the office of general. The theory was that all ordinary offices imposed mere duties of routine, which one citizen could perform as well as another, and on this principle even the third class—the zeugitæ—became eligible for the archonship. Other measures of a democratic character were also passed. The functions of the Areopagus were partly

assigned to the Boule, which had very important duties—that of deciding what measures should be introduced into the popular assembly, the supervision of all officials, and the care of the finances. It had also charge of the police; it could impose fines, and in some cases inflict the punishment of death. But the main duties of the Areopagus fell to the share of the Heliaea, who had the care of the laws and complete control over the executive, having to subject public officers to examination both before the acceptance of office and on laying it down, and, in conjunction with the Boule, to revise the laws every year and to see if they required alteration, so that the council and the judges became the chosen representatives of the government. The government of the people by themselves existed in Athens as it had never existed before in history. The Ecclesia, the assembly of the people, was the supreme authority in the state. But the weakness and the mobility which are the dangers of a democracy were limited and checked by a number of ingenious arrangements which, so long as they kept their validity, were fully efficient for their purpose. Athens was ruined, not by its democratic institutions, but by the arrival of unprincipled men to power.

As we have before said, in the summer of 465 Xerxes was murdered by his grand vizier, Artabanos, his later years having been spent in lust and idleness. Darius, his eldest son, was accused of being privy to the crime, so he was killed by his younger brother Artaxerxes, who assumed the crown. The Athenians thought this a good opportunity for an attack upon their hereditary enemy, and in 409 they sent an expedition to Cyprus, which proceeded thence to Egypt, sailed up the Nile, destroyed the Persian fleet, and took Memphis. A war broke out between Argos, the democratic ally of Athens, and Mycene, in which the Spartans assisted Mycene, but they were defeated with the help of the Athenians at Oenoe. The victory was recorded on the painted colonnade by a picture which was a pendant to that representing the battle of Marathon. Great hopes were excited by the alliance between Argos and Athens. Mantinea also became democratic and anti-Spartan, whilst Tegea adhered more closely to the Spartans. Megara also joined democratic Athens, its nobles remaining true to Sparta. For this step, Megara was attacked by Corinth, but defended by Athens. The old friendship between Athens and Corinth was turned into bitter hatred,

**Artaxerxes.**

**Athens  
attacks  
Persia.**

Corinth could expect little immediate help from Sparta, but she determined to avenge herself. The Athenians now sent a fleet to the Peloponnesus, which resulted in an attack upon Aegina, and caused the intervention of the Corinthians, who, however, suffered a severe defeat in the autumn of 459. Battles also took place at Tanagra and Oenophyta, and Boeotia became Attic. At last, in 456, the Aeginetans had to submit, and joined the Delian confederacy. Troezen also joined the Athenians, and they were now at liberty to attack the colonies of Corinth.

**Athens and  
Corinth.**

Up to this time, Corinth had been the predominant power in Western Greece, and had been able to retain the island empire founded under her tyrants. Leucas, Anactorium, and Ambracia, which had been founded by Corinth in conjunction with Corcyra, were all supporters of Corinth, and were ready to give her assistance in time of need, and had all taken part in the Persian war. Apollonia, far up in Illyria, held a similar position. The states lying in the neighbourhood of these colonial possessions were generally favourable to the mother city. It now seemed as if Corcyra, whose relations with Corinth had been strained for the last hundred and fifty years, was

**The  
Corinthian  
Colonies.**

**Corcyra.**

likely to join Athens in an attack upon the mother who had produced her. Corcyra owed her importance to being upon the high road between Greece, Italy, and Sicily, as all ships had to stop there. Her constitution was moderately democratic: the government lay in the hands of the great wine merchants who owned the vineyards in the centre of the island. She possessed a large navy, about 120 triremes, manned to a great extent by slaves, and was therefore strong enough to pursue a policy of her own. She had taken no part in the Persian war, and she now desired to be neutral in the struggle between Athens and Corinth. In the year 455, Tolmides, an Athenian admiral, led an expedition round the Peloponnesus. He burned the arsenal of Gythion, secured the alliance of Zakynthos and Cephallenia, captured the Corinthian town of Chalcis, in Aetolia, defeated the army of Sicyon, and settled in Naupaktos the Messenians from Ithome, who had lately made peace with the Spartans.

Just at this time the Athenians suffered a severe defeat in Egypt. Inarus was occupying Memphis with Athenian troops to assist the Egyptians in maintaining their independence against the Persians; but in 456 he was attacked by the

Persian general Megobyzus. After resisting for a year and a half, he was defeated in the spring of 454 by the diversion of an arm of the Nile. A large number of the Athenians were slain, but a few succeeded in escaping to Cyrene and in reaching their homes.

Inarus surrendered to Megobyzus, and made him promise that his life should be spared, but, five years later, he was murdered. Egypt returned to the position of a Persian province. To make matters worse, an Athenian fleet of fifty ships, which was bringing reinforcements to Egypt, fell into the hands of the Persians and was destroyed. This was the first serious reverse which the Athenians had suffered after so many victories. The Phœnician fleet commanded the Mediterranean: Cyprus again became Persian. Until a new fleet was built, the Aegean was at the mercy of the Phœnicians. The treasure of the League at Delos was removed to the Acropolis. Sparta, however, refused to join the Persians, and the Athenians recovered their confidence. In 453, Pericles set out with a contingent of ships and a thousand hoplites to repeat the operations of Tolmides. He again defeated the Sicyonians, and the Achaean communities on the north coast of the Peloponnesus, thinking the cause of Corinth lost, joined the Athenians. Pericles also attempted to seize Oeniadae, the last Corinthian possession on the Ambracian Gulf; but he could not take the citadel, and was obliged to retreat. Further, an attempt of the Athenians to occupy Thessaly up to the Macedonian frontier failed from the superiority of the Thessalian cavalry.

The expedition of Pericles was the last enterprise in a war which had cost Athens great losses both in men and treasure.

**Temporary Peace in Greece.** The richer Athenian citizens were much reduced in numbers. There was great discontent amongst the allies, and they showed signs of rebellion. It

was clear that the ambitious designs formed by the democracy in 461 could not be carried out. Argos also became tired of an adventurous policy. She was thoroughly democratic in feeling, but she had no political ambition. She even sent an embassy to Susa to propose a renewal of her old friendship with Persia, which was favourably received by Artaxerxes. The feeling of Sparta against Athens was very bitter, but she could do little so long as Argos, Boeotia, and Megara fought on the other side. At length peace was made between Argos and Sparta for thirty years, but Athens could not be persuaded to make any further concessions than a five years' truce. When Cimon

returned from his ostracism, he recognised the leadership of Pericles and the new order of things. At the same time he urged the view that it was necessary to do something to recover the prestige of Athens in the East, and in 449 he was placed at the head of an expedition against Cyprus. He sent sixty of his two hundred ships to Egypt, with a view of exciting an insurrection in that country; with the rest he attacked Kition, the Phoenician capital. The Greek cities, of which Salamis was the chief, would have joined him, but, just as he was in the act of capturing Kition, he died. After his death, the peace party in Athens had their own way, being led by Pericles, who was the undisputed master of the government. The fleet was recalled from Cyprus and Egypt, and Callias was sent to Susa with proposals of peace. A last glory crowned the final efforts of Athens. A Phoenician and Cilician fleet which attempted to prevent the withdrawal of the Athenians from Cyprus was entirely defeated, and a similar success attended them on land. This was the last battle and the last victory of the Persian war.

**Last Expedition against Persia.**

Negotiations for peace now began in Susa. Callias offered to renounce Cyprus and Egypt, and to leave the great king master of the eastern Mediterranean, on the condition that he recognised the position of Athens and the freedom of the Persian Greeks. The great king was unwilling to surrender a Persian province, but he did not object to recognise the fact that the Athenians were masters of the coast of Asia Minor. Peace was made in these terms. The great king promised to send no ships from the Black Sea to the passage of the Bosphorus, nor in the south farther than the eastern frontier of Lycia, nor to bring an army nearer than a horse's gallop to the Asiatic coast, so that the coast of the Aegean and the Propontis was practically left to the Athenians. Nothing was actually surrendered, and there was no delimitation of frontiers; there was nothing to prevent Greek cities from joining Persia if they pleased, a liberty which was used later in Cilicia and the Black Sea. Towns like Smyrna, which had not joined the Delian League, remained as before under Persian rule, but a limit was set to the tribute which might be exacted. The peace of Callias was not a formal treaty, nor was it announced at Athens as such. It was nothing more than an honourable understanding. Indeed, Callias was condemned to a fine of fifty talents for having been bribed by the great king. At the same time, he had gained all that could be expected. The

**The Peace of Callias.**

peace, if not a brilliant success, was at least a substantial advantage, and when, years afterwards, it was seen to be so, there was a disposition to give it a higher place in the roll of Athenian success than it had any right to occupy.

The Peace of Callias gave Athens time to breathe. She was able to turn her attention to internal affairs. Pericles set himself to continue the buildings which had been begun by Cimon. At the same time, Athens lost some of her possessions on the mainland. Boeotia, with the exception of Plataea, which remained faithful to Athens, formed a league of its own of a moderate aristocratic character. This was the result of the battle of Coronea, fought in 447, in which Tolmides attempted, with an insufficient force, to defeat the anti-Athenian party, but was entirely routed. Tolmides himself fell, and with him the flower of the Athenian youth. Euboea and Megara followed the example of Boeotia. The Peloponnesians marched into Attica, and were only persuaded to depart by the bribes of Pericles. At last, in 446, negotiations were opened in Sparta. Athens was prepared to give up all her possessions in the Peloponnesus. Even

Corinth was satisfied. The peace, which bears the name of Pericles, was established for thirty years, perhaps a better plan than our own, which allows a treaty made for all eternity to be gradually violated till none of it exists. Aegina was left to Athens on the condition that she should enjoy practical autonomy with the payment of a tribute, the only advantage retained by Athens except the establishment of the Messenians in Naupactos. There was to be free intercourse between the contracting parties, and any disputed questions which might arise were to be submitted to arbitration.

Now begins what is called the Periclean age, one of the most remarkable and brilliant periods in the whole history of the world. During that period, for fifteen years, Pericles was undisputed leader of the state, "wielding at will that fierce democratie," first citizen of the town, without force or fraud, without flattery or falseness, in a country governed by the lot, with no other weapon than that sweet persuasive eloquence which still sits on the lips of his marble bust, and, with the deep tenderness of his eyes, explains his magic power over the hearts and wills of men. The only advantage which he had over other citizens was that of being constantly chosen strategos, or general, which gave him an official seat in the Boule. We have already

**The Thirty  
Years'  
Peace.**

**The Age of  
Pericles.**

spoken of his origin and of his earlier measures, but it must be remembered that he was not only a general and a statesman, but a man devoted to the study of philosophy and art. In his hospitable house, where the brilliant Aspasia of Miletus kept her salon, all the great spirits of the time found their meeting place—Anaxagoras, Gorgias, Protagoras, Pheidias, Polygnotus, and the youthful Socrates.

The strained relations which had existed so long between Athens and Sparta, between the supporters of the principles of aristocracy and democracy, will have prepared us for a war. It came about in this way. **Renewal of War—Battle of Corcyra** attacked a colony of her own, Epidamnus, **of Sybote.**

on the Illyrian coast. Epidamnus sought assistance from Corinth, who retaliated on the Corcyreans. Corcyra turned for help to Athens, who did not refuse it. The result of this was the battle of Sybote between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, in which the Athenians also took part. The battle was indecisive. At this time Potidaea, a Corinthian colony, which had joined the Athenian confederacy, was anxious to secede from it, but was coerced by the Athenians. The Corinthians urged the Spartans to intervene with the sword, and also to assist Aegina and Megara, who were impatient of Athenian rule. The Spartans held a council for deliberation, in which ambassadors from Corinth and others were present. They decided against Athens, and the oracle of Delphi took the same side. A further council was held, to which all the allies of Sparta were summoned, and, in the autumn of 432, war was practically determined upon. The real cause, however, was the jealousy of Athenian power, and the natural opposition which arises in all communities, great and small, against the promoter of a new and higher ideal. The Spartans continually desired the fall of Pericles, the illustrious founder of the spiritual greatness of Athens, and the Athenians, who owed everything to him, were slack in his defence. Pericles succeeded in defending himself. Seeing that war was inevitable, he was in favour of taking up the challenge, and the popular assembly agreed with him.

The war began in April 431 by three hundred Spartan aristocrats making a night attack on the city of Plataea in Boeotia, which belonged to the Athenian League. The Plataean democrats defeated them, and put a hundred and eight of them to death. The Athenians sent a garrison to Plataea, to defend it against the inevitable vengeance, although they



did not approve of the hasty action of their allies. Thereupon Archidamus, king of Sparta, marched with sixty thousand troops into Attica, upon which, by the advice of Pericles, the population left the country and sought refuge in the Acropolis. Attica was laid waste. When those who had fallen in the first

**First years  
of the Peloponnesian  
War.**

year of the war were buried in the Ceramicus, Pericles made over them a funeral oration which is, at once, a masterpiece of literature and the clearest exposition of the conflicting principles of the Athenian and Spartan governments. It remains for ever a monument of the aims which an enlightened democracy should strive to realise. The next year, 430, was taken up by the plague, which broke out with great violence in Athens and destroyed large numbers of citizens. Amongst them were the two brothers and the sister of Pericles, and, in September 429, Pericles himself fell a victim to it at the age of 70. He was one of the greatest statesmen that the world has ever seen; his dying words were that no Athenian had ever worn mourning by his misdeeds.

**Death of  
Pericles.**

The death of Pericles was an irreparable loss, and the struggle now loses all interest. The aristocratic Nicias was opposed to the demagogue Cleon. Mitylene revolted from Athens, but was recovered, whereupon Cleon had a thousand of the Lesbian aristocracy put to death. On the other hand, the Spartans captured Plataea after a three years' siege and rased it to the ground. In 427, Demosthenes occupied Pylos on the coast of Messenia, so that 400 Spartan hoplites were cut off in the island of Sphacteria. The Spartans asked for peace, which was refused them, and the whole garrison were brought as prisoners to Athens. But in 424, the Athenians were defeated at Delium in Boeotia, a battle in which Alcibiades saved the life of Socrates. A worse disaster befell them in Chalcidice, where, in the battle of Amphipolis, fought in 422, the Athenians, who were led by Cleon, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Brasidas, the best of the Spartan generals. Both Brasidas and Cleon were killed. This led to the Peace of Nicias, signed in April 421, to last for fifty years, in which both sides gave up their conquests and released their prisoners. Disputes were to be settled by arbitration, and divided Greece was to be again one. The six years which followed, however, were full of trouble, caused chiefly by the conduct of Argos, which formed a league

**Cleon and  
Nicias.**

of her own, and entered into alliance with Athens. They were also marked by the rise of Alcibiades, a man of daemonic brilliancy, but with passions and temper little under control—a personality born for the redemption or the destruction of his country. In August 418 was fought the battle of Mantinea, which insured the supremacy of Sparta over Argos.

We now come to the terrible catastrophe of the Sicilian expedition, which put an end to the war. It was the work of Alcibiades, and bore the impress of his fatal genius. Nicias did all he could to prevent it, **The Sicilian Expedition.**

but the people were excited by the prospect of conquering, first Syracuse, then Sicily, and then Italy, and lastly Africa. It was commanded by Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, but Alcibiades was unhappily recalled for private reasons, and the enterprise lost its most competent leader. The Spartans sent Gylippus, a forerunner of Todleben, to assist the Syracusans, and in 413, after a struggle of two years, the Athenians were entirely defeated in a battle in the great harbour. Nicias and Demosthenes were captured and executed, and 7000 Athenian prisoners were confined in the stone quarries, where the greater number of them perished by a miserable death. After this, Alcibiades obtained some brilliant successes on the Aegean coast, and recovered for Athens the towns of Byzantium and Chalcedon. In 408, he returned to Athens after an absence of six years, was received with acclamation, and was made general with unrestricted power; but his enemies overthrew him, and the command of the fleet was entrusted to Conon with nine others. In 406, they succeeded in gaining a brilliant victory at Arginusae over the Spartans, who were commanded by Callicratidas, the last success of Athens in the war. But in the following year Lysander avenged this by the entire destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, and the fate of Athens was decided. Conon succeeded in escaping with **Battle of Aegospotami.**

ten ships to Cyprus, but Lysander immediately sailed to the Piraeus and blockaded Athens, whilst Pausanias attacked it from the land side. In 404, the city had to yield to the pressure of famine. The Athenians were compelled to deliver up all their ships excepting twelve, to **End of the** raze the long walls and the fortifications of the **Pelopon-** Piraeus to the ground, and to set up an oligarchy of **nesian War.** thirty men, generally called the Thirty Tyrants, whose authority was supported by a Spartan garrison. The territory of Athens

was restricted to Attica, and she was compelled to enter the Spartan League. Thus, after thirty years, the Peloponnesian war came to an end, and the hegemony of Greece passed to the hands of Sparta.

The government of the Thirty was a reign of terror. With Critias at their head, they exercised their wrath against the adherents of the democratic party, and attacked the lives and property of all those whom they suspected of being opposed to them or who

**The Thirty Tyrants.**

were denounced by informers. Alcibiades was a victim of their vengeance. He first withdrew to his possessions in Thrace, but was obliged to take refuge with Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap, by whom he was received with kindness, but was afterwards murdered at the instance of Lysander. At last, Theramenes, one of the Thirty, was overthrown by Critias, just as Danton was overthrown by Robespierre, and had to drink the hemlock. However, in 403, the oligarchy was attacked by Thrasybulus, who, at the head of a body of exiles, occupied

**Democracy restored in Athens.**

Phyle, and, attacking the Piræus, in the defence of which Critias was killed, put an end to the reign of terror, granted a general amnesty, and re-established the Solonian constitution. Three years later, in 399, under the restored democracy,

**Socrates.**

the great Socrates was tried as a corrupter of youth, and was condemned to drink the hemlock. The Delphic oracle, with more than usual truth and insight, had declared him to be the wisest of Greeks. It is difficult to understand why he was murdered, except that it is a fate which befalls most prophets who are before their age, and who spend their lives in benefiting humanity. Perhaps it is more remarkable that he was allowed to live till he was seventy years of age. But, during the 2300 years which have succeeded his execution, his spirit has reigned over the minds and hearts of men with a despotic supremacy. His defence and the story of his last days are masterpieces of literature, and his disciple Plato remains as the most powerful assertor of ideal optimism.

After the fall of Athens, Sparta not only became the head of all the states of the Greek continent, but also reduced by her

**Spartan Supremacy.**

fleet the islands and the colonies of Asia Minor, and made them dependent upon her. At this time a civil war took place in Persia. Cyrus the Younger, who was viceroy of Asia Minor, attacked his brother Artaxerxes, with a view to dragging him from the

throne and taking his place. In this expedition he was assisted by 14,000 Greek mercenaries, chiefly Spartans, whom he had taken into his pay. He was entirely defeated in the battle of Cunaxa, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, in 401, and he met his death at the hands of his brother.

**Battle of  
Cunaxa.**

Tissaphernes, the chief general of Artaxerxes, promised the Greeks a safe return to their country, but during the negotiations he treacherously murdered the Greek generals, including Clearchus, the commander-in-chief. Xenophon, an Athenian, took up the command, and led the ten thousand men who remained safely back. He himself wrote an attractive account of the exploit in the well known "Anabasis." The Greeks of Asia Minor had supported Cyrus in his revolt, and they were therefore

**The "Ana-  
basis."**

cruelly treated by Tissaphernes. They turned for assistance to Sparta, who, in 399, sent Thymbrotus and Dachyllydes to Asia with a force to assist them, and afterwards King Agesilaus himself, who carried on the war with such success that he defeated the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus in two battles, and even threatened Sardis. In order to create a diversion, the Persians used Timocrates of Rhodes to stir up a rebellion against the supremacy of Sparta, for which Persian gold was freely used. In 398, Boeotia, Corinth, and Argos were gradually, by means of bribes, induced to rebel against Sparta and to join the Persians. This gave rise to what is known as the Boeoto-Corinthian war, which lasted till 387, Athens eventually taking part in it. In order to suppress it, the Spartan general Lysander was sent into Boeotia, but was completely defeated at the battle of Haliartus and was himself slain. The victory of Haliartus filled the enemies of Sparta with confidence and courage. A league was formed between Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos, of which the capital

**Anti-  
Spartan  
League—  
Battle of  
Haliartus.**

was placed at Corinth, with the object of overthrowing the supremacy of Sparta. It was joined by another league composed of other Greeks, especially from the north, and Medios, dynast of Larissa in Thessaly, brought his forces to the common stock. The important island of Rhodes was also induced to desert the Spartan League, mainly by the influence of the Athenian Conon, who had gone to Susa, and persuaded King Artaxerxes to support him with money and ships. The Spartans were obliged to recall Agesilaus from Asia; though they occupied Sicyon, and inflicted a severe defeat on the allies at Nemea,

which, to some extent, repaired the disaster of Haliartus. Agesilaus left Asia Minor with a heavy heart, and on his way home heard of the entire destruction of the Spartan fleet, by Conon and Pharnabazus, in the battle of Cnidus. Nothing dismayed, he attacked the allies in the plain of Coronea, and gained a signal victory, putting the Argives to flight and entirely breaking up the Thebans. The field was soaked with blood, and strewn with the corpses of friend and foe, with broken shields and spears and swords, some lying on the ground, some in the dead hands of those who had wielded them. Agesilaus, who was himself wounded, retired home by Delphi, where he made an offering of a hundred talents, and was received with enthusiasm at Sparta.

In this manner, while Sparta regained her supremacy by land, she lost the mastery of the sea. Conon and Pharnabazus pursued their victorious course, and the Athenian admiral was able to return in triumph to Athens and to mark his success by the restoration of the long walls and the reunion of Piraeus with Athens. The Athenians were now excited to new efforts. They regained their influence in the Hellespont; their general, Iphicrates, formed a body of light armed troops, called peltasts from the light round shield which they carried, which became formidable opponents to the heavily armed hoplites; in 392, though the allies were defeated by the Spartans at Lechaeum, the effects of the battle were neutralised by Iphicrates, who did wonders with his peltasts. After all, the last hopes of victory lay in securing the assistance of the Persians, and, for this purpose, the Spartans sent to Sardis a clever and astute diplomatist, Antalcidas, who promised that the towns of Asia Minor should be left to the mercy of the great king, provided that he put an end to the civil war in Greece. Conon rejected with scorn the unworthy proposal, but was put in prison by Tiribazus.

Meanwhile the war continued. Iphicrates gained some successes in the Hellespont, but the Spartans made an attack on Aegina and the coast of Attica, where they were opposed by Chabrias, a general of the school of Iphicrates. But there was a widespread desire for peace. The astute Antalcidas was working in Asia, and succeeded in bringing the Persians over to his side. In Athens, the orator Andocides strove in favour of peace. In Corinth and Argos, the wasted fields spoke eloquently on the same side, and even Thebes and Sparta required

rest. In 387, Tiribazus issued invitations for a general congress at Sardis. Artaxerxes made the proposal that the towns in Asia should belong to him together with Clazomenae and Cyprus, and that the rest of the Greek states, great and small, should all be autonomous, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which should belong to Athens as heretofore. These disgraceful proposals were accepted in the autumn of 387, and the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, which had been the cradle of Greek culture, from which the Greeks of the mainland had learnt what they knew of literature and art, became subjects of the Persian empire, against which Greece had contended for freedom for more than a hundred years. But Greece itself was saved, and the progress of Asiatic power towards the west was stopped for ever.

Peace of  
Antalcidas.

## CHAPTER VII.

### HISTORY OF GREECE, 387-338 B.C.

THE Peace of Antalcidas seemed to promise Greece a period of rest for many years, but this condition was threatened by the

**Tyranny  
of the  
Spartans.**

ambition of Sparta, and the narrow and repulsive character of its government. Diodorus, the historian, tells us that the Spartans, loving mastery and war, could not endure the peace, which was a heavy burden to them, but desired a change which should restore to them their previous mastery over Hellas. Their feelings found powerful expression in the person of Agesilaus, who said that in the peace the Spartans had not Medised, but rather the Persians had Laconised. The first victim of this spirit was the Arcadian city of Mantinea, which was attacked and entirely destroyed by the Spartans in 385. Another democratic city, Phlius, was attacked in the following year, and after a gallant resistance of four years was obliged to submit to aristocratic government. The Spartans, not content with their hegemony over the Peloponnesus, attempted to extend their influence over the triple peninsula of Chalcidice, which lay at the door of Macedonia and Thrace. To meet this, Olynthus placed herself at the head of a Chalcidican confederacy, which was, however, resisted by Acanthus and Apollonia, when Olynthus endeavoured to extend the arrangement to them. Acanthus applied to Sparta, which determined to intervene, and the Olynthian war, which lasted for three years (383-380), began.

**The Olyn-  
thian War.**

Eudamidas hastened to the scene of action, supported by Amyntas, king of Macedonia, a country which now became entangled with the politics of Greece; and he would probably have subdued Olynthus had not circumstances arisen in Thebes of which we shall presently give an account. Teleutias, king of Sparta, and his distinguished brother Agesilaus devoted themselves to this enterprise in succeeding years, and, in 360, Olynthus was compelled to submit.

But the unexpected happened in Thebes. Here, as in other

cities; the aristocrats were supported by Sparta, but the town was now democratic. When Phoebidas, the brother of Eudamidas, was marching towards Chalcidice, Leontiadas, the leader of the Theban aristocracy, approached him with a proposal that the city should be seized by a *coup d'état* and restored to Spartan influence. On a hot summer day in 383, when the women were holding a festival on the citadel of the Cadmeia, and the town council was deliberating in the market hall, Phoebidas marched through the deserted streets, occupied the Cadmeia, and took the women as hostages. He also broke into the council hall, seized the polemarch Ismenias, and put him in prison in irons. The democrats, to the number of 400, led by Pelopidas and Androcleidas, marched off to Athens, while Leontiadas took the opportunity of establishing a strong oligarchical government, and went to Sparta to seek the support of the ephors. Sparta sent a garrison of 1500 men, and established a reign of terror, while Ismenias was condemned to death under a false accusation.

**Revolution  
in Thebes.**

The defeat of Olynthus and the capture of Thebes produced great excitement throughout Hellas, which saw in these events a breach of the Peace of Antalcidas. This feeling was supported by the Athenian orators Lysias and Isocrates, and was strongly condemned by Xenophon. The Theban exiles were well received in Athens. Pelopidas did his best to stir up the youth of Thebes to resistance, as Mazzini, in our own day, stirred up the youth of Italy. Pelopidas acquired a valuable colleague in the person of Epaminondas, both of them belonging to distinguished families in the city. At last, at the close of 379, about three or four hundred exiles assembled in the neighbourhood of Thria, on the frontier between Boeotia and Attica. About twelve of them, including Pelopidas, Mellon, and Damocleides, were chosen to go forward and murder the tyrants of their home. They crossed Citheron in disguise, and reached Thebes on a winter's day when a snow-storm was raging. They entered the town singly, by different gates, and met in the house of one Charon, where they passed the night. It was arranged that, in the following night, Phyllidas, who was trusted by the oligarchs, should invite the polemarchs to a banquet, where the deed should be perpetrated. When everything was ready, knocks were heard at the door, and Charon was summoned before the polemarchs. Charon, leaving his young son as a hostage, hastened to the house of Phyllidas, and found Archias and Philippus drinking heavily. He succeeded

**Pelopidas.**



in allaying their suspicions, and returned. Scarcely had he left the house when a letter was brought denouncing the conspirators and giving their names. But Archios put the letter aside with the remark, "Business to-morrow."

Phyllidas had promised the revellers that they should have women for their entertainment, and he now introduced into the banqueting hall some of the conspirators, in women's clothes and veiled, including Mellon and Charon. The conspirators drew their daggers, and fell upon their half-drunken victims. Archias and Philippus fell at once, but Cabeirichos gave them some trouble. Leontiadas was attacked by Pelopidas, while he was lying in bed with his wife sleeping by his side. He defended himself bravely, but was at length overcome. After the chiefs of the oligarchy had fallen, the conspirators proceeded to the prison, and set the prisoners free, 150 in number, among them one who was destined for execution on the following day. They then proclaimed in the market-place that the tyrants were murdered and the town was free. When all was confusion, Epaminondas and Gorgidas appeared upon the scene and restored order. Epaminondas had been careful not to stain his hands with blood.

The break of day witnessed a scene of jubilant excitement. The popular assembly met again after a long suspension. The leaders of the conspiracy were publicly thanked in the name of the gods, and decorated with garlands. Pelopidas, Mellon, and Charon were appointed *Boeotarchs*, a formal sign that the arrangements of the Peace of Antalcidas were at an end. The political emigrants returned from exile. Athens sent a contingent of 5000 men under Demophron. In a short time an army was got together of 12,000 hoplites and 2000 cavalry, and at last the Lacedaemonian garrison on the Cadmeia was compelled to evacuate the citadel.

The Boeotian war now followed, which, after lasting for seven years, was terminated by the battle of Leuctra in 371. At the beginning of the war, Sphodrias attempted to gain possession of the Piraeus by a night attack, but failed in his enterprise. The Athenians made an offensive and defensive alliance with Thebes, and strengthened their navy. In the new league which was now formed, all states, large and small, had the right of sitting and voting at the assembly, which met regularly at Athens and provided for the sinews of war. This league consisted of seventy towns, which included Chios,

**Counter-  
Revolution.**

**The Boeotian  
War.**

**Anti-  
Spartan  
League.**

Rhodes, Byzantium, Mitylene, and Leuctra. New financial arrangements were made by the creation of *symmories*, which increased the speed and activity of collecting the smaller contributions. As generals, Iphicrates and Chabrias were very prominent, and also Timotheus the son of Conon. Thebes on her side strengthened her army by the creation of a Sacred Company of three hundred young warriors, bound together by love, friendship, and similarity of opinions, who were a pattern and a stimulus to the other soldiers. Agesilaus invaded Boeotia in 378. Besides the Thebans, he now had to contend against a body of 5000 mixed citizens and hoplite mercenaries, sent by Athens under the command of Chabrias. He could do nothing against them, and was obliged to retire, leaving Phoebidas, the original author of the war in Thespiæ, but he was eventually slain by Gorgidas. In the following year, Agesilaus invaded Boeotia again, but had no more success than in his previous attempt. More was effected at sea, where Chabrias, and his young lieutenant, Phocion, gained a brilliant victory over the Spartans at Naxos in 376. In the following year a similar disaster befell the Spartans at Leucas. The Athenians, however, began to wish for peace, as the cost of the war was very heavy, and the Thebans did not pay their share. Their own sympathy with the Boeotians, too, began to cool, and they felt some jealousy at their success.

The consequence of this was an approach towards Sparta. Both countries took the matter in hand, and Jason of Pheræ, a powerful prince with a fine army of 6000 men, and large possessions, acted as mediator. The result was that a peace congress was held at Sparta in June 371, the upshot of which was a peace from which Thebes was excluded. King

Peace-Con-  
gress at  
Sparta—  
Thebes  
isolated.

Cleombrotus now marched into Boeotia with a large army, and Epaminondas, to intercept him, occupied the passes of Coronea. But, hearing that he had gone by another road into the plain of Leuctra, he marched to meet him, having only six thousand hoplites against ten thousand, and four hundred cavalry against a thousand. Epaminondas did his best to revive the courage of his troops. There was a legend that Leuctra was to be the grave of the Spartan hegemony, and this inspired them with confidence. The same legend demoralised the Spartans, and they desired to wait for reinforcements, but were overruled.

The battle began on July 3, 371, immediately after breakfast. Against the right wing, where Cleombrotus was posted with his

Spartans, Epaminondas placed the kernel of his troops, formed in a phalanx fifty men deep and protected by the Sacred Company of Pelopidas. The right wing of the Theban army, which was opposed to the Lacedaemonian allies, was refused, as if Epaminondas wished to avoid the struggle on this side. The battle opened with a contest of cavalry, in which the Spartans, although superior in numbers, were defeated and driven back on their supports. The general then ordered his phalanx to advance, the Spartans opening their lines and wheeling round as they came so as to take them in the flank. Not being able to do this, they retired to their previous position, and Epaminondas continued his attack. The Spartans fought bravely, and phalanx rushed against phalanx, neither party being able to advance. "Only give me a foot!" cried Epaminondas. The slaughter in the neighbourhood of the king was terrible, and Cleombrotus himself fell. As the polemarchs, Deinon and Sphodrias, had already been killed, the Spartans began to give way, and the Lacedaemonian allies on the left followed their example. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians was complete. The news of the disaster reached Sparta while a public festival was in progress, which it was determined not to interrupt, and hence it was not published till the next day. But Epaminondas had allowed a free departure to the conquered army, and when they reached their homes in haste they fell under the ban of deserters, whose punishment was to be deprived of civic rights and to be subjected to universal contempt. But their number was so large that King Agesilaus was obliged to say, "Let the law go to sleep to-day and wake up again to-morrow morning."

Epaminondas was intent upon the destruction of the Spartan power, and the outlook was, indeed, favourable. A third of the Spartiates had perished in the battle of Leuctra, the helots and the Messenians began to throw off the Spartan yoke, the democrats in Elis and Mantinea took up arms. The aristocrats in Tegea were murdered or exiled, and in Argos the mob rose, and knocked on the head with clubs 1200 or 1500 of the respectable citizens, oligarchs and democrats alike. This club law was called Skytalisimos, and filled the Athenians with such horror that they broke off all communication with the city which had so disgraced itself. As Sparta fell, Thebes began to rise, and the Boeotian League took the place of the Lacedaemonian. It was joined by Phocis, Aetolia, Locris, Acarnania, Euboea, and other places, and

**Battle of  
Leuctra.**

**The Boeotian  
League.**

Thespias, which opposed it, was destroyed. Jason of Pherae, its principal antagonist, was murdered. As the Boeotian League formed a democratic counterpoise to the power of the princes of Thessaly and the kings of Macedonia, so a rival to the power of Sparta was formed by the pastoral Arcadians, who lived a simple life in their mountains, the Swiss of the Peloponnesus. They formed a democratic confederacy, and, as it was necessary to have a capital, they united forty villages into a city and called it Megalopolis, the Great City, just as Alessandria was founded as the capital of the Lombard League. The republic was governed by an assembly of "Ten Thousand," who elected archons with power over peace and war, diplomacy, finance, and justice, and who nominated the generals. It had a standing army of *Eparittoi*, or selected troops, and its revenue was derived from a hut tax, paid by the possessors of cattle for the use of the *almends* or common lands.

**Megalo-  
polis.**

It was not likely that this republic would be allowed to come into being without a struggle, and Megalopolis, like Alessandria, had to fight for its existence. The oligarchs of Tegea and Orchomenos rose against it, but the Arcadians, with Mantinea at their head, sought the assistance of Thebes. Agesilaus marched into the territory of Tegea and Mantinea, but retired at the approach of the Theban allies. Indeed, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and their adherents came to Mantinea with a force of 15,000 heavy armed troops. They ought, properly, to have retired when their object was accomplished; but the opportunity was too favourable to be missed, and they determined to attack Sparta and destroy her for ever. The allied army, with 10,000 hoplites and other troops besides, marched into the Laconian plain. Sparta shook with terror and anguish, for no hostile army had violated her territory for five hundred years. Epaminondas, marching south along the eastern bank of the Eurotas, wasted the country with fire and sword, and the sight of the destructive flames was accompanied by the cries of women and children and the lamentations of the old men. But Agesilaus once more proved himself the saviour of his country; assisted by his knowledge of the ground, he defeated Epaminondas in several engagements, so that, when he heard that Sicyon, Epidaurus, Corinth, and Phlius were marching to the assistance of Sparta, he thought it prudent to retreat. Thus the town of Sparta was

**Epami-  
nondas in  
the Pello-  
ponnesus.**

**Agesilaus  
saves  
Sparta.**

saved, but Epaminondas crossed the range of Taygetus and carried out a long cherished plan of restoring Messenia to freedom. He rebuilt Messene at the foot of Ithome, sacred to liberty, and collected together the scattered Messenians, who had been without a home for three hundred years. They were now able to take part in the Olympian games as an independent state. The restored Messenia, together with Megalopolis, Tegea, and Argos, encircled Sparta, and made her powerless for evil; but, in spite of this, there was no force which could unite the scattered communities and arm them for a single effort. It can hardly be believed that the victorious Epaminondas was attacked on his way home by Athens, who was acting as an ally of Sparta, and that when he reached Thebes he was subjected to an accusation for a breach of the laws, and was with some difficulty declared innocent.

Such was the jealousy of the rising power of Thebes that Athens and Sparta formed an alliance against her, and Epaminondas was obliged to march a second time into the Peloponnesus with an army of 8000 hoplites; but in accordance with the Boeotian constitution he had to lay down his command and return to Thebes, where he was not restored to the office which he had held, but was given the charge over roads and canals.

**Pelopidas** In the meantime, Pelopidas was engaged in the  
**in Northern** north, where he had gone, partly to put a stop  
**Greece.** to the rebellion of Alexander of Pherae, and partly to settle a dispute in the royal house of Macedonia. Here he placed Alexander on the throne of his father Amyntas, made an alliance with his kingdom, and carried back to Thebes thirty hostages, among whom was Philip, the brother of Alexander. The settlement he had made lasted but a short time. Alexander of Macedon was murdered by his step-mother Eurydice, and his second son, Perdiccas, was placed on the throne, while the other Alexander, of Pherae, renewed his atrocities. Marching again into Macedonia, Pelopidas was able to effect an arrangement, but on his return he was intercepted by Alexander of Pherae and thrown into prison. Eventually Epaminondas was able to set him free. It is worth mentioning that Gallic and Spanish mercenaries in the pay of Dionysius of Syracuse fought on the side of Epaminondas in his second expedition to the Peloponnesus.

In the meantime, Persia was anxious to reconcile the Greeks, and to give effect to the provisions of the Peace of Antalcidas. Philiskos of Abydos went to Delphi, representing the viceroy

of Lydia and Ionia, with this object, but failed because Thebes would not dissolve the Boeotian League or surrender Messenia to Sparta. Upon this a number of Greek states, Athens and Sparta among them, sent embassies to Susa with the same object. The supremacy of Thebes had been recognised at the Persian court ever since the battle of Leuctra, and Artaxerxes now said that all the Greek states, including Messenia, should be free and independent, that the Athenians should surrender their ships, and that any one who disobeyed should be coerced by force, that is, by Thebes. This was of course rejected by the other states, and the condition of anarchy continued. In 361, Epaminondas undertook a third expedition to the Peloponnesus, but was recalled by the action of his own countrymen.

**Policy of Persia.**

**Anarchy in Greece.**

It is needless to continue this description of the battle of kites and crows. A sign of the lawlessness of the times is to be found in the fact that a war between Arcadia and Elis was actually continued during the holy time of the Olympian games. Pelopidas was killed in an expedition against the bloodthirsty tyrant of Pherae. He set out on the day of an eclipse of the sun, which science fixes on June 13, 364. An end was put to the stormy life of Alexander by his wife Thebe, who persuaded her brother to murder him. The sea power of Athens began to exhibit signs of recovery, and Epaminondas conceived plans for the building of a Theban fleet, which indeed succeeded in securing the revolt of Kos, Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium from Athens. But, unfortunately, the Theban leader did not possess the art of forming a strong confederacy, for he lacked political insight and the power of making wise compromises.

In 362, Epaminondas was compelled to undertake another expedition to the Peloponnesus, where he was joined by the troops of Argos, Arcadia, and Messene, while his opponents collected in Mantinea. In the absence of Agesilaus, Epaminondas attacked Sparta, and, indeed, penetrated as far as the market-place, but was driven back from the higher ground. A decisive battle took place at Mantinea in August 362. Epaminondas was superior in strength to his opponents; he commanded 30,000 hoplites and 3000 cavalry, against 20,000 hoplites and 2000 cavalry of the enemy. He attempted to use the tactics which had been so successful at Leuctra, placing his strength on his left and making a feint with his right. The plan was successful,

**Battle of Mantinea.**

and the enemy retired in confusion at the first onslaught, but, in the very moment of victory, Epaminondas was pierced by a spear, which broke off in the wound. He was carried off the battle-field, but his fall disorganised his troops, and the battle

**Death of Epaminondas.** remained undecided. Both sides claimed the victory. Epaminondas lay on a wooded height overlooking the battle, having been told by the doctor that the drawing out of the spear would be fatal. At last they brought his shield, which had been lost in the battle, and told him that the Thebans had won the victory. He said, "Now it is time to die." When he heard that his generals, Diaphantos and Iolaidas, were dead, he advised that peace should be made, and, with a cheerful countenance, drew out the spear from his heart and gave up the ghost. His darling friend, Kephisodorus, had fallen by his side, and was buried with him. When his friends complained that he had no children, he said, "I leave behind me two blooming daughters, the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea." Thus perished the most gifted general, the noblest character, the staunchest patriot, but perhaps not the greatest statesman, of the Greek world. He was surrounded by friends, and even his enemies praised him. He died as a sacrifice for Hellas' independence. After his death, peace was made according to his advice, but Sparta continued in her position of isolation.

**Death of Agesilaus.** Agesilaus did not long survive his great adversary. In the following year he went to Egypt to assist Tachos and Nektanabis in a revolt against Persia, to avenge the conduct of Artaxerxes, who had proclaimed the independence of Messenia. But the expedition resulted in failure, and Agesilaus, now eighty years of age, having received rich revenues from Nektanabis, set out to return home by way of Cyrene, but died in the passage. Athens took the opportunity of restoring her fleet, and recovered Euboea, Chios, Samos, Rhodes, and most of the islands of the Aegean. She also strengthened her position in Chalcidice, Macedonia, and the Thracian Gulf, and made propositions for extending her power to the Hellespont and the Black Sea. But the revival of prosperity brought with it the recrudescence of jealousy. The influence of the Greek, and especially of the Athenian character again showed itself, and the second Athenian League ended, as the first had done, in a social war, although it had, at one time, included seventy cities in its embrace.

Macedonia now becomes the most important power in Greece.

It consists of a high tableland surrounded by mountains, with a number of fruitful valleys, and well-watered pastures. In the south there is a difficult pass over the Cambunian mountains, of which Olympus is the highest point, into the valley of the Peneus. It is separated from Epirus by Mount Pindus, which afterwards turns to the north with a rocky ridge, whose summits reach from 5000 to 8000 feet, whence it has the name of Skardos. In the east, we find the mountains of Rhodope, with Pangaeus, forming the watershed between the Strymon and the Hebrus. Rivers flow from these heights, bearing the names of Haliacmon, Lydias, Axios, and Strymon. The interior is raw and cold; rivers and lakes are covered with ice in winter; but some valleys are very fertile and beautiful. It was originally inhabited by a number of tribes of whose origin we know little, but at last the supremacy came into the hands of the Macedonians, a small, vigorous community, who had, from time immemorial, pastured their herds in the upper valleys of the Haliacmon and Erigon, whether they were of Hellenic or of barbarous origin being uncertain. At any rate their kings were supposed to belong to the race of the Heracleidae, and were therefore admitted to the Olympic games.

Edessa, otherwise called Aegae, was regarded as the original home of the kingdom, the holy hearth of the state, with the burial-place of its kings. It was described as a lonely spot at the foot of Mount Bermios, the seat of the garden of Midas, where every rose had sixty petals and a ravishing smell. Perdiccas is mentioned by Herodotus as the first king and the founder of the Macedonian empire. He lived at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. He and his four immediate successors extended their dominions from Aegae, over the valley of the Axios and the coast land, subduing the Pierians, the Bottioceans, and the Mygdonians. In this manner, the boundaries of the Macedonian kingdom were extended to Olympus and the Cambunian mountains in the south, to the Strymon in the east. Amyntas I., who reigned from 540 to 498, checked the advance of the Persians. His son Alexander (498 to 454) whom we have already mentioned, was a most noble and charming personality. Under the reign of Perdiccas II., one of his four sons, who reigned from 454 to 413, the Albanians succeeded in getting possession of Thrace and Chalcidice, and in founding Amphipolis, which was almost surrounded by the Strymon. For a time Macedonia paid a tribute to Athens, but



Perdiccas put an end to this, and used the Peloponnesian war to recover his independence. He also gained considerable power over Thrace.

Macedonia entered more closely into the stream of Grecian life in the reign of Archelaos (413 to 399), who conquered Pydna with the help of Athens, and changed the capital of the kingdom from Aegae to Pella. He did a great deal for the civilisation of his country, and introduced Greek culture. Many distinguished Greeks visited his court—among them Hippocrates the physician, Zeuxis the painter, Euripides the dramatist, as well as Agathon, Choerilos, and Timotheus, the harp player. Thucydides probably visited Archelaos, and Socrates was invited, but answered by saying that in Athens four measures of meal cost only an obol, and that good water could be had for nothing. Plato was also very intimate with Archelaos. This excellent king was murdered by two of his favourites, and, after a short period of anarchy,

**Reign of  
Archelaos.**

was succeeded by Amyntas III. (389 to 369), who married Eurydice, a daughter of the prince of the Lyncestians, a tribe who lived in the mountains.

He is said to have been murdered, at the instigation of his faithless wife, by her lover, Ptolemaos. Alexander II., who succeeded his father, was opposed by the favourite of his mother, but was established in his rights by Pelopidas; but no sooner had Pelopidas turned his back than Ptolemaos divorced his own wife, married Eurydice, and murdered the young king. They reigned together for three years as guardians of the two younger sons of Amyntas, Perdiccas and Philip. Perdiccas III., as soon as he was old enough, seized the throne, and held it for five years, but he also perished by the baleful arts of

**His Suc-  
cessors.**

Eurydice, leaving a child Amyntas. Philip, his younger brother, had lived for three years as a

hostage in Thebes, and was destined to become the saviour of his country and the creator of its greatness. He assumed the government at the age of twenty-three, as the guardian of his young nephew, and, in two years, set it free from the numerous enemies who surrounded it. He was a past master in the art of subduing his enemies by dividing them. He bribed the Thracians, flattered the Athenians, attacked the Illyrians, and conquered their king Bardylis, and compelled him to surrender all his territory as far as Lake Lychnis. The claims of Amyntas the child were disregarded, and when he attempted to enforce them under Alexander he was put to death.

The first necessity for Philip was to create a powerful army, and for this his residence in Thebes had taught him the superiority of the phalanx; but he also surrounded himself with a chosen bodyguard formed out of the young nobles of his court. The phalanx was armed with a short sword, a spear twenty feet long called a *sarissa*, and a large shield, and proved nearly irresistible. Besides this, he had light armed bowmen from the mountains, and a smaller body armed with a light shield, called *aspis*. He devoted himself to the care of his army with the greatest energy, knowing that his salvation depended upon it. He was a remarkable personality, endowed with every bodily and mental excellence, untiring in labour, a friend of statesmen and warriors, a powerful orator and a cheery companion, a master of all the arts of war and government from his first occupation of the throne.

At this time, the condition of Greece was one of great confusion. In the Peloponnesus the cities distrusted and hated each other and were full of alarm against Sparta, who would not acknowledge the new creations of Megalopolis and Messene, and was yet not strong enough to destroy them. In Arcadia, these two cities were in constant feud. Corinth was subjected to a kind of tyrant, by name Timophanes, who occupied the fortress of Acrocorinthus with a body of mercenaries until he was slain by his brother Timoleon. Athens was better off. By the energy of Iphicrates and Timotheus, the number of towns in the league had been increased to seventy, and it was further strengthened by the adhesion of Euboea. But Athens exercised her power with great severity, and her army was largely composed of mercenaries instead of citizens. This state of things was denounced by Phocion and Demosthenes, the great orator, who now began to make his appearance. Athens suffered a serious loss in the death of Chabrias, who fell in a battle against Mausolus, the powerful sovereign of Caria. He might have saved himself by swimming, but was too proud to leave his ship. In the war with her allies, which lasted three years (358 to 355), the results were very unfavourable to Athens. Her navy was destroyed, the tribute which she received from members of the league was reduced to forty-five talents, and Philip took advantage of her weakened condition to increase his empire.

He began by taking Pydna, Potidaea, and Amphipolis, and,

when he knew how easily the Greeks were accessible to bribery, used this weapon to the largest extent. The occupation of the gold mines of Mount Pangaeus gave him plenty of money, and he founded a new town close to them called Philippi. He married Olympia, the daughter of the king of Epirus, of the race of Achilles, and held a brilliant court at his new capital Pella. Olympia was given up to the secret mysteries of Orpheus and Dionysus, and practised the magic cult of the Thracian women, and she could be seen with the thyrsus on her head ranging nightly through the mountains in wild orgies. In the autumn of 356 she bore to her husband the mighty Alexander, one of the greatest men known to history. It is said that on the very day on which Philip received the news of the birth of a son and heir, he was also told that his general Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians, and that his horse had won the prize in Olympia. He began to aim at the supremacy over the Grecian world.

In the abasement of Athens, the Thebans now raised their heads, and aimed at the reduction of the Phocians, the old allies of Sparta. They also roused into new life the Amphictyonic League, which had existed long before. The Phocians, a mountain race, devoted to their independence, were summoned before the council of this league, on the ground that they had appropriated and cultivated a portion of the sacred territory belonging to Delphi, and they were condemned to pay a large fine and were subjected to a curse. The Phocians resisted, mainly under the influence of Philomelos, a wealthy and powerful citizen, who advised in the assembly that they should not allow themselves to be deprived of their property and their freedom. He obtained the assistance of Sparta, whose king, Archidamus, advanced him fifteen talents, and, after a few engagements, the sanctuary of Delphi was occupied by a Phocian army. Philomelos erased the judgment of the Amphictyonic Council, but announced to the Greeks that the treasures of the temple should be undisturbed, and that the Phocians were only acting as the historic protectors of the Delphic shrine. To confirm his action, he held the Pythia by force upon the sacred stool, until she cried with prophetic emphasis that he might do what he pleased.

These actions were the cause of the Sacred War, which lasted from 355 to 346. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians

supported Philomelos, but the Locrians and the Boeotians declared for the Delphians, and determined to support the Amphictyonic sentence. The Locrians were the first to move, but were defeated. Yet the Phocians were now in evil case. They were attacked on three sides by the Thebans, Thessalians, and the Locrians, and were only feebly defended by Athens and Sparta. Philomelos and Onomarchos, his lieutenant, had to depend on mercenaries, who exacted a large sum for their services. The war which ensued was full of horror; as the cause for which they fought was holy, no quarter was given on either side. At last, in 354, Philomelos was defeated in the battle of Neon, and, to escape a worse fate, threw himself down the rocks. But Onomarchus still continued the struggle. The treasures of the temple were no longer respected; the copper and iron were forged into arms, the gold and silver were coined into money. Onomarchus carried on the struggle with vigour. He conquered the Locrians, laid waste the little state of Doris, seized the pass of Thermopylae, and projected an invasion of Boeotia. As he returned, he suffered a check at Chaeronea, but this did not prevent him from assisting Lycophron of Pherae, the successor of Jason and Alexander, to become master of Thessaly. The Thessalians applied for help to Philip, who was only too glad to accede to their invitation. He had previously occupied Methone, the last possession of the Athenians on the Thermaic Gulf. But he found Lycophron more formidable than he had expected, and had to retire to Macedonia for reinforcements. The lord of Pherae was desirous of becoming master of the whole of Greece. The treasures of Delphi enabled him to maintain an army of 20,000 hoplites and 500 cavalry. Chares, the Athenian, received from him a sum of sixty talents to provide a fleet, but he preferred to spend it in entertaining his fellow-citizens in the marketplace.

**The Sacred War.**

**Philip intervenes.**

The activity of the Phocians stirred their enemies to new efforts. The Thessalians applied again to Philip, and sent him such assistance that he was in command of an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse. A battle took place on the coast, when the Macedonians and Thessalians, covered with laurels to show that they were fighting in the service of the god, killed 6000 of their enemies and took 3000 prisoners. Onomarchus fell,

**Philip in Thessaly.**

and Philip emphasised the holiness of the war by crucifying his corpse and drowning all the prisoners in the sea. Philip then marched upon Pherae, took the town of Pagasae, and, after declaring himself lord and master of Thessaly, occupied the pass of Thermopylae.

Demosthenes now succeeded in rousing his countrymen to a sense of their ancient glories and present responsibilities.

**Efforts of Athens—Demosthenes.** Nausikles occupied the southern end of the Holy Gate, with a force of 5000 foot and 400 horse, which was strengthened by the arrival of 1000 Spartans and 2000 Achaeans. They even went so far as to ask the excommunicated Phocis to help them against the common enemy, and Phayllos, the brother of Onomarchus, joined them with a strong contingent. The gold and silver offerings of Croesus to the shrine of Delphi were used in the last extremity to hire mercenaries at an exorbitant price, and Philip was compelled to retire, retaining, however, possession of Thessaly, which he organised under an oligarchical government. The Euboeans now deserted Athens and joined Philip, but they were defeated by Phocion in the battle of Tamynae in the year 350. To this period belong the Philippic speeches of Demosthenes, which have added a new word to the languages of Europe, but produced little effect upon the sluggish audiences to which they were addressed.

Philip now cast covetous eyes upon Olynthus, which in 349 B.C. applied to Athens for assistance, a request supported by the powerful speeches of Demosthenes. Athens

**Destruction of Olynthus.** eventually sent seventeen triremes, and 2000 armed citizens under Chares, but they arrived too late. Philip used to the full the crafty advice of the Delphic priestess: "Use the silver lance in fight: nothing can withstand its might." By bribing the commander of the Olynthian cavalry, Philip obtained possession of the town, which he plundered and destroyed, selling into slavery those of the inhabitants whom he did not put to death. The rich and flourishing Chalcidice was entirely ruined. The Athenians, weary of the war, now took the step of sending an embassy to Philip, of which Demosthenes and his rival Aeschines formed a part. They were received with the most splendid hospitality, and on their return the ambassadors could not praise Philip enough, his stately presence, his charming manners, his clever conversation, and his boisterous fun at the banquets. This was

followed by the despatch of Parmenio and Antipater to Athens, where they were received with equal honour, and after two days completed a peace known as the "Peace of Philocrates" on the basis of "uti possidetis," **Peace of Philocrates.** that is, of each side keeping its conquests. A defensive alliance was also concluded between Philip and Athens and their allies.

While these negotiations were proceeding, Philip was in Thrace engaged in subduing the Thracian prince Kersobleptes, who was an ally of the Athenians, and the towns **Athens** on the coast which were garrisoned by Athens **overreached** before her hands were tied by the conclusion of **by Philip.** the peace. It was therefore desirable to get the peace ratified as soon as possible. Demosthenes advised that the ambassadors should go to the king by the short road of Euboea; but in fact they travelled by Thessaly to Pella, where they awaited the king's return, and this did not take place until all his objects had been accomplished. He further contrived to get possession of Thermopylae, and, when this was done, solemnly ratified the treaty. He sent the ambassadors back with a flattering letter to Athens, and won the hearts of the Athenians by releasing the Athenian prisoners in his hands without ransom, in order that they might be able to be present at the Panathenaic festival.

Philip now proceeded to the punishment of the Phocians, who were summoned for that purpose before the Amphictyonic Council. They were expelled from the Amphictyonic confederation as accursed, and the two **Fate of the Phocians.** votes which they had possessed were given to Philip and his successors. All their towns, excepting Abae, twenty-two in number, were destroyed, and the inhabitants transferred to villages which might not contain more than fifty houses. Those who had fled from their country were declared outlaws, and might be killed at pleasure; those who remained were condemned to pay a yearly tribute of fifty talents to the shrine of Apollo, and were deprived of their arms and horses until that treasure was repaid. Philip was made protector of the Oracle. This terrible sentence was carried out with the utmost severity; indeed, the whole country became a desert. When Demosthenes visited it a few years later, he found ruined houses and walls, no men of fighting capacity, a few women and children, every one in mourning, and a scene of indescribable misery. The Athenians were shocked beyond

measure at this news. Trusting to Philip's promises, they had delivered the Phocians bound hand and foot to their destroyers. They felt no sympathy with the magnificent festival with which Philip celebrated in Delphi his new position. They expected to see in Attica the king of Macedon; they received the Phocian fugitives, regardless of the curse which they incurred by doing so. They brought all their women and children from the country into the Acropolis, and concealed their treasures as they had done at the time of the Peloponnesian war. At the same time they did not dare to attack their main enemy, and Aeschines was able to say that the shouters were many, but the strikers few. A new embassy, with Aeschines at the head, assured Philip of the respect of the Athenians for the Amphictyonic sentence, and pledged them to enter the Amphictyonic League. Philip now celebrated the Pythian games with unusual splendour, and retired to Macedon, leaving a garrison in Phocis.

The years which followed the peace of Philocrates were used by Philip to strengthen his position in Thessaly, to make an alliance in the Peloponnesus with the Argives and Messenians, and dexterously to undermine the liberties of Greece; but when he besieged the towns of Perinthus and Byzantium, in order to close to the Athenians the entrance to the Black Sea, their eyes were opened. Influenced by the third Philippic of Demosthenes, they sent assistance to Byzantium under Phocion, which compelled Philip to raise the siege. In order to divert the attention of the Greeks, Philip now devoted himself to other enterprises, fighting against the Thracians, who lived on the borders of his kingdom as far as the Danube and the Black Sea, and endeavouring to advance his frontiers as far as the Adriatic and the Illyrian coast. But the Greeks soon gave him an opportunity of mixing himself up in their affairs and marching with an armed force into the heart of Greece.

In 339 the Locrians were accused of committing a similar offence to that of the Phocians by cultivating some land which had belonged to the Delphian Apollo. When

**Second Sacred War.** they would not pay the fine imposed upon them by the Amphictyons, Aeschines, who was then in the Macedonian service, proposed that the punishment of the Locrians should be committed to King Philip. Philip readily undertook the responsibility of this second Sacred War, which he thought would bring him nearer to his main object, the subjection of Greece. He advanced hastily through Thermopylæ, conquered Amphissa, and occupied Elateia, which gave him

access to Boeotia and Attica. The Athenians had been at last convinced how shamefully they had been betrayed by Philip, and by the advice of Demosthenes made an alliance with Thebes. But in 338 took place the fatal battle of Chaeronea, which put an end to the freedom of Greece. The terms imposed upon Athens were not hard in themselves, but she had to recognise the supremacy of Macedonia. Thebes was treated much more harshly; she was compelled to renounce the Boeotian League and to admit a Macedonian garrison into the Cadmeia. Philip even succeeded in extending his power over the Peloponnesus, and wasted and plundered Sparta, who resisted him, and diminished her territory. He then summoned the whole of the Grecian states to a congress at the Isthmus of Corinth, where a common attack on the Persians was determined upon, in which Philip was to be the leader. But just as he was making his preparations, and was also preparing to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, he was murdered by one of his bodyguards at his palace at Aegae, as an act of private vengeance.

**Battle of  
Chaeronea.**

**Death of  
Philip.**



## CHAPTER VIII.

### EARLY HISTORY OF ROME, 753—c. 350 B.C.

HAVING given an account of the Greeks up to the time when they began to take an important part in the politics of the world, it will be well to turn our attention to that other nation which, commencing with a humble origin, ended eventually by drawing the whole of the known world into itself. The peninsula of Italy falls naturally into two parts—a long and broad plain in the north, between the Alps and Apennines, and a mountain district in the south stretching far down towards Africa, terminated by Sicily, which is scarcely separated from the mainland. At the beginning of history we find the plain, with the exception of the Veneti on the Adriatic and the Ligurians in Piedmont, and the coast of Genoa, occupied by Celts who adopted the Roman speech and dress, and were properly called “Gauls with the toga.” They were divided into several tribes: the Insubrians, who founded Milan; the Cenomani, who founded Brescia and Verona; the Boii, who founded Bologna; and the Senones, who spread from Rimini as far as Ancona. It seems that the Gauls learnt the first elements of their higher civilisation from the Etruscans. The long chain of the Apennines, which forms the backbone of the lower portion of Italy, reaches its greatest height in the high land of the Abruzzi, the ancient home of the Samnites, and then divides into two branches, one forming the mountainous country of Calabria, the other reaching close to the point where Italy is separated by a narrow strait from Sicily.

There is little doubt that the inhabitants of Greece and Italy came from the north-east, and were originally closely connected. We find the Italians consisting of many tribes with different appellations; but the main divisions, which will alone concern us, are those of the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins. Of the Etruscans we know little or nothing, although we possess countless specimens of their art and language, and know that they exercised a powerful

influence over the development of Rome. It is strange that, notwithstanding the labour spent upon the investigation of them, they should still remain a mystery to us. They extended apparently from the mouth of the Po to the northern banks of the Tiber; they formed a league of twelve independent cities, from Cortona and Arezzo in the north to Veii in the south. They were in the beginning, like the Romans, governed by kings; but they got rid of them before the fourth century before Christ, and entrusted themselves to the guidance of noble families for the transaction of their temporal and spiritual affairs. In earlier periods their harbours were visited by Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek ships, and they had a free port at Agylla at the mouth of the Tiber. This is not the place to discuss the questions with regard to them upon which scholars are so much divided. The Sabines, who were settled in Central Italy, include the tribes of the Samnites, the Peligni, and the Marsi, who are all known as Sabellians. Their original home was in the high mountainous country which is now the Abruzzi. They were a strong hardy people, living in villages in a patriarchal manner, and were good fighters. They practised a patriarchal system of government. We find in the writings of the Augustan age constant allusions to the virtues and simplicity which had been corrupted by the luxury of a later time. The race which lived south of the Tiber in the hills of Algidus and the banks of the Liris were known as Oscans, worshipping apparently Diana as their principal goddess. Their chief divisions, whose names frequently occur in Roman history, were the Volscians in Terracina and Antium, the Rutulians in Ardea, the Ausonians between the Liris and the Volturnus, the Aequi at Tivoli and Palestrina, the Hernicans at Anagni and Ferentino. The languages spoken by these tribes were very similar, and are known by the common name of Oscan; their writing resembled the Etruscan, and ran from right to left. The Latins occupied the broad plain to the south of the Tiber. They seem to have been organised originally in a league of thirty cities, the head of which was Alba Longa on the shores of the Alban Lake. They appear to have had a king and a senate, and the habit of assembling the whole of their warriors in arms. They met every year in the wood of Ferentinum, at the holy spring, and sacrificed to their common deity, Jupiter Latiaris, whose temple stood in the Alban Mount, now called Monte Cavo.

**The  
Sabines.**

**The Latins.**

Tradition, which was believed to be true in the Augustan age,

said that Rome was governed originally by kings, the first four of whom reigned from 753 to 617 B.C., and bore the names of

**The early  
Roman  
Legends.**

Romulus, Numa, Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Martius. It is impossible to say how much truth and how much falsehood lies in this account, but it is certain that the narrative usually given is not historically correct. The story is that Numitor of Alba Longa, a descendant of Aeneas and Iulus, was deprived of his throne by his brother Amulius, and his daughter, Rea Silvia, was dedicated to the service of Vesta, in order that she might have no more children. However, by the fatherhood of Mars, she became

**Romulus  
and Remus.**

the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus, whom her uncle Amulius ordered her to throw into the Tiber. They were placed in a box, which the stream cast on the shore at the foot of the Palatine, where they were suckled by a wolf until Faustulus, the king's huntsman, found them, and had them brought up by his wife, Acca Laurentia. At last, hearing of their royal origin, they restored Numitor to the throne of Alba Longa, and determined to found a city on the seven hills upon which Rome is now built. Romulus wished to found the city on the Palatine, Remus, on the Aventine; but omens decided in favour of the first-named, and the city was built there and called Rome. Romulus surrounded it with a wall, which Remus leapt over in scorn, upon which Romulus stabbed him, and said, "So may every one perish who dared to cross over these walls!" The population of Rome consisted entirely of men, and they were anxious have wives, so they invited the neighbouring Sabines, with their wives and daughters, to a feast, and ran off with the women. The Sabine king, Titus Tatius, who reigned at Cures, made war upon them, and Tarpeia, corrupted by the desire for the gold ornaments which the Sabines wore, opened the gate of the capitol to them, but was treacherously killed. Romulus at last conquered, and reigned till his death in 716.

After a short interregnum, Romulus was succeeded by Numa Pompilius, whose name is obviously connected with Nomos, law,

**Numa  
Pompilius.**

as Romulus is with Roma, Rome. He was of Sabine origin and avoided war, so that during his reign of forty-three years the temple of Janus, whose door stood open in time of war, was closed. He established the religion of Rome on a firm basis, and was a great lawyer. He was assisted in these arrangements by the nymph Egeria, who met him by night in a sacred grove. When he

died in peace, he was mourned like a father. After a short interregnum, Numa was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius, a Latin of warlike disposition. In his time a war took place between Rome and Alba Longa, which is marked by the story of the fight between the three

**Tullus  
Hostilius.**

Horatii and the three Curatii, who contended with each other to avoid the slaughter of a general battle. The Romans won, but the king of Alba Longa, Mettius Fufetius, anxious to avenge the disgrace, took advantage of a struggle between Rome and the neighbouring cities of Fidenae and Veii to attack the Romans, when he thought they were going to be defeated. The Romans were again victorious, and they punished the traitor by having him torn asunder by horses, and ordered the population of Alba to remove to Rome. From this time Rome became the head of the Latin League. Tullius is said to have been killed by lightning after a reign of thirty-two years.

Ancus Martius, the last of the four kings, was regarded as the grandson of Numa, and followed in his footsteps. He included the Aventine in the city, and founded Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He made a bridge over the Tiber, and fortified the Janiculum as a bridge-head.

**Ancus  
Martius.**

The next king was Tarquinius Priscus, who is said to have been a distinguished *lucumo* or prince of Tarquinii in Etruria. He came to Rome with his wife Tanaquil, who was skilled in magic arts. He was the son of Demaratus of Corinth, who, fleeing from the tyranny of Cypselus, came to Tarquinii, and married an Etrurian wife. Finding his foreign origin a hindrance to his advancement, he removed to Rome, and, becoming a great friend of Ancus Martius, was chosen to succeed him. He was an able and energetic king; he made war with the Latins and the Sabines, and eventually with his own people, the Etruscans, whom he compelled to accept the Roman sovereignty. He was a great builder, and constructed the Cloaca Maxima to drain the marshy ground in the market-place, where he made a Forum, and a Comitium or meeting place for the people. He also constructed a circus between the Palatine and the Aventine, where games were held every year on the Ides of September. When he was hoping to erect a great temple on the Capitol to Jupiter Capitolinus, he was murdered by the two sons of Ancus Martius, having reigned from 617 to 579 B.C. He was succeeded by Servius Tullius (579 to 535), who has more claim than the

**Tarquinius  
Priscus.**

other kings we have mentioned to be considered as an historical personage. He was said to be the son of a slave. He entirely transformed the government and the position of Rome. To the original hills on which Rome was said to have been built—the Palatine, the Capitoline, Quirinal, Caelian, and Aventine—he added the Esquiline and the Viminal, thus making up the legendary seven hills of Rome. He surrounded the city with a wall, portions of which still exist, and gave Rome a new constitution of a more democratic character, dividing the people into classes and centuries. It is said that he was murdered by the son of Tarquin.

**Servius  
Tullius.**

He was succeeded by Tarquinius Superbus (535 to 510), Tarquin the Proud, a violent and tyrannical nature, who abandoned the statesmanlike management of his predecessor. He extended the frontiers of Rome, by the conquest of Latium and the reduction of Gabii. He subdued the Hernici and some cities of the Volsci, and founded the colonies of Signia and Luceria, to confirm his conquests. He gave its final form to the Cloaca Maxima, and built the Capitoline Temple. He also acquired the Sibylline Books, which contained oracles about the future of Rome, and placed them in a subterranean sanctuary. At last, when the tyranny of himself and his sons became insupportable, he was driven from the throne by the instrumentality of Brutus, and settled in Coere. The royal dignity was abolished—the name, indeed, of king became in Rome an object partly of detestation and partly of derision—and a republican government, with two consuls at its head, was established in its place. In 529 B.C., the Roman republic, the most famous government which has ever existed in the world, began its triumphal career.

Instead of discussing at length what amount of truth there is in these legends, it will be better to state at once what is the final conclusion of competent scholars with regard to the early condition of Rome. It is probable that in early times three tribes occupied the territory of the city of Rome, each living in a separate and independent community. It is said that they bore the names of Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. The Ramnes were of Latin origin, and were probably the first comers, having perhaps seceded from Alba Longa. The name looks as if it were associated with the names of Roma, Romulus, and Remus. They were established in a fortified position on the Palatine Hill,

**Early  
Roman  
History.**

surrounded by walls in the form of a square, and called Roma Quadrata, traces of which still remain. The ground on which Rome was built was called the Septimontium, consisting of seven hills or montes, although it possibly meant a district as well as a hill. The names of these seven montes were Palatium, Velia, Fagutal, Subura, Germalus, Oppius, and Gispus. **The Seven Hills.** The seven hills of modern poetry, as defined in the Middle Ages, were Palatine, Capitol, Aventine, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Caelian, although several of these bore the name of Collis and not of Mons. The Tities were of Sabine origin, and were settled in the Collis Quirinalis, the Luceres were probably the last comers, and were established on the Mons Caelius. Livy says that their origin was uncertain, and there are two modern theories about them, one that they were of Etruscan origin, the other that they are Latins who came to Rome under Tullius Hostilius after the destruction of Alba Longa. There was always a jealousy between the Montani and the Collini, the Mount men and the Hill men, but eventually the three communities came together to form a single state, with the Capitoline as the seat of the common sanctuary, under the name of Civitas Roma.

At a later period, Servius Tullius surrounded the community over which he ruled with a wall, which included, besides the old Septimontium, the Quirinal, Viminal, Caelian, Aventine, and Capitoline, and many fragments of **Wall of Servius Tullius.** which now exist. The space thus included is the most famous in history, as it held the Forum, which lies between the Palatine and the Capitol, the Comitium, the Arx or citadel overlooking the forum, on the site now occupied by the church of Ara Coeli, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at the other end. A new wall necessitated a new pomoerium—that is the space immediately outside the walls, which separated the consecrated city, the urbs or templum, from the territory of Rome, the Ager Romanus. It was a rule that no army should come within the walls of Rome; if the people had to assemble in arms, they met in the Campus Martius, the flat ground lying between the Tiber and the Capitol, on which a large portion of modern Rome is now built. The official name of the Roman citizens was quirites, which has received many explanations, but is probably connected with a Sabine word, *curis* or *quiris*, signifying a lance or a spear—quirites, therefore, meaning the men of the spear. **Quirites.** In later times it signified citizens instead of

soldiers, Caesar once quelling a mutiny by addressing his soldiers as *quirites*. The *quirites* were again divided into two classes, *patricii*, citizens with full rights, and citizens with inferior rights called *clientes* and *plebs*. The *patricians* and *patricii* comprised those who were by birth *Plebeians*. members of the three original tribes. The word signifies those who have fathers, that is, those who derive their descent from fathers in distinction from those who, like the *plebs*, derived their descent from mothers. The *clientes* were persons residing at Rome who had to be represented in all matters which had to do with the duties of citizenship by a *patronus*, who must be a *patrician*. The *plebs* differed from the *clientes* in the fact that a *plebeian* had no *patronus*. It is not precisely known how they came into existence. The *clientes* gradually disappeared, and the *plebs* became more and more important.

Each of the fundamental divisions of *Ramnes*, *Titius*, and *Luceres* was divided into ten *curiae*. There were, therefore, thirty *curiae* in the state. The *curiae* were composed of a number of *gentes*, which were originally local, but afterwards ceased to be so. The *gens* was a most important institution, and exercised a great influence over Roman life. If there were no other heirs, the members of the *gens* succeeded to the estate, and each *gens* was under the protection of an especial divinity; indeed, the fact that they attended the family sacrifices was a sign that men belonged to a *gens*. The members of the *gens* were buried in a common cemetery.

A number of changes which took place in the times of the kings bear the name of *Servius Tullius*. The city was divided into four regions, and each of the four tribes corresponding to these comprised all citizens of full age who lived in one region. The tribe became the administrative unit for taxation and military service. *Servius* also made the taxation and the military service imposed upon the citizen depend upon his taxable property, which was assessed every five years. Military service was made compulsory upon all citizens, excepting the very poorest. They were divided according to their wealth into five classes, each of which furnished to the army a fixed number of centuries or companies. They had to arm themselves and to feed themselves in the field, and those who were too poor to do this were employed as military artisans or as musicians.

The King was elected for life and was irresponsible. He was

chosen by the *Comitia*, accepted by the Senate, consecrated by an augur, and he received the supreme authority of the *imperium* by the vote of the people. The *imperium* remained throughout Roman history the reservoir from **The King.**

which all authority flowed : it comprised all military and judicial power, including the power of life and death. The king was treated with great honour, but he was a constitutional and not an absolute monarch, as his power was limited by the well defined authority of the *paterfamilias*, the gens, and the senate, by the power of the people exercised in the *comitium*, and above all by the conventions of government as expressed by what was called the *Mos Majorum*, or traditional custom. The principal officers of the king were the *Tribunus Celerum*, who commanded the cavalry, and the *Praefectus Urbi*, who governed Rome in the king's absence. The Senate was at this time nominated by the king from among the **The Senate.**

heads of the patrician families. It consisted at first of a hundred members, but was afterwards raised to three hundred. It acted as a royal council, especially in matters where tradition was concerned, and it had the right of ratifying or annulling the votes of the people. The Senate was never, strictly speaking, a legislative body ; it merely gave advice expressed in decrees ; but these decrees often had the force of law. The only representative assembly was the *Comitia Curiata*, in which all citizens voted—patricians, clients, and plebeians. **Comitia Curiata.**

Their votes were always given by *curies*, each *curia* consisting of a number of *gentes*. They decided on peace and war, and conferred citizenship. They voted separately in an order determined by lot, and so when sixteen *curies* had voted there was no reason to call upon the rest. This assembly existed after the abolition of royalty, but it had then no political power.

Under the republic, the social unit of the state was the Family, at the head of which stood the *paterfamilias*, the father of the family. He had almost unlimited authority ; he was the head of the family religion, and the **The Family.** sole owner of the family property, including slaves. He had over the members of his family the power of life and death. These powers were afterwards modified by law and custom. One of the first acts of the new republic was to pass a law by which no citizen could be killed or scourged by a magistrate without having the power of appealing to the people. This was the *Habeas Corpus Act* of Rome.



By the organisation ascribed to Servius Tullius, the citizens were divided into five classes according to their wealth. These classes were further divided into 188 centuries for military and political purposes. Of these centuries the first eighteen consisted of those persons who had the money and the permission to provide themselves with a horse and to serve on horseback, called in Latin Equites, which is generally translated by the name of Knights.

The first class was further divided into eighty centuries, the second, third, and fourth classes into twenty each, and the fifth class into thirty. There was also a division between elder and younger, the line being drawn on the age of forty-seven. Other citizens who did not belong to a class were not altogether excluded from the centuries or from the right of voting. There were the four centuries of the workers in wood, the workers in brass, the military bands, and the unarmed substitutes. The citizens who did not belong to a class, or to one of the four last mentioned centuries, were collected into a single century and

called proletarii, a name which seems to imply that their only function was that of adding to the population of the country, and which is the origin of the word proletariat with which we are familiar. They were also called Capite censi, or counted by heads. They took no part in military service, but they had a vote, and thus the whole number of the centuries was 193. It is obvious that, if the equites and the first class voted together, the number of 98 centuries would form more than a majority of the whole, so that they could carry anything they pleased. Also the centuries of the younger and the older had equal votes; whereas, according to modern statistics, the younger would have been twice as numerous. Thus we see that the Servian constitution, although it gave every one a vote, also gave great preponderance to wealth and age.

We can see this by the effect of the more democratic measures carried about 241 B.C., when the number of the local tribes was raised to thirty-five, and the value of the copper *as* was reduced. The local tribe now became the basis of the division into centuries, five senior and five junior. The eighteen centuries of the horsemen remained, but each of the other classes had seventy centuries, the five subordinate centuries remaining as before. This made a complete number of 373 centuries, of which the absolute majority was 187. Under this new arrangement, the equites and the first class together had only 88 votes out of 373, instead of 88

out of 198, so that the privilege of wealth was greatly reduced, but that of age preserved.

The constitutional history of Rome is to a great extent the story of a struggle of the plebeians with the patricians, first for an equal, then for a predominant share in the government of the state. When the republic first came into existence, all magistracies belonged exclusively to the patricians, but when the plebs seceded to the Aventine in 494 B.C.,<sup>\*</sup> and demanded a share in the administration, two magistracies were created which were exclusively

**Secession of  
the Plebs.**

plebeian. These were the Tribuneship, which afterwards became the most important office in the state, and the Plebeian Aedileship, which gave the plebeians a share in the government of the city. At this time the most powerful office in Rome was the Consulate, and for this the plebeians naturally desired to be eligible, and fifty years after the secession a compromise was effected by which they could be elected to an office called a Military Tribune with consular power. It was not till 367 that a law was passed, in the consulate of Licinius, that not only might plebeians be admitted to the Consulship, but one of the consuls must always

**The Lici-  
nian Laws.**

be a plebeian, so that there might be two plebeian consuls, but there could only be one patrician. In the year 421, plebeians were admitted to the Quaestorship, but no plebeian quaestor was elected till the year 409. After the passing of the Licinian Law, the opposition of the patricians rapidly disappeared, and plebeians were made eligible to the Curule Aedileship in 364, to the Dictatorship in 356, to the Censorship in 351, and in 339 a law provided that one of the Censors must be a plebeian. But the conservatism of Rome was such that two plebeian censors were not elected until more than two hundred years after it had become legally possible. The last conquest of the plebeians was admission to the Praetorship—indeed, we find that the privilege most jealously guarded by all classes is that of being judged by the order to which they belong, and no plebeian might be Praetor till the year 337. We thus see that, at the beginning of the republic, the patricians formed an aristocracy of birth, which had the exclusive possession of complete civic rights. Clients and plebeians could not intermarry with patricians, they could not be admitted to the Senate, they could not be magistrates or priests. It required a bitter struggle of more than two hundred years to place these two orders in a position of political equality. The horsemen, who formed a lower aristo-

crazy of wealth, holding a position something like that of baronets with reference to peers, were altered by the title being given to wealthy men of no particular extraction, especially to the publicans, the wealthy farmers of the public revenue. Rome also contained a large number of foreigners and slaves, who were, of course, not citizens. The slaves were very numerous—at a later period more than double the number of citizens. They were under the absolute power of their masters.

We will now give an account of the origin and importance of the various Roman magistrates whom we have already mentioned. These were, in the chronological order of their institution, consuls, quaestors, tribunes and aediles of the plebs, censors, praetors, and curule

**The Magistrates.**

aediles. There were also magistrates only occasionally appointed, such as the dictator and the master of the horse. Magistrates were invested with certain powers and attributes, the more important of which were *majestas* and *imperium*. *Majestas*, which is imperfectly translated by Majesty, first belonged to the kings, then passed to the people, and was conferred by the people upon its magistrates. Any one who did not respect their majesty was guilty of a crime and must be punished. The crime of *laesa majestas*, or *lèse majesté*, as it was called in the Middle Ages, took a large extension in the Roman empire, and is now of importance in Germany. In the presence of a magistrate the people rose from their seats, uncovered their heads, got out of his way in the streets, and, if they were on horseback, dismounted from their horses. Similar respect was shown by magistrates of lower rank to those of higher rank than themselves. The word *imperium*, which we have already mentioned, requires careful consideration.

**The Imperium.**

In the first place it implies high military command. Magistrates invested with this power commanded in chief the armies entrusted to them by the Senate, conducted war, disposed of budgets, concluded truces with the enemy, and could coin money in their own name outside Rome. It also gave certain judicial powers—at one time indeed, the power of life and death, which was afterwards confined to the dictator. The *imperium* also gave the right of summoning or arresting a fellow-citizen, but his home always remained inviolable. The different magistrates possessed different degrees of *imperium*, the dictator having the highest, the consul less, and the praetor still less. The extent of their *imperium* was shown by the number of lictors who went before them, carrying axes tied up in

bundle of rods. The dictator had twenty-four, the consul twelve, and the praetor six. The competence of a magistrate was known as his *potestas*; indeed, at a later period, the word *potestas* meant a magistrate in Latin, and the title passed to the *podestà*, the supreme judicial officer in the cities of medieval Italy.

The first magistrates in Rome were, of course, the Consuls, the word probably meaning colleagues. There were two of them, possessing equal power. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Roman govern- The  
Consuls.ment was the existence of a number of colleges

of magistrates, all of whom had equal power and were independent of each other. This would certainly have produced frequent deadlocks if it had not been for the strong political sense of the Roman people; indeed it sometimes did, as when Bibulus said that he intended to observe the heavens during the whole period of his colleague Caesar's consulship; but, as a rule, it worked extremely well. When first created, the consuls were invested with the whole of the royal authority, excepting that which pertained to the kings as priests, which was mainly given to the Pontifex Maximus. They had the *imperium regium* and the *potestas regia*, the only difference being that the *imperium* belonged equally to both the consuls and that it only lasted for a year. But by the creation of other offices, and by the growing power of the Senate and the plebeian assemblies, it was gradually circumscribed, though it always remained very considerable. At times they were the administrative heads of the state, presiding over the Comitia and the Senate. They watched over the public security, and were the natural representatives of the people; they controlled the enrolment of the army, and nominated the principal officers. When out of Rome and beyond the pomerium, each consul had the right to command a consular army, consisting of two legions, and of as many allies, which command was assigned to him by the Senate. As a rule, the two consuls remained at Rome for the first months after their election, and then went simultaneously to their provinces.

When the plebeians were admitted to the Consulship in 367, the patricians asked for and obtained a compensation for the sacrifice which they were making; therefore the power of civil jurisdiction was taken away from The  
Praetors.the consuls and given to a new patrician magistrate called a Praetor, the patricians naturally objecting to being tried by any one but their peers. However, thirty years later,

the plebeians were admitted to the praetorship. From 242 B.C., in consequence of the influx of foreigners to Rome, two Praetors were elected annually, one being called the Praetor Urbanus, and the other the Praetor Peregrinus. This number was eventually increased to eight. The praetor, who was regarded as the colleague of the consuls, could act as their deputy, during their absence from Rome, but his special function was to try civil suits between citizens. The ancient civil law of Rome, partly codified in the XII. Tables, was seldom altered by direct legislation, so that it was left to the praetor to supply its deficiencies, in the same way as the Common Law of England has been modified by the decisions of the Court of Chancery. The Praetor Peregrinus had the special duty of deciding suits in which foreigners were involved, and his decisions had therefore a greater extension and a greater novelty than those of his colleague the Praetor Urbanus.

The Censors were established in the year 443 as a patrician magistracy, to undertake certain duties which had up to this time been performed by the consuls. As a rule

**The Censors.** the censors were chosen from people of consular rank. They were elected, in principle, for five years, but some years after their creation it was decreed that the office should only last for a year and a half, leaving an interval between the abdication of each censor and the election of a successor, which we may imagine as a welcome relief to the Roman people. Their power gradually grew in importance. It at first only concerned the census of the population, but it eventually developed into a general right of superintendence over the morals of the citizens, a duty which became more important when they were entrusted with the formation of the Senate. The censors thus became the guardians of the material and moral basis, the *mos majorum*, the traditional morality on which the greatness of the Roman republic was founded. They were spoken of as the most holy magistrates, and they were distinguished by wearing a toga entirely of purple. The great census took place in the Campus Martius. Every father of a family had to appear before the censors and to declare, to the best of his belief, the names of himself and his family, his age, and his fortune. This information was written down on a roll, and the taxation was based upon it. After this a review was held in the town of all the equites possessing a horse provided at the public expense. Each horse-

man of all the eighteen centuries led his horse past the censors. If everything was satisfactory he was allowed to pass on, but if he was too old or too fat, or not respectable, he was ordered to sell his horse, and he ceased to be an eques. Careful lists were then prepared of all the citizens, which were kept in the archives of the censors, authentic copies being deposited in the librarium and in the Capitol. The censors in the capacity of inquisitors, or of inquirers into the private life and moral conduct of the citizens, might condemn and punish cowardice, perjury, luxury, celibacy without due cause, criminal conduct, bad administration of property, lax education of children, cruelty towards slaves. As a punishment they might remove a man from the Senate, from the Equites, or from his tribe, or they might give him a bad mark, a *nota censoria*, as it was called, which was in the nature of a moral rebuke. The census was closed by a great act of national purification in the Campus Martius, in the presence of the newly constituted army. At this there was a solemn sacrifice of pigs, sheep, and bulls—a *suovetaurilia* as it was called—and the whole ceremony bore the name of Lustratio, and the five years' taking of office of the censors was called a lustrum. By these ceremonies the censors were said *condere lustrum*—to close the lustrum. Can we wonder at the supremacy gained by a people which conducted its affairs with such carefulness and dignity!

The Tribunate of the Plebs, which now claims our attention, was one of the most remarkable magistracies which ever existed in any government. The Tribunes, whose creation has already been mentioned, were originally two, but they gradually increased in number, and, after the year 457, less than forty years after their first establishment, they were always ten. Their primitive object was to assist the plebeians against a too forcible exercise of the consular authority, and they did this by intercession and by veto. Indeed, they introduced the latter word into political language. They had no actual competence in either administrative, judicial, or military affairs, but they had a certain right of coercion. Their persons were inviolable, and they were irresponsible for their actions. They had the right and the duty of protecting any plebeian who asked for their assistance, and for this purpose their doors were always open, and they could not absent themselves from Rome for more than a single day. Their assistance might be claimed by the patricians as well as by the plebeians. Their Veto was applicable to all official acts, as

The  
Tribunes.

well as to decisions of the consuls and of the Senate. They could even arrest magistrates and compel them to answer questions in the forum. It was an opposition crystal-

**The Veto.** lised into an office, and unless the Romans had been gifted with a genius for compromise it would have made all government impossible. It is indeed difficult to see how the Roman government can have been carried on with the double difficulty of the colleges of officers and the Tribunate of the plebs. There is no record of a similar office having existed elsewhere, and it remains an enigma in political science. The Aediles were at first nominated by the tribunes, but after 471 they were elected by the Concilia Plebis. Their duties were to look after the buildings of the city, the supply of corn, and the solemn games. The duty of the Quaestors was to guard the public treasury, and their number gradually increased from two to twenty. Every military commander and governor of a province was attended by a quaestor, who had charge of the commissariat and of the military chest. The office was generally held by young men, and was, indeed, the first to which a candidate for public life aspired.

Having described the important parts of the Roman republic, it remains to narrate how the citizens conducted their affairs in the public meetings which are necessary parts of a free government. The meetings of citizens in Rome for public purposes bear three names—

**Public Meetings.** Concilium, Contio, and Comitia. A meeting of any kind which was not contio or comitia was called concilium; a meeting duly summoned at which there was only discussion but no voting was called contio; a meeting at which there was voting but no discussion was called comitia. Of the comitia, there were three kinds, the Curiata, the Centuriata, and the Tributa; there were also the Concilia Plebis, which gradually assumed an increasingly great importance. The Curiata had been the

**Comitia Curiata.** most important meeting under the kings, but under the republic it gradually fell into desuetude, and was only held for the purpose of passing the *lex de imperio*. In this case it consisted of thirty lictors and three augurs.

**Comitia Centuriata.** The Centuriata had now become the leading assembly, and it could only be summoned by some one who possessed the imperium. It represented the people in arms, just as in the national meetings, held once a year in some of the Swiss cantons, the citizens who come together have an umbrella in one hand and a rusty old

sword in the other. It was held in the Campus Martius outside the city walls, as no armed force might meet within the city. At the time of meeting a red flag was hoisted on the Janiculum on the other side of the Tiber, which was also occupied by a military post. The moment the flag was withdrawn the meeting stopped, a survival of the time when the right bank of the river was enemies' territory, and the withdrawal of the flag meant a possible invasion of the Etruscans. The *Comitia Tributa* was a meeting of the whole people assembled in tribes. The *Concilia Plebis* were meetings of the plebs alone, summoned and presided over by their own magistrates. They passed resolutions, called *plebiscita* or *plebiscites*, which were, in the first instance, binding on the plebs only.

**The Comitia Tributa and Concilia Plebis.**

The *Comitia* could only meet on days which were legal for this purpose. The night before they met, the auspices had to be consulted. The assembly came together at daybreak, and the meeting could not be continued after sunset. In the *Comitia Curiata* and *Tributa* the *curies* and tribes voted simultaneously, but in the *Centuriata* a different method was adopted. Under the old arrangement, the centuries of the knights were called upon first and then the centuries of the first class, and if they agreed there was no need to call on any more, as they formed a majority by themselves. But after the reforms of 241, of which we have given an account, one century of the first class was chosen to vote first by lot, and this was called the *centuria prerogativa*, the prerogative century; then followed the sixty-nine remaining centuries of the first class, the twelve centuries of the equites, and the centuries of the second class, and, as soon as a majority had been obtained, the voting ceased. As the majority required was 187, it was necessary to go down as low as the third class. It is a remarkable fact that all the *Comitia* might be interrupted in a manner which would seem to make it impossible to carry on business at all. Indeed, as has been before remarked, unless the Romans had been gifted with an unusual share of political capacity, the government must have come to a stop. A magistrate might not hold the meeting on the day named, or might break it off at any moment. It might be interrupted by a case of epilepsy, a diversion easily feigned by a little soap and water, or a sudden storm of thunder and lightning, or by an augur's declaring that the omens were unfavourable, or by a

**Methods of Voting.**

**Means of obstructing Business.**



magistrate's announcing that he intended to watch the sky, in which case nothing could be done until he had finished. Also if a magistrate said that he was going to hold a meeting, the first meeting must be broken up, as it was impossible to hold two meetings at the same time. A tribune of the plebs might also break up a meeting at any time.

Just as the power of the *Comitia Curiata* passed to the assembly of the centuries, so that of the centuries passed to that of the tribunes, but the more important magistrates were elected at the *Comitia Centuriata*, the lesser at the *Tributa*, while the plebeian magistrates were chosen at the *Concilia Plebis*. The *Centuriata* was by far the predominant power of the state till the passing of the *Lex Hortensia* in 286 B.C., after which its influence declined.

The Roman Senate is the most important political body which has ever existed in the world, not excepting the British

Parliament. The Senate had originally been instituted by the kings, but when they were expelled his duty passed to the consuls, or to the dictator when there was one. The Senate was at first exclusively patrician, and no plebeian senator is mentioned till P. Licinius Calvus, who was consular tribune in the year 400 and was the first plebeian who held a consular office. In the early part of the fourth century the choice of the Senators was transferred from the consuls to the censors. Thus the election became quinquennial instead of annual. The censors were bound by oath to choose the most worthy citizens to fill up the vacancies, for a senator was elected for life. They first took all persons who had been elected to offices, down to the Quaestorship, since the last election, and these were generally sufficient to fill up the original numbers. As the magistracies were successively opened to the plebeians, the Senate gradually assumed a plebeian character, and the censors had little to do beside ratifying the popular vote. They therefore took the list, from which they removed all who had died or had been degraded since the last election, and any whom they might consider as unworthy of the distinction, adding the names of those who, by virtue of their office, had been allowed to be present at the Senate since the last election without being actual senators. They then declared the number of vacancies and filled them up, it being necessary that both censors should concur in any election or omission. This being done, the official list of the Senate, the *Album Senatorium* as it was called, was solemnly read from the

rostra and exhibited for public inspection, the reasons for the exclusion of any one being stated. The person whose name stood at the head of the list was called *Princeps Senatus*, a purely honorary distinction, although it is probably the origin of our title prince. The number of the Senate was 300 until Sulla raised it to 600. The senators wore a gold ring, a tunic with a broad purple stripe, and a peculiarly constructed shoe, so that to change shoes was equivalent to becoming a senator. They had special seats reserved for them in the theatre and in the games.

The Senate usually met in the *Curia Hostilia* in the Forum, but occasionally in different temples; the building which served for its meetings at the close of the republic still exists as a church under the name of Sant' Adriano, one of the most interesting buildings in the world. The bronze gates which belonged to it are now the portals of St. John Lateran. To carry a motion, a certain number must be present, and therefore a count out was possible. A motion made in the Senate was called a *relatio* or a reference, and a vote passed was not a law but a *Senatus consultum*, that is, not an order, but a piece of advice. Indeed, the Senate was not a legislative but an advising body. It was a consultative body which assisted the executive in the administration of the government, and to it all executive officers were bound by traditional custom to submit all important measures, administrative or political, before their execution. Thus the influence of the Senate grew as the number of the magistrates increased. Even the highest magistrates shrank from engaging in a conflict with the Senate, composed, as it was of ex-magistrates, the *elite* of the citizens, who preserved their dignity for life. Therefore any advice it gave was certain to be accepted, and this is the secret of the immense power which the Senate exercised in the three last centuries of the republic, not only over general policy but over the administrative departments.

#### **Functions of the Senate.**

The Senate had, among other things, the control of foreign affairs. The right of declaring war or making peace rested with the people; but the Senate was charged with the preliminary negotiations. Foreign embassies were introduced to the Senate, and the Senate sent embassies to foreign countries; it also assigned the provinces to the several governors, regulated the budgets, and declared the honours they were to receive. Thus while, technically, the Senate only gave advice, and did not pass actual

#### **Foreign Affairs.**

laws, the persons of whom it was composed, and the remarkable complex of powers which was included in its grasp, and a few of which we have mentioned, made it, as I have said, the most distinguished and important political body which has ever existed in the world.

Two important functions of the Senate we have not mentioned. One was the power, in an extreme crisis of the state, of passing

**Martial  
Law.**

a vote that the consuls should take care that no harm should befall the republic. This established a state of martial law, during which time all laws were suspended, and naturally the use of it and the duration of it were jealously watched. The other was the creation of

**The Dic-  
tatorship.**

a dictatorship, an extraordinary office, the holder of which exercised absolute and almost royal power. It was first established about 500 B.C., shortly after the expulsion of the kings, and was found a very useful expedient to have recourse to in a constitution where the ordinary magistrates were subjected to such a number of checks. The official name of the dictator was Master of the People, and the manner of his appointment was peculiar. When the Senate had declared its opinion that a dictator ought to be appointed, the consul got up in the middle of the night, and, in absolute silence, nominated a dictator. After his appointment, he received the imperium by the vote of the curies. His importance was the same as that of the consul, but he had no colleagues to interfere with him, and he was more independent of the senate. His imperium was superior to that of the consul: there was no appeal against his actions, and he was irresponsible. He was supported by twenty-four lictors, carrying the rods with the axes. During the existence of a dictator, the ordinary magistrates did not abdicate, but they lost their independence of action, as they could only act with the dictator's consent. The tribunes preserved their veto, but could only use it if the dictator violated the law, as he was still bound by law; but they retained their other powers, and the dictator was bound to respect their inviolability of person. Every dictator, after his appointment, nominated a master of the horse, who had the importance of a consul, but not the imperium. He abdicated simultaneously with the dictator. The last dictator of the original kind was appointed in 216 B.C. The dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar were of a widely different character.

## CHAPTER IX.

### GROWTH OF THE POWER OF ROME, 390-201 B.C.

THE first important step in the subjugation of Italy by the Romans was the conquest of Veii, a city about twelve miles from Rome, surrounded by walls seven miles in circumference, pierced by nine gates. The siege is said to have lasted for ten years, like that of Troy, and, for the first time in the existence of the city, a Roman army remained in the field year after year, till its object was accomplished. Veii surrendered in 346 B.C. to the energy of Marcus Furius Camillus, who thus, as Mommsen says, opened to his countrymen the brilliant and perilous career of foreign conquest. The conquest of Veii gave Rome the possession of the territory as far as the Ciminian forest. The fateful year 390 B.C. witnessed the invasion of the Gauls, the defeat of the Roman army at the Allia, the capture and the sack of Rome, and the submission of its inhabitants. This victory, however, produced no lasting effect. It deeply impressed the imagination of the Romans as the most terrible crisis of their youth, but it left them stronger for action than before. Within twenty years of the destruction of the city, the colonies of Sutrium and Nepete were founded. A Roman colony was merely a military settlement, a handful of soldiers placed with their wives and children, in the midst of a hostile population, to guard the interests of the majesty of Rome. Caere, twenty-seven miles from Rome, was annexed twenty years later, but its inhabitants did not obtain full civic rights for the next fifty years.

During the next half century, Rome turned her attention principally to the south. The two most dangerous enemies of Rome, beyond the plain of Latium, were the Aequi, who lived in the mountains behind Tivoli, and the Volsci, who were settled in the hill beyond Monte Cavo. Of these the Aequi were the weaker. In order to plant a wedge between these two adversaries, the Romans

built the formidable fortresses of Cora, Norba, and Signia. Cora, on its mountain crag, still shows the massive Roman walls of this period, built upon the remains of the former circumvallations. The whole is crowned by a delicate temple dedicated to Hercules, which dates from the time of Sulla. At Norba, now called Norma, the Cyclopean walls of the Volscians, with their four gates, form a more conspicuous object than the later Roman fortifications. Segni has a huge gate which recalls the wonders of Stonehenge, and bears the curious modern name of the Gate of the Saracens. The Volsci were finally defeated by M. Furius Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, and the low country gradually submitted as far as Terracina. Colonies were established to keep the newly acquired districts in order, and the country was incorporated with Rome.

Rome had now nothing more to dread from the enemies which a hundred years before imperilled her very existence.

**The Latins** Within the limits of the lowland country which  
**and the** extended from the Ciminian forest to the shores  
**Hernicans.** of Terracina, she was by far the strongest power. She had achieved this position with the assistance of her ancient allies, the Latins and the Hernicans, and she was now to turn her arms against these allies themselves. Disputes arose in the Latin League which naturally led to war. The most important Latin fortresses, which crown the spurs of the Apennines and are visible from Rome, fell one by one into the power of the warrior city. The Hernicans, defended by their mountain strongholds, submitted after a conflict of four years, and Rome was now the leader, almost indeed the mistress, of these subject communities.

This marks the close of the first stage of the union of Italy under the supremacy of Rome. In the year 343 B.C.

**Rome** the authority of Rome was obeyed from the  
**supreme in** Monte Cimino in the north to the Circean  
**Central** promontory of Monte Circello in the far south,  
**Italy.** which overlooks the Bay of Naples. She was protected by a circle of dependent allies and colonies, reaching from Sutri in Etruria to Sora on the upper Liris. Rome had become, to a great extent, a world power. The news of her capture by the Gauls had reached even Athens, and in 343 she made a commercial treaty with the Carthaginians, by which they bound themselves to attack no Latin town which was subject to her, but if any should have renounced their allegiance they might be plundered and sacked

by the Punic invaders, and then handed back to the mistress whose majesty they had contemned.

The Romans now found themselves face to face with the Samnites, and a struggle for the mastery of Italy ensued between these two nations, which lasted for nearly a hundred and fifty years. The Samnites in their earlier history had to contend both with the Etruscans and with the Greeks, and they conquered by seizing Cumae from the one and Capua from the other. Thus it came about that there were two sections of the Samnite race, one dwelling in the hills, and preserving the hardy habits of their forefathers, the other corrupted by the Greek demoralisation of the plains. Capua, which has become a proverb for luxurious sloth, was the chief town of this later division. The Capuans adopted Greek art, Greek writing, and Greek extravagance. The Samnite stock, thus divided by a deep chasm of conflicting principle and practice, fell an easy prey to the compact assault of Rome. In the first Samnite war the Romans were assisted by the Samnites of the plains against the Samnites of the hills. The Romans were victorious, but a terrible revolt followed which threatened the very existence of the ruling city. All the Latin towns, even Tusculum, which was a portion of Rome itself, threw off the Roman yoke. From the Campagna and the Latin hills, the flame of rebellion spread to Antium and Terracina, and to the most remote allies of the Romans, the cities of the Campanian plains. The position of Rome was critical; the legions which had crossed the Liris were cut off from home, and only a decisive victory could save them. This was gained at a place called Trifanum, somewhere near the mouth of the Liris, in 340 B.C., when the Consul Titus Manlius Torquatus entirely crushed the united Latins and Campanians. Two years more sufficed to bring the whole country into complete subjection.

The result of the crushing of this rebellion was to change entirely the nature of the position of Rome towards the Latin confederacy. The historic Latin League was abolished, and its memory was only preserved by the yearly Latin festival upon the Alban Mount. Most of the common land of the league became Roman territory; Antium and Terracina, the two most important of the Volscian coast towns, were settled as colonies, and the orators' platform in the Forum, which has perpetuated

The  
Samnites.

End of the  
Latin  
League.

to our own time the name of *rostra*, derived its title from its being decorated with the beaks of the galleys which were taken in the port of Antium and were found to be unserviceable. The Latin communities were forbidden to intermarry or to hold commercial relations with each other. They were not allowed to hold federal councils or to combine together in any way. The only tie which existed between them was a common connection with Rome, and this was based upon separate treaties between the capital and each individual state.

**Campania.** The submission of Campania was secured by even harsher measures. The creation of new tribes implied incorporation with Rome, and colonies were established at Calvi in the centre of the Campanian plain, and at Ceprano, to secure the passage of the Liris. The settlement of the lowlands was now complete.

The second Samnite war, as it is called, lasted for twenty-two years. After a six years' struggle, which was, on the whole,

**The Second  
Samnite  
War—The  
Caudine  
Forks**

unfavourable to the Samnites, the Romans suffered a disaster the memory of which was never forgotten. Their forces, under the command of the two consuls, were encamped in the plain of Naples between Caserta and Maddaloni. Hearing that the important town of Luceria was invested by the Samnites, they broke up and marched to its relief. Their route led through the country of the enemy by a road which was afterwards the post-road to Beneventum. Between the villages of Arpaja and Montesarchio there lies a flat meadow, enclosed by steep wooded hills and shut in at either end by narrow defiles. The Romans entered the valley without suspicion, but found that the extremity of it was blocked by broken trees. They endeavoured to retreat, but their march was cut off in that direction also. The hills were occupied by some of the enemy. They had fallen into a trap: nothing was left to them but to capitulate. The best course for the Samnites would have been to take the whole beaten army prisoners, but Pontius, their general, thought that this was an opportunity of making an honourable peace. He proposed that Rome should rase certain fortresses and renew her ancient alliance with Samnium. The Roman generals agreed to the terms; they and their principal officers swore solemnly that they would observe them; and six hundred Roman equites were left with the Samnites as hostages. The rest of the army were subjected to the disgrace of laying down their arms and

passing under the yoke. Such was the great calamity of the Caudine Forks.

As might have been expected, the Roman Senate rejected the terms, and prepared to avenge the disaster and the disgrace. Within two years, the Consul Papirius Cursor recovered Luceria, which had been captured by the Samnites, liberated the hostages who had been shut up in the city, and subjected the garrison to the same ignominious fate which his countrymen had before suffered. The war continued for many years longer, but the Romans pursued their undeviating purpose of becoming the masters of Italy with stubborn firmness and relentless energy. Luceria, the key of Apulia, received a permanent garrison of half a legion: the island of Ponza was occupied to secure the possession of the Campanian waters, the Romans not being indifferent to the power of the sea. The censor, Appius Claudius, constructed a great military road from Rome to Capua, known to all the civilised world as the Appian Way—the Queen of Roads—the mother, as it were, of all the great roads which in ancient and modern times have bound countries together

**The Appian  
Way.**

in the bands of civilisation, and the grandmother of our railroads. The straight unflinching line, passing to its goal through plain and mountain, piercing the crag and filling up the marsh—hard as a road of adamant, yet open to the use of all the world—stern with the strength of simplicity, yet adorned in its course with the memorials of the great ones who had passed away—is a fitting emblem of that career of Rome which has been already described. Due north of Naples, just under the precipice of the Matese, with its eternal snows, lies the town of Bojano, which recalls the name of Bovianum, the capital of the Samnites at this period. In 307 it was attacked by the consular armies, one marching along the coast of the Adriatic, the other through the mountain passes from Campania. A decisive victory was gained, the Samnite general was made prisoner, and the city was taken by storm. This put an end to the war, and the ancient treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Samnites was once more renewed.

The third and last Samnite war broke out in the year 298 B.C., and lasted for eight years. It was a desperate attempt of the Samnites to unite with the enemies of Rome, the Etruscans and the Kelts, and to make a dash for freedom. They got together three armies, one for the invasion of Campania one for the defence of their own

**Third  
Samnite  
War.**



territory, and the third and largest for the support of their allies, the Etruscans. The decisive battle was fought at Sentinum, a place in the Umbrian hills, not far from Sasso

**Battle of  
Sentinum.**

Ferrato, in the year 295 B.C. The Etruscan contingent had been weakened by an incursion of the Romans into their territory, but the Celtic allies stood firm. On the right wing, Quintus Fabius, with two legions, fought against the Samnite allies, and the battle was long and undecided. On the left the Roman cavalry were thrown into confusion by the Gallic war chariots, and the Roman legions began to give way. Then the consul, Publius Decius Mus, called to his side Marcus Livius, the priest, and bade him devote to the infernal gods the head of the Roman general and the army of the enemy. Like Arnold von Winkelried at the battle of Sempach, he plunged into the mass of the Gauls, and was slain. The soldiers rallied, the reserves came up, the Campanian cavalry charged, the Gauls fled, the Samnites yielded. Nine thousand men were killed, but the victory was won. The struggle was prolonged for five years, but the Samnites were at last compelled to submit. Their conquest was marked by the foundation of the strong colony of Venusia, placed at the point where the territories of Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia join, on the high road to Tarentum. The Appian Way was continued from Capua to this colony, eventually to reach Brundisium. Rome was no longer merely the first, but the ruling power in the peninsula.

The next enemy with whom Rome had to contend was of a very different character. King Pyrrhus of Epirus, a man now

**The War  
with  
Pyrrhus.**

about forty years of age, was a brilliant general. His father was a kinsman, and had been a vassal of Alexander the Great, and he had been trained in arms from his earliest youth. He was the handsomest man of his time, and his beauty was not impaired by the wildness of his look or the stateliness of his stride. He determined to found an empire in the West and to subdue the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, and then to turn his arms against Carthage, the natural enemy of the Greeks in the West, as the Persians had been in the East. Of Rome it is probable that he knew little or nothing. A quarrel had broken out between Rome and the Greek city of Tarentum. The Tarentines applied for assistance to Pyrrhus, who, after some hesitation, agreed to give it on the condition that he should have supreme command of the Tarentines and of all the Italians who were arrayed

against Rome, and that he should be allowed to keep a garrison in Tarentum, the city bearing the expense. He crossed the Adriatic with an army of 20,000 heavily armed troops to form the phalanx, 2000 archers, 500 slingers, 3000 cavalry, and 20 elephants.

The first battle fought ended in favour of Pyrrhus, chiefly in consequence of the elephants, which the Romans had never seen before. They frightened the horses, broke the ranks of the Roman infantry, and trampled upon the fugitives. The Romans lost 15,000 killed and wounded, but Pyrrhus suffered nearly as much. He, indeed, said that such a victory was not much better than a defeat, and the proverbial expression, "Pyrrhic victory," preserves the memory of this to our day. After this lesson, Pyrrhus tried to make peace with the Romans, being anxious to turn his attention to Sicily and Africa; but the Romans would not listen to his proposals, and he was forced to undertake a new campaign in the following year. In the meantime, he marched against Rome, and arrived within forty miles of the city. No one came out to meet him, but the towns of Campania closed their gates against him and the Consul Lavinius hung upon his rear. He was forced to retire, and wintered in the neighbourhood of Tarentum. In the next year was fought the battle of Ausculum, in which, after two days' fighting, the Romans retreated and left Pyrrhus in possession of the field. But the result was another Pyrrhic victory, and Pyrrhus was as far as ever from effecting his object. Therefore, leaving garrisons in the Greek towns, he retreated to Sicily. After three years he came back again, but was no longer treated as a deliverer. A battle fought at Beneventum terminated in a victory for the Romans. The elephants, terrified by the archers, attacked their own people; four of these strange beasts were captured, and were exhibited in triumph at Rome. Pyrrhus left Italy and retired to Greece, to perish in a street brawl three years later.

After the death of Pyrrhus, Tarentum was captured, and the Lucanians and Bruttians submitted to Rome. The last city to yield was Rhegium, now Reggio, at the very extremity of Italy, just opposite Messina. This was in 270 B.C., and with the submission of Reggio the conquest was complete, and Rome was the undisputed mistress of Italy. Her northern frontier was marked by a line drawn from the mouth of the Arno near Pisa to the mouth of

"Pyrrhic"  
Victories.

Rome  
Mistress of  
Italy.

the Esino between Ancona and Sinigaglia. After the conquest of the Senones, a Gallic tribe who gave their name to the city of Sens in France and the river Seine, the frontier was removed to the Rubicon, a little stream just north of Rimini, whose name has become proverbial for the turning point of all great crises.

When Rome had become mistress of Reggio and southern Italy, it was only natural that she should desire to cross the straits and occupy the island of Sicily. But here

**Carthage.** she found herself face to face with the Carthaginians, who had already become masters of a large part of that island. Carthage was situated on the northern coast of Africa, close by the modern Tunis. It was a powerful commercial state, a colony of Tyre; the government was that of an autocracy of merchants. At its head were two Suffetes or judges, corresponding to the Shofetim or judges of the Jews, who were elected every year. There was also a Senate with legislative powers. A committee of thirty chosen from the Senate formed the executive, but there was also a Council of One Hundred, who, like the Spartan ephors (though these were much fewer in number) exercised supervision over the whole of the officials and the great concourse of state officers. As in Venice and Sparta, the ordinary citizens had very little share in the government. The Carthaginians worshipped Baal, Ashtaroth, and Moloch, but they did not reject the worship of foreign gods, and the priests had no influence on their community. There are among the Carthaginians few traces of intellectual life, although the picture given of them by Vergil, who must have known them well, does not exhibit any neglect of culture. They were devoted chiefly to the material gains of commerce, and it has been generally supposed that they were cruel, treacherous, and false. Such charges should be received with caution. Such vices as these are generally attributed to a fallen foe, and their noble struggle against Rome is an evidence that they must have possessed many virtues, whereas nothing can be more cruel or heartless than their treatment by the Romans. They were very wealthy, and possessed, at one time, 300 colonies in Africa. They had a fleet of from 150 to 200 large ships, and their army consisted of mercenaries from Numidia and Mauretania.

But their energies were not devoted to commerce alone; they were also conquerors. They subdued all the country round them, and became masters of Sardinia, Cumae, and a portion of

Sicily, besides planting colonies on the coasts of Spain and Africa to secure their commercial interests. With their splendid navy and their capacity as sailors they became masters of the sea. They were jealous of the growing power of Rome, and when, in 264, the Romans passed into Sicily to assist the Mamertines against King Hiero of Syracuse, a war naturally broke out, and the result was the three Punic wars which occupy so important a place in the history of the world and ended in the entire destruction of Carthage. They lasted respectively from 264 to 241, from 218 to 201, and from 149 to 146. We shall now give an account of the two first only, leaving the third to be narrated in a later chapter.

The Cartha-  
ginian  
Empire.

Syracuse, which was founded by Corinth in 735 B.C., reached under Gelon, who reigned from 491 to 478, a high degree of prosperity. When, in 480, the Carthaginians attempted to establish themselves in the island, they were defeated by Gelon in the battle of Himera, as has already been mentioned. We have also heard of the disastrous expeditions of the Athenians to Syracuse which brought about the fall of Athens. After this, the city was subject to the despotic government of Dionysius I. (406 to 365), who fought bravely against the Carthaginians, but was obliged to cede to them the western part of the island. He was succeeded by his cruel son Dionysius II., against whom the Syracusan patriots summoned Timoleon to assist them. In the battle of Crimissus (343) he defeated the Carthaginians, who had been allies of the tyrant, and drove Dionysius from the throne, re-establishing democratic rule. In 317 Syracuse fell into the hands of Agathocles, a condottiere, who contended against the Carthaginians with success, but after his death the Carthaginians regained their power. The Syracusans and their allies then invited to their assistance Pyrrhus, whose exploits in Italy have been already related, but he had little success, and was forced to retire. The Carthaginians now extended their dominion over the whole of Sicily, excepting the city of Syracuse, which kept its independence under Hiero II. He had an excellent army, with which he defended himself not only against the Carthaginians, but also against the marauding Mamertines, a body of mercenaries who had been in the service of Agathocles. Mamers is another form of Mars, so that their name signified the sons of Mars. Pursued by Hiero, they threw themselves into the city of Messana, opposite

Carthage  
and  
Syracuse.

Rhegium, and naturally invoked the aid of the Romans from the neighbouring coast.

In answer to this invitation, a Roman army crossed the straits under the command of Appius Claudius. Hiero and his Carthaginian allies were defeated. Messana was occupied, and the Carthaginians driven from the citadel. The Romans then advanced to Syracuse. Hiero now cast himself loose from the Carthaginians, and made an alliance with the Romans, with whom he remained friends till the end of the war. In the great struggle between Indo-Germanic and Semitic civilisation, he could not but take the side of enlightenment and progress. In 262 the allies conquered Agrigentum, a Punic arsenal, and, finding there a warship of the enemy, built in sixty days a fleet of 120 ships on its model, with which Gaius Duilius defeated the hostile fleet in the first sea battle fought by the Romans. Four years later, in 256, Regulus vanquished the Carthaginians, in another sea fight, and the Romans were able to pass over into Africa. In Africa, the Romans pressed the Carthaginians so hard that they sued for peace; but the Romans would be content with no other terms than the evacuation of Sicily and the acknowledgment of Roman suzerainty. So the Carthaginians continued the struggle with the help of the Spartan Xanthippus, and defeated the Romans in the battle of Tunis, in which Regulus was taken prisoner, so that the Romans were forced to leave Africa and retire to Sicily.

In 250, the Consul Cecilius Metellus gained a brilliant victory at Panormus, which induced the Carthaginians again to ask for peace. They sent Regulus to Rome as their messenger, but he advised the Romans to continue the war, after which he nobly returned to Carthage, according to his promise, and died in captivity. The Romans, after several maritime disasters, which nearly induced them to give up the struggle by sea, placed Lutatius Catulus at the head of a new fleet of two hundred ships provided by public subscription, and with these, in 242, he gained a decisive victory at the Aegates Islands, so that the Carthaginians were compelled to make peace and to evacuate Sicily. Hamilcar Barca, however, succeeded in fortifying himself in Monte Pellegrino, which overlooks Palermo, and afterwards in Eryx, and holding out for six years. The western part of Sicily became a Roman province, the first possession of the kind outside Italy. After the first Punic war, the Romans

**Victory of  
Rome—The  
Province of  
Sicily.**

gained possession of Cumae and Sardinia, and of a portion of Illyria. They also defeated the Gallic tribes of northern Italy, who had made an invasion as far as Clusium. The first to be subdued were the Insubrians: then the Boii were conquered in 222 by Claudius Marcellus at Clastidium. The capital of the Insubrians, Mediolanum, now the powerful city of Milan, was taken, and the Romans became masters

**Roman Conquests in the North. Province of Gallia Cisalpinan.**

of Italy as far as the Po. Northern Italy was organised as a province under the name of Gallia Cisalpina, and was secured by the creation of the military colonies of Cremona, Mutina, and Bononia. The Via Flaminia, which went to Ariminum, was continued over the Apennines, and was afterwards prolonged to Placentia under the name of the Via Aemilia.

In the meantime, the Carthaginians had not been idle, but, while the Romans were occupied in Cisalpine Gaul, had turned their attention to Spain, and had conquered the whole country as far as the Ebro. When the Romans were at liberty, they determined to put an end to this, and made an alliance with

**The Carthaginians in Spain—Hannibal.**

Saguntum. The Punic conquest of Spain had been effected by Hamilcar Barca and his son-in-law Hasdrubal. But, when Hasdrubal was murdered by some Gauls, Hannibal, the eldest son of Hamilcar Barca, was chosen to command the Carthaginian army, being then twenty-nine years old. He was assisted by his two younger brothers, Hasdrubal and Mago. This remarkable man is generally admitted to be one of the greatest generals the world has ever known. Brought up in the camp by his distinguished father, by whose side he stood when he received his death wound, he inherited all the virtues and capacities of a warrior. He surpassed his comrades in running, riding, and fighting, and his well trained body was able to bear every kind of fatigue. He was an excellent horseman, and secured the love and confidence of all who came into contact with him by the sweetness and strength of his character. To the older soldiers he seemed the image of his father,—the same countenance, the same fiery eyes, the same capacity both to command and to obey. Neither his body nor his mind was ever tired. He bore heat and cold with equal ease: his waking or sleeping hours were never defined by night or day. When his business was done, he rested, throwing himself down in the bivouac covered with his cloak. His arms and dress were simple; he was the best rider and the

best marcher in the army. He was always the first to attack and the last to retire, and failed in none of the qualities of a general. The stories of his cruelty and his falsity are inventions of his enemies. He was fond of literature and art, and spent his leisure hours with learned Greeks, especially the Spartan Sosilas. Like Napoleon, he possessed great personal fascination. His chief characteristics were his fervent patriotism and his untiring exertion for the welfare and the happiness of his country.

Hannibal saw that a conflict between Rome and Carthage could not be avoided; he therefore determined to take the initiative.

**Second  
Punic War.**

In 219 he attacked Saguntum, which was in alliance with the Romans, and utterly destroyed it as a warning to the Spaniards not to make alliances with Rome. The Romans sent an embassy to Carthage, and asked that Hannibal might be delivered to them. When they hesitated, Quintus Fabius offered the choice of peace or war, and with enthusiasm they chose war. Hannibal determined to attack the enemy in his own country, and in 218 crossed the Alps into Italy. He took with him an army of 50,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 37 elephants; but when he reached Turea he found in a review that he had only 20,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, the rest having perished on the road. One of the consuls, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, had been sent to Sicily with the idea of crossing over to Africa; and the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, after some difficulties and loss of time, landed at Pisa and went to meet Hannibal. Scipio was defeated, and nearly taken prisoner at the battle of the Ticinus; and his colleague, Sempronius Longus, who had hastened back to Italy, met with a similar disaster at the river Trebia. These victories secured to Hannibal the possession of northern Italy, as the people in the valley of the Po left the Romans and joined him.

Scipio now went to his brother in Spain, where he had recovered from the Carthaginians the country between the

**The Battle  
of Thrasymene.**

Pyrenees and the Ebro, and Hannibal advanced up the valley of the Arno towards central Italy. Here he fought the battle of the Thrasymene Lake, and defeated the Consul Flaminius, who lost half his army. He was tempted to march against Rome, but did not feel strong enough to do so. Therefore, he returned to Ancona on the east coast, and, marching round Rome to the south, reached Campania, where he excited the subjects of Rome to revolt, but without much success. The Romans in their time of need had

recourse to a dictator, and appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus to the post. He adopted the course of not risking a battle, but of following Hannibal on the heights and continually threatening him. By this policy of **Fabius Cunctator.** delay he gained the title of Cunctator, the man who delays; and this has become so famous that "a Fabian policy" has become a part of every European language and has given its name to a party. At length he succeeded in shutting Hannibal up in a narrow pass near Casilinum, but the Carthaginian saved himself by a cunning stratagem. Hannibal, after escaping from this trap, marched into Apulia. Here he circumvented Minucius, who was master of the horse to Fabius, who saved his subordinate by an act of noble generosity.

In the following year, 216, the democratic party, tired of the dilatory proceedings of Fabius, elected as consul Caius Terentius Varro, who was known to be a man of enterprising disposition. The senate succeeded with difficulty in giving him as his colleague the cautious **Battle of Cannae.** Aemilius Paulus. The command of the army fell alternately to the lot of the two consuls, and Varro's impetuosity brought about the catastrophe of Cannae, the worst defeat the Romans had ever experienced since the disastrous day of the Allia. Cannae is in Apulia, close by the Aufidus. Here Aemilius fell with 89 senators and 70,000 soldiers, and Rome stood on the verge of ruin. The Roman army numbered 80,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry; the Carthaginians 40,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; but the superiority of 4000 horse gave the victory to Hannibal. The spirit of the Romans rose with their misfortunes, and they prevented Hannibal from attacking the capital, weakened as he was by receiving no reinforcements from Carthage, where the spirit of party was too strong to agree to his support. However, at last, he received 4000 Numidians under Bomilcar, 40 elephants, and about 1050 talents; and was able to attack the Lucanians and Samnites as well as to gain possession of Capua, where he wintered. It has always been supposed that the luxurious idleness of Capua corrupted the strength of his troops. New generals arose in defence of Rome by the side of the veteran Fabius—Marcellus, "the sword of Rome," and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

At this time Hannibal was assisted by an alliance with Philip III., king of Macedonia, and by the revolt of Syracuse, which joined the Carthaginians after the death of Hiero at the age of



ninety. The Romans, however, built a fleet, and carried on the conflict with Philip, which is known as the first Macedonian war (214 to 204, see chap. xi.), while Marcellus was despatched with another fleet to recover Syracuse. The king of Macedonia was defeated by Valerius Laevinus, and Marcellus took Syracuse after a two years' siege, the town having been ingeniously and bravely defended by the science of Archimedes. Agrigentum also fell, and in 206 the whole of Sicily became a Roman province. Rightly did Horace say that his country, like the holm oak in Algidus, grew by lopping, and gained strength and vigour from the steel which was wielded for its destruction. In 212 Hannibal occupied Tarentum, with the exception of the citadel, and the Romans besieged Capua. Hannibal attempted a diversion by marching right up to the gates of Rome, but he produced no effect, and Capua was forced to surrender. Marcellus gained further successes, and Hannibal was obliged to withdraw to Bruttium, at the extremity of the peninsula, and wait until his brother Hasdrubal could bring him reinforcements from Spain.

To that country Publius Cornelius Scipio the Younger was sent in 214, to recover the territory which had been first won and then lost by his father. Two years later he inflicted such a defeat on Hasdrubal that he determined to leave Spain and to join his brother in Italy. The duty of holding Hannibal in check had fallen to Fabius and Marcellus. Fabius, at the age of eighty, succeeded in recovering Tarentum; but Marcellus, who had been chosen consul five times, was unfortunately killed near Verona while he was attempting to force Hannibal to a pitched battle. His place was taken by the consul Claudius Nero. Everything now depended upon the success of Hasdrubal. He had successfully crossed the Alps, and was already in central Italy when he was attacked by the two consuls—Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator, who had already marched to his colleague's assistance before Hannibal was aware of his design—at Sinigaglia, on the river Metaurus in Umbria. After a stoutly contested battle he was defeated and killed. Hannibal first learnt of this disaster by seeing the head of his brother, which had been cut off and thrown into the camp, and recognised that the doom of Carthage was at hand. In the same year (267), Scipio defeated Hanno and Mago at Baecula, and

**Marcellus  
in Sicily.**

**Scipio the  
Younger.**

**Battle of the  
Metaurus.**

forced Syphax, the king of West Numidia, into an alliance with Rome; and in the following year he conquered Gades, the last possession of the Carthaginians in Spain. He returned with much spoil to Rome, having organised Spain into two provinces divided by the Ebro.

It was now time to carry the war into Africa, and the youthful Scipio was chosen consul and given Sicily as his province, although he was under the legal age. He landed at Utica in 204, but was besieged there by Hasdrubal, the son of Giskon, assisted by Syphax, who had again joined the Carthaginians. Massinissa, however, the king of Eastern Numidia, came to his assistance, and he was able to escape. There was a feud between Syphax and Massinissa because Sophonisba, the beautiful daughter of Hasdrubal, who had been promised to Massinissa, was now married by Syphax. Scipio, with the help of Massinissa, defeated Syphax and took him prisoner, and his capital Cirta, together with his wife, Sophonisba, fell into their hands. Massinissa now married Sophonisba, who was nothing loth, but Scipio was determined to lead her, together with Syphax, in his triumph. To avoid this disgrace Sophonisba received a cup of poison from the hand of Massinissa, and put an end to her life—a dramatic catastrophe which has afforded material for poetry.

**Scipio in  
Africa.**

The Carthaginians now recalled Hannibal and Mago from Italy for the defence of their country, and, in 203, Hannibal, with a heavy heart and forebodings of evil, left the peninsula, where he had fought so bravely for fifteen years. Mago did the same, but died on the voyage from his wounds. Hannibal, on reaching Africa, first took up a strong position in Hadrumentum, but, when Scipio advanced upon Carthage, he marched out to oppose him. A conference took place, where the two great generals met for the first time. They, however, came to no decision, and the result was left to the sword. On the following day the battle of Zama gave the victory to Scipio, and by it the Romans became the masters of the world. Hannibal now went to Carthage, which he had not seen since he was nine years old, and earnestly advised the Senate to make peace. Scipio would have preferred to conquer Carthage, but he was not supported by Rome; he came to terms, and the war came to an end in 201. Carthage had to renounce all her possessions outside Africa; to give up all her ships excepting ten, and all her elephants; to pay ten

**Battle of  
Zama—End  
of the War.**

thousand talents in fifty years, and to promise not to make war in Africa or anywhere else without the consent of the Romans. Scipio made Massinissa king of both Numidias, and returned to Rome, where he celebrated the most magnificent triumph ever seen in the city. He also received the title of Africanus.

## CHAPTER X.

### ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS, 336-213 B.C.

ALEXANDER, rightly called the Great, one of the most remarkable men who were ever born into the world, succeeded to his father's throne at the age of twenty. He combined the warlike courage and the reckless activity of his father with the exuberant fancy and the enthusiastic excitability of his mother, and to these qualities was added an admirable training. His physical education was entrusted to a Macedonian, Leonidas, his mental and spiritual to Aristotle, "the first of those who know." He was prominent in all manly sports, and alone could tame the wild horse Bucephalus. He combined marked energy and ambition with a romantic love for the marvellous and the uncommon. He was born in the year 356, on the night when Herostratus set fire to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. In early youth he was inflamed with admiration for Homer, whose works he always kept under his pillow: he longed to be an Achilles and chose Hephaestus for his Patroclus. His desire was to conquer the world, and he was afraid that his father would leave him nothing more to do in this respect. When he had annihilated the Holy Company of the Thebans at Chaeronea, his father said to him, "My son, seek some other empire which is worthy of you. Macedon is too small."

**Alexander  
the Great.**

Immediately after his succession had been recognised in Macedonia, he hastened to attend the meeting of the league at Corinth, where he was elected absolute commander-in-chief of the Greeks. His first exploit was to reduce to obedience the wild tribes of the north, the Triballi, the Paeonians, the Illyrians, and others. When he was fighting on the Danube, a false report reached Greece that he was killed, and Demosthenes advised a rebellion. The Thebans were the only nation to hear this advice and to drive out the Macedonian garrison. Suddenly Alexander appeared in Greece with an army of 20,000 men, conquered Thebes, and,

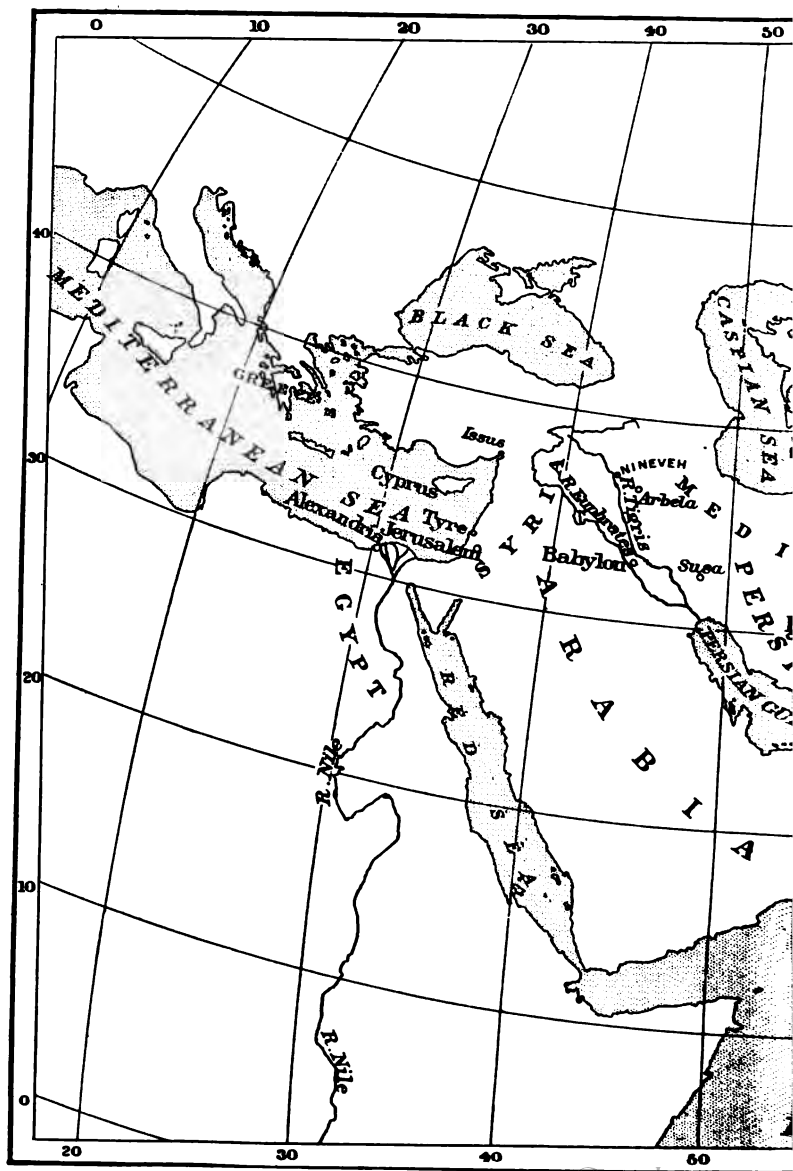
**Greek  
Revolt  
suppressed.**

by the decision of the Corinthian League, ordered it to be entirely destroyed ; only the citadel, the temple, and the house of Pindar were preserved. The inhabitants, to the number of 30,000, were sold into slavery.

Alexander now began the attack upon Persia which his father had left unaccomplished, and, after entrusting the care of Macedonia and Greece to Antipater, he set forth with an army of 30,000 infantry, and 4500 cavalry. The phalanx, which was the kernel of his host, was formed of 12,000 Macedonians under Perdicas and Craterus. The cavalry were commanded by Philotas, the son of Parmenio, who was made commander-in-chief. He was also accompanied by 160 ships, of which twenty were Athenian. The king of Persia at this time was Darius III., called Codomannus, who had succeeded in 336. Darius placed in Asia Minor a mercenary army of Greeks under the command of the Rhodian Memnon, and sent his Phoenician fleet to the Hellespont to prevent the landing of the invaders. However, Alexander crossed the strait without difficulty, celebrated games and offered sacrifices to the memory of Achilles, occupied Lamp-sacus, and reached the river Granicus, where he gained a brilliant victory, fighting so bravely himself that his life was with difficulty saved by his officer, black Clitus. The whole of Asia Minor was now open to him.

However, before he penetrated into the interior of Asia, he wished to make sure of the coast, so that he might not be cut off from Europe by the Phoenician fleet. Therefore, after occupying Sardis, he secured the Greek towns on the coast, who promised to close their harbours to the Persian fleet. He met with no important resistance except in Miletus and Halicarnassus, which he speedily overcame. Memnon now attempted to induce the Spartans to make a diversion by attacking Macedonia. He succeeded in conquering Chios and Lesbos, and obtained other small successes, but was prevented from carrying out his larger plans by his death in 133. Alexander now divided his army into two sections, despatching one under Parmenio into Phrygia, while he marched along the coast with the other. But the difficult passes of Cilicia compelled him to join Parmenio and to winter in Gordiana, where he distinguished himself by cutting the knot which bound together the ancient war chariot of King Gordias with his sword, an exploit which, according to prophecy, secured him the dominion over Asia. When the winter had passed, he crossed the Halys,





# ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS

Statute Miles

0 500 1000

Alexandria  
*Ultima*

BACTRIA

R. Indus

HIMALAYA MTS.

R. Ganges

I N D I A

N O C E A N





and then proceeded by the Cilician Gates to Tarsus, where he nearly died from a fever produced by his bathing in the ice-cold water of the river Cydnus.

Darius was awaiting his approach in Syria with a countless host in the broad plain of Onchae. It is said that he commanded an army of 600,000 motley troops. Perhaps, if he had waited with patience in the low country, his enormous forces might have overwhelmed the much smaller body of the Greeks, but he let himself be persuaded to advance into the mountains, where his numbers were rather a hindrance than an advantage. The result was the battle of Issus, fought at the beginning of November 333, in which the whole army of Persians was put to flight, and Darius only saved himself by the sacrifice of his chariot, his shield, and his royal mantle. Darius fled over the Euphrates, but his camp was captured, where Alexander found the children of Darius, his mother Sisigambis, and his wife Stateira, the most beautiful woman in Persia, whom he treated with the greatest respect, for which Darius thanked him, offering him peace and half his kingdom, which Alexander declined. At the same time, Parmenio conquered Damascus, where he found the chest of war, the gold and silver vessels, the silken carpets, and all the appurtenances of the court, which the great king had sent there for security, and of which he took the undisputed possession. Parmenio said that if he were Alexander he would, after this, abstain from any further conquests; "So would I," said Alexander, "if I were Parmenio."

**Battle of  
the Issus.**

Alexander had no difficulty in subduing the Phœnician towns; the only city which offered any serious resistance was Tyre, the chief part of which was situated on an island. Seven months were spent in besieging it, and its destruction put an end to the supremacy of its commerce, which naturally passed into the hands of Carthage. From the coast, Alexander then proceeded to Palestine and visited Jerusalem. He offered in the temple a sacrifice to Jahve, according to the Jewish ritual, released the Jews from the payment of taxes in every Sabbatical year, and did not interfere with their theocratical government. He next, with some difficulty, subdued Gaza, which opened up to him the road to Egypt, where he was well received by the priests, and explained to them his plans for the Hellenising of Egyptian life. With this view he founded Alexandria at the western mouth of the Nile, a city which has had a profound effect upon the civilisation

**Siege of  
Tyre.**

of the world, and may have it again. It was a stroke of genius to discover a site for a new city which has never since its foundation been obscure, which has not only been a place of commercial exchange between India and Europe, but the focus of an Hellenic culture less pure, indeed, than the original production of Hellas itself, but better calculated to influence the world. Even now there is no more interesting spot than Alexandria. No one can see without emotion the harbour closed on one side by the grave of Cleopatra, or travel along the mounds of sand which lie between it and Aboukir, strewn at every step with the relics of an exuberant civilisation. The city destroyed by the Mohammedans is marked by the column of Pompey, but the ground may some day yield its secrets, and a new race under a better government may make Alexandria and its neighbour, Port Said, again the meeting place of East and West. From Alexandria the young conqueror went with a chosen body of troops to the frontier of the Cyrenaic kingdom, from which he received ambassadors and presents. From Cyrenaica he made an expedition with a small chosen band to the shrine of Zeus Ammon, the oracle temple of the mysterious divinity in the oasis of Siva. The small body of troops reached the oasis led by ravens. The high priest greeted the conqueror in the vestibule of the temple as the son of God, which greatly enhanced his reputation. A legend grew up that Alexander was the son of Zeus Ammon, who had visited his mother Olympias in the form of a dragon.

Alexander now received the welcome news of the destruction of the Persian fleet by his admiral, Hegelochus, upon which he left Egypt, returned to Phoenicia, and, holding festival in honour of his victories, crossed the Euphrates by two bridges at Thapsacus. Darius was now awaiting him with a very large army composed of Persians and Medes, the hosts of the Caucasus, Bactrians, and Armenians, the inhabitants of the Indian mountains and the Babylonian plains—indeed the whole population of the East—countless myriads of infantry, 40,000 cavalry, and 200 scythed chariots. Europe and Asia armed themselves for a decisive battle, of which the mastery of the East was the prize. Alexander crossed the Tigris a few miles above Mosul, and, on October 1, 331, fought the battle of Arbela, gaining a brilliant victory over an army twelve times as numerous as his own. At the head of the Macedonian knights, he drove a powerful wedge into the centre of the huge mass, and threw it into confusion.

**Alexandria  
founded.**

**Battle of  
Arbela.**

Darius fled as at Issus, and everything was lost. He reached Ecbatana, leaving all his treasures in Arbela as the booty of the conqueror. Alexander advanced to Babylon. Here the inhabitants, led by the priests, greeted him with joy and decorated him with flowers. Here too, as in Egypt and in Palestine, he sacrificed to the national gods. He stayed thirty days in Babylon, giving himself up to luxurious delights. He then went to Susa, which made no resistance, and seized all the treasure, fifty thousand talents of gold and silver, precious stones, purple robes, and costly fabrics. He also sent back to Athens the original statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which had been carried off by Xerxes. His next objective was Persepolis, the Sublime Porte of the Persians, the cradle of their race, the burial-place of their kings. The Susan Pass was defended by 40,000 Persians under the command of Ariobarzanes, but he attacked them bravely on the snow and ice, and forced the passage, while Ariobarzanes escaped to join Darius at Ecbatana. Ten thousand pairs of mules and 3000 camels were required to carry off the treasure of Persepolis and Pasargadae. He burnt Persepolis, lighting, it is said, the cedar gates of the palace with his own hands, when he was drunk with wine and stimulated by the dancer Thais, in revenge for the destruction of the Greek temples by the Persians, a hundred and fifty years before. He was now accepted as Lord of Asia, and the Alexander drachma, coined on the Athenian model, became the standard coin of the world. He found in Persepolis eight hundred Greek prisoners, who had led a wretched life, blinded and mutilated, and the sight of these stirred him to fury.

In May 330, he set out for Media, hoping to find Darius in Ecbatana, but he had fled through the Caspian Gates into Bactria, the original home of the Iranians. However, the traitor Bessos, who was a relation of the king, formed a plan of murdering him and seizing his throne. Alexander, hearing of the conspiracy, hastened after Darius, marching day and night over mountains, deserts, and waterless wastes. At last he came up with him on June 3 at Hekatompylos. As he approached, Bessos and his fellow conspirators murdered the king, and made off. Alexander, on reaching the king's chariot, found him a corpse. He covered him with his mantle, and brought his body back to Persepolis, where he delivered it to his mother Sisigambis. So perished Darius Codomannus, the last of the Achaemenids.

Alexander now advanced into Bactria, where Bessos had

**Death of  
Darius.**

made himself king. He founded here the Asian Alexandria, where the roads from Hyrcania, Parthia, Margiana, and Bactria

**Alexander** meet, and the inhabitants of Herat recognise  
**in Central** to-day Alexander as the founder of their city.  
**Asia.**

Proceeding farther through unknown countries, he founded a third Alexandria at Kandahar, which he hoped would assist his plans for uniting the East and the West by the bands of Hellenic culture. His army now became discontented, partly at the hardships of the march, and partly at the Eastern magnificence with which Alexander began to surround himself. Unfortunately Parmenio and his son Philip were at the head of the malcontents. A conspiracy against the life of Alexander was formed, which came to the knowledge of Philotas, but which he did not reveal. He was tried by court-martial, sentenced to death, and killed by the lances of his comrades. Parmenio, who was also implicated, was now at Ecbatana, and it was feared that when he heard of his son's death he might renounce his allegiance and oppose the retreat of the army. Orders were therefore sent to kill him, which was done, and his head was dispatched to Alexander. After inflicting on Bessos the punishment of crucifixion, Alexander advanced to the Jaxartes, where he made himself master of the frontier fortress of Cyropolis, and founded on the river the farthest of the Alexandrias, Alexandria Eschate, represented to-day by the caravan city of Kodjehend. This was the farthest limit of his conquests, but he crossed the Jaxartes to put down a rising of the Scythians. In the remote citadel of Sogdiana, he found, among other treasures, the lovely Roxana, the pearl of the East, the daughter of Prince Oxyartes. Overcome by her charms, Alexander made her his wife. During the winter of 328 to 327, he reduced the country to a condition of complete tranquillity. His reputation was now marred by the hasty murder, in a drunken brawl, of the faithful Clitus, the man who had saved his life at the Granicus, and whose sister had been his nurse—a sudden outburst of passion which he bitterly regretted.

He now determined to march to India at the invitation of the prince of Taxila, to assist him against Porus, who had founded a

**Invasion** kingdom beyond the Hydaspes with more than a  
**of India.** hundred cities. At the end of the spring of 327,

he set out with an army of 100,000 men for Kabul and the Indies. He crossed the mountain chain of Paripamisus and the rivers Kophen and Choaspes, and reached the Indus,

where he built a fleet, with which he crossed the Indus in the spring of 326. Here he met his ally, and confirmed him in his dominions. He swam the Hydaspes on his horse Bucephalus, and inflicted a severe defeat on Porus, whose army was defended by three hundred caparisoned elephants. He treated Porus with great generosity, set him at liberty, and gave him back his dominions. He also founded two towns at the most important crossing of the Hydaspes. Shortly after this he came into the country of the so-called free Indians, who had no king and offered a vigorous opposition. On reaching the Hyphasis, he was informed that he was only twelve days' march from the Ganges, where he would find a splendid country with populous towns, industrious inhabitants, and a settled government. He longed to reach the promised land. But it was the end of his expedition. His Macedonians refused to go any farther. Alexander failed to move them. He remained for three days sullen in his tent, but when, on the fourth day, the auspices for crossing the river were unfavourable, he gave orders for the retreat. Before he retired he built twelve huge altars on the banks of the Hyphasis, to remind posterity that a giant race had visited these regions. He offered sacrifices on these altars, while his soldiers disported themselves in the meadows with military games.

Having constructed a fleet of 180 ships, he sailed down the Hydaspes, the rest of his army marching along the two shores. When he reached the confluence of the Hydaspes with the Hydrates, the Multan of to-day, he spent some time in subduing the warlike Mallians, and stormed their capital. Here he conducted himself with such reckless bravery that he nearly lost his life. At last, in February 325, he reached the Indus. Here the inhabitants brought him countless presents and invoked his mercy. He founded here another Alexandria on the southern frontier of the Punjab. He conquered the Sogdiani, and the Praestians, with their powerful prince Musikanos. After his departure, a rebellion took place which Alexander put down with great severity, which induced the prince of Patala to submit himself without trouble. Patala, situated at the water-parting of the Indus Delta, was strongly fortified by the Macedonians, and provided with docks and harbours. Alexander remained at Patala for some time, occupied with matters of administration, and endeavouring to bring the countries of India into commercial connection with Persia. When he left, he sailed down the Indus to its mouth,

and set himself to explore the country and to see whether he could make a connection between the Indus and the Persian Gulf. He then explored the other arm of the river, and returned to Patala.

The retreat was as masterly as the advance. Nearchus was sent in command of the fleet to find his way along the coast of India into the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates, while Alexander determined to proceed through Gedrosia, the modern Beluchistan, partly with the view of subduing the inhabitants and partly to keep in touch with the fleet. After conquering the Orites on the coast and crossing the passes of the Gedrosian mountains, he entered upon the terrible sandy desert, where the army suffered from hunger and thirst, heat and dust, sickness and depression. It was only Alexander's untiring energy which brought his army, after a march of sixty days, and the loss of a quarter of his men, to the city of Pura, from which he reached Carmania. Here he met Craterus, and shortly afterwards Nearchus, who told him that the fleet had reached a safe harbour, with plenty of provisions. On hearing this, Alexander burst into tears. Nearchus related all the wonders he had seen during his voyage of eighty days, the narrow passages through which he had sailed, the storms which he had encountered, the want of food among the fish-eaters, the whales and sea monsters, the pearl islands, and other marvels, which seemed to recall the stories of the Odyssey. A week was spent in uproarious enjoyment.

When the festivities were over, Nearchus continued his voyage to the Persian Gulf, and Hephaestus, with the greater part of the army, marched along the coast to Susa, to meet Alexander who, with the Macedonian knights and the light-armed troops, took the way through Persepolis and Pasargadae. There he found that those whom he had left behind had behaved very badly, and he punished them with great severity. Harpalus, the treasurer, fled to Athens. There, too, Alexander carried out his scheme of effecting a union of East and West by a number of mixed marriages. He took two wives to himself, the elder daughter of Darius, by name Stateira, and the younger sister of Artaxerxes III., called Parysates. Hephaestus married the younger daughter of Darius, and eighty other Macedonian nobles were united to Persian wives. Besides this there was a sort of group marriage of 15,000 Macedonians with an equal number of Persians, these marriages being richly dowered by the king.

**Attempted  
Fusion of  
East and  
West.**

When Alexander went further than this, and incorporated 30,000 Persians in the Macedonian army, there was a mutiny among the veterans, who asked for their dismissal. Alexander said that he could do without them, and sent them back with plenty of money, under the command of Craterus. All this occurred in the camp of Opis on the Tigris. He was anxious to found a kingdom in which Persians and Macedonians should have equal rights, but in which the Hellenic language and culture should prevail, and to this noble end he devoted the last years of his life. From Opis he went to Media, to establish the security of the caravan road from the attacks of the Cossaeans; he visited the sculptured rocks of Baghistan; he spent some time in the capital Ecbatana, where the autumn was brightened with feasts and speeches of all kinds, including character performances and poetical contests. It is said that three thousand Greeks were assembled there. But suddenly a terrible blow fell upon him in the death of Hephaestus. He sat for three days by the side of the corpse without food or drink, sometimes weeping aloud, sometimes dumb with sorrow. The body was taken with much ceremony to Babylon.

In the winter of 324 to 323, he again attacked the tent-dwelling Cossaeans, but the death of his friend had broken his spirit and impaired his energies. At the beginning of the year 323 he went to Babylon, which he had destined for the capital of his new empire.

Alexander  
at Babylon.

Here he found ambassadors of all nations, from Greece, Asia, Libya, Aethiopia, and Italy, some to flatter the conqueror, some to invoke his aid in their disputes. He showed himself especially favourable to the Greeks. Whilst he was preparing for the funeral ceremonies of Hephaestus, he found leisure to build a fleet to explore the Caspian, and projected an expedition to Arabia. He sailed down the Euphrates to inspect the great barrage of Pallakopas, and to consider the building of a commercial town on the lower part of the river. In May he returned to Babylon, to celebrate the funeral of his friend. The burning bier of Hephaestus was raised to a height of 200 feet at enormous expense, crowned with gold and purple, decorated with pictures and statues. These were all consumed by the flames, and the ceremonies ended with a great funeral banquet, to which the whole army was invited. But the strain was too much even for the iron constitution of Alexander. He became seriously ill, and removed to the garden palace of Nebuchadnezzar, on the other side of the river. Here he



lingered for a week, and at last died on June 13, 323, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months, a hero and a conqueror without a rival in the history of the world.

**His Death.** No one, excepting perhaps Napoleon, has so deeply affected the imagination of mankind—certainly not his great rival, Julius Caesar. He lives in history, poetry, and legend. The name of Iskander is as powerful in the East as that of Alexander in the West.

He named no successor at his death, but, when he felt that his end was approaching, he drew the signet ring from his finger, and gave it to his old and trusty servant Perdiccas. There arose after Alexander's death, in the very chamber of death itself, a conflict as terrible and more distressing than any which he had taken part in during his life. Roxana was to bear a child, and it was eventually decided that Perdiccas should be regent until the child was born, and perhaps afterwards. She bore a son, and gave him the name of Alexander, but his fate need not concern us. The history of

**The Diadochi.** the Diadochi, the successors of Alexander, is a weary tale, full of changing dynasties and obscure conflicts—important, no doubt, in its general aspect to the history of the world, as it determined what form Hellenism should finally take, but involved in detail—until the empire of Alexander fell once more under the power of Rome. We can only sketch it in outline. Indeed, the true history of the period is not precisely known, and still awaits the hand of the excavator and the skill and insight of the historian to penetrate its secret and to give it life.

The dead body of Alexander lay in the palace of Babylon until his son was born. The funeral was celebrated even with more pomp than the obsequies of Hephaestus had been, and it was intended that his body should be carried back to Aegae and buried in the place from which his race had originally come; but there was a conflict for the honour of possessing his remains, which were supposed to have a magical value, and it is generally stated that he was buried at Alexandria. But the whole subject is involved in mystery. What matters where his body lies, when his spirit is still alive in every portion of the civilised globe?

When it had been decided that Perdiccas should rule in Asia, and Antipater with the help of Craterus in Europe, it was arranged that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, should govern Egypt and Libya; Antigonus, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphilia; Leon-

natus, the Phrygian Hellespont; Cassander, Caria; Lysimachus, Thrace, with the Chersonese; and Eumenes, the only great man among them, Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia. When the news of Alexander's death reached Athens, Demosthenes thought that the opportunity should be used to re-assert Grecian independence, and the result was the Lamian war, so called because Antipater controlled it from the fortress of Lamia in Thessaly, where he awaited the arrival of his allies Leonnatus and Craterus. Leonnatus was killed, but, with the help of Craterus, Antipater won the battle of Crannon in 322, which put an end to the war. Demosthenes, greater as an orator than as a statesman, poisoned himself in the temple of Poseidon, in the island of Kalauria, near Troezen.

**First Division of the Empire.**

**The Lamian War.**

When Perdiccas was slain by his own troops in 321, the idea of a single ruler of the whole empire came to an end, and a struggle for supremacy began, and lasted nearly two hundred years. This became more accentuated by the death of Antipater in 318. The

**Wars of the Diadochi.**

conflict was continued in Europe by the struggle between Polysperchon, whom Antipater had named as his successor, and Cassander, the son of Antipater, and in Asia, between the faithful Eumenes and Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. Polysperchon was defeated by Cassander, and Eumenes was betrayed by his own troops to Demetrius, who had him executed in 315. In 311 Cassander also killed Roxana and her son Alexander. After this, Seleucus appeared on the scene, whom Antipater had made viceroy of Babylon, and Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy were all fighting together. Eventually Seleucus prevailed, and Ptolemy kept his position, so that we have for some time a rule of Seleucidae in Asia and of Ptolemies in Egypt. In 307 Athens was captured by Demetrius Poliorcetes from another Demetrius, called Phalereus because he resided in Phalerum, to whom the city had been given by Cassander in 317. Antigonus was soon afterwards summoned by his father to Asia, to assist him against Ptolemy, whom he defeated at the Cyprian Salamis. Antigonus now assumed the title of king, and his example was followed by his rivals. Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy now united against Antigonus, and in 300 a battle was fought at Ipsus, in Phrygia, in which Antigonus was slain, and the result was the foundation of four independent kingdoms, of which three

**Battle of Ipsus.**

only are of importance. Lysimachus had Thrace, Pontus, and nearly the whole of Asia Minor; Seleucus Mesopotamia, Syria, and the rest of Asia Minor; and Ptolemy Egypt with Coele-Syria.

Of these Lysimachus disappeared, and the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies alone remained. When the first Ptolemy (Soter) died

**Final Division of the Empire.** at the age of 83, Seleucus made war against Lysimachus, and defeated him in the battle of Kuropedion in 281. Lysimachus fell, and Thrace

came into the hands of Seleucus, who destined it for the children of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus. But Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos, the elder son of the first Ptolemy, who thereupon seized the throne of Thrace. The

**Macedonia and Greece.** scene now shifts to Macedonia, where Antigonus Gonotas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, laid claim to the country. But Keraunos, supported

by the power of Egypt under his brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, seized the throne and was acknowledged as king. In 279, Greece, already a much afflicted country, was again invaded by the Gauls, or Kelts, who had already occupied England, Ireland, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, a large portion of Austria, and Illyria. Keraunos threw himself bravely against them, but was slain, and his work was completed by Sosthenes. A period of anarchy succeeded until, in 277, Antigonus Gonotas was recognised as king of Macedonia. Antigonus proved a wise and statesmanlike ruler, and was really master of Greece until a hope of liberty began to dawn for that country under the Achæan League, which began by a union of twelve democratic towns, who made for themselves a kind of federal republican constitution.

This league assumed more importance from the accession of Sicyon, which had, in 252, been set free from Macedonian rule

**Achæan and Aetolian Leagues.** by Aratus. In 246, he also liberated Corinth and attached it to his league. The spirit gradually spread to the rest of the Peloponnesus, and the

Macedonian rule disappeared. A similar league, but less powerful and important, came into existence in Aetolia. In order to oppose this, Aratus had recourse to Sparta, which was then ruled by a young and energetic king, Agis IV. Unfortunately, the Aetolian League was assisted by Antigonus, but Aratus succeeded in subduing them both in 241, when Antigonus made peace with him. In the same year Agis was murdered by the oligarchical party in Sparta.

Antigonus died in 240, an excellent monarch, who had suc-

ceeded in making Macedonia the third great power in the Hellenic world. The throne fell first to his son, Demetrius II., who reigned for ten years, and then to Antigonos Doson, the man who was always going to give but never did. In Sparta, an effort was made to resist the Aetolian League by the young king, Cleomenes II., who followed the example of Agis. He tried to make the constitution a real **Cleomenes.** monarchy by abolishing the ephors, and to make Sparta once more the mistress of the Peloponnesus. He succeeded in defeating Aratus, and in killing the ephors, banishing the friends of an oligarchical party government, and restoring the constitution of Lycurgus. He carried on a war with the Aegean League for six years, from 227 to 221, with such success that Aratus was obliged to throw himself into the arms of Macedonia. Doson marched into the Peloponnesus, put himself at the head of the Achæan League, conquered Arcadia, destroyed Mantinea and Megalopolis, and at length defeated Cleomenes in the battle of Sellasia, thus putting an end to what is called the Cleomenian war. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, where, instead of friendship, he found imprisonment and death. In Sparta, Doson restored the oligarchy, and induced the city to enter into the Macedonian confederacy, but both it and the Achæan League had lost all power. After the death of Doson, Aratus was poisoned by his successor Philip III. In 213, Philopoemen succeeded in restoring the Achæan League and obtaining the adhesion of Sparta. But this belongs properly to the history of Rome, to which we must presently devote our attention. The fall of the Achæan League was the end of Greece.

We can now follow the fortunes of Syria under the Seleucidae and of Egypt under the Ptolemies.

After the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus Nicator reigned over the largest portion of Alexander's empire, but it was deficient in unity and was weak on the northern frontier, so, in order to give it strength, he organised its **Empire of Seleucus.** government in seventy-two satrapies. The kingdom, however, began to find a natural separation into the countries hither of and beyond the Tigris, and in each of these divisions a new city was founded, Seleucia on the Tigris, and Antiochia on the Orontes, both of which were instinct with Hellenistic culture. Antioch was the rival in art and science of Alexandria and Pergamum. Among the towns of Asia Minor and its neighbourhood, Byzantium, Heraklea, and Rhodes renounced the allegiance of the Seleucidae, and were given up

by Antiochus Soter, the son of Antigonus. Although he had conquered the Celtic hordes who had settled in Galatia, and were now subject to Nicomedes of Bithynia, he had himself been defeated at Sardis by Eumenes, king of Pergamum. He also had to surrender Phoenicia and Coele-Syria to the Ptolemies of Egypt. His successor, Antiochus Theos, lost still more territory both on the west and on the east, and Seleucus II., who bore the inappropriate name of Kallinicus, after the third Syrian war, had to sacrifice Syria and Palestine, and in the civil war with his brother Antiochus Hierax, who was supported by Egypt, what remained to him of Asia Minor. The glory of the Seleucid

kingdom was restored by Antiochus III., who was justly called the Great; he won back much that had been lost, and made expeditions, which, however, had no permanent effect, against Parthia, Bactria, and India. He also, eventually, came into conflict with the Romans.

The kingdom of Egypt, founded in 322 by Ptolemy I., Soter, included Cyrene, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus. He

reigned admirably for forty years. He made Alexandria the seat, not only of a world-wide commerce, but of a universal Hellenistic culture.

His court was the home of all the poets and men of learning of his age. He founded the famous Museum, the world-known Alexandrian library of 400,000 books, which was afterwards entirely destroyed by the Moslem conquest. There was a second library of 300,000 volumes in the Serapeum. Egypt was covered by 30,000 towns, defended by an army of 400,000 men and a fleet of more than 3000 vessels, and supported by a treasure of nearly five millions of our money. His work was continued by his son and successor, Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (285-246), with even more magnificence. He built the harbour of Myos-kormos and dug out the Nile Canal, but he was too much given to extravagance and sensuality, which has been the curse of Egypt to our own day. His son, Ptolemy III., Euergetes (246-221), was a more energetic character, and succeeded in dealing a fatal blow to the Seleucid kingdom, which, however, he was not able to govern. He extended the dominion of Egypt to the shores of the Nile. With him ends the period of the Golden Century, a name which is given to the reigns of the first three Ptolemies. Under his successors, the country, ruined by the extravagance and licentiousness of its kings and nobles, lost one province after another, and eventually became a part of the Roman empire.

We must not omit all mention of other portions of Alexander's empire. Some separate kingdoms in Asia became important. Bithynia, with its capital Nicomedia; Pontus, governed by the Persian dynasty of the Mithradates, which, under Mithradates VI., fell into the power of the Romans; Cappadocia, under the dominion of Ariarathes, controlled by the Magi; Pergamum, under Attalus and Eumenes, well known for its great wealth and the encouragement of learned men, and for having given its name to parchment; Armenia; Parthia, the home of the powerful Arsacidae, who made their kingdom into an empire until it was destroyed by the Romans; and Bactria and Atropatene.

**Minor  
States.**

Palestine deserves more attention. Judaea, which had fallen to Egypt in the struggle between the founders of the Syrian and Egyptian kingdoms, was a perpetual bone of contention between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae. However, its religion and its constitution were respected by both parties, and all internal affairs were governed by the seventy members of the Sanhedrin. Both the conflicting powers invited many Jews into their countries, and gave them many privileges and favours. A special school of Jews grew up in Alexandria, whose teaching consisted in a mixture of biblical and heathen erudition. As Greek culture began to penetrate into Judaea, it was naturally regarded in a different light by the two parties of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the first conservative, the second liberal. Ptolemy Philadelphus provided for the translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek, which was called the Septuagint, because the translation was made by seventy Jewish scholars. Antiochus the Great treated the Jews with great consideration, which perhaps made them too lax in their observances, and more inclined to adopt the customs of the Hellenes; but Antiochus Epiphanes, wishing to introduce uniformity of religion into his dominions, marched against Jerusalem, plundered the temple, and gave orders for the entire destruction of the Jewish religion. He compelled them to worship the Greek gods, and those who neglected this were punished with death. While this persecution was going on, the family of the Maccabees, consisting of Mattathias and his five noble sons, who lived in the mountains of Modin, between Joppa and Jerusalem, determined to resist. One of them, Judas Makkab, the Hammer, a name

**Palestine.**

**The  
Maccabees.**

given to him for his bravery, defeated the Syrians, restored the Jewish worship, and compelled the Syrians to make peace. But, when the Syrians began a new oppression, he conceived the unhappy idea of invoking the assistance of the Romans, and thus the affairs of this portion also of Alexander's empire were involved in the politics of Rome.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ROME THE MISTRESS OF THE WORLD, 214-44 B.C.

We have seen how Rome gradually made herself mistress of Italy, and then, in two Punic wars, destroyed the rival power of Carthage. The inevitable impulse towards expansion which affects all empires while they are on the upward grade, now drove her to extend her conquests towards the east, and brought her into connection with that world the condition of which we have been describing in our last chapter. The first Macedonian war (214-204) took place immediately after the disaster of Cannae, and was waged with Philip III. of Macedon, who made an alliance with Hannibal.

**Rome and  
the East.**

**First and  
Second  
Macedonian  
Wars.**

The war came to an end because the Romans desired to concentrate their whole attention on the defeat of Carthage. Philip surrendered some portions of Illyrian territory to Rome, but remained in possession of Thessaly, Euboea, and Acrocorinthus, promising to respect the friends and allies of Rome, in which the Italians were not included. He, however, continued to assist the Carthaginians, and some of his troops fought against Scipio at the battle of Zama, so that, when her hands were free, Rome began the second Macedonian war in 200 B.C., being incited to do so by the enemies of Philip in Pergamum, Rhodes, Athens, and Epirus. Her efforts against him were at first unsuccessful, but at last Titus Quinctius Flamininus, a brave and able general of the school of Marcellus, stormed the passes of Epirus and occupied a portion of Greece. He then made an alliance with the Achaean League, which had been reorganised under Philopoemen, and in 197 defeated Philip in the battle of Cynoscephale, in Thessaly. Philip had to surrender all his possessions outside Macedonia, to deliver up his fleet with the exception of five ships, to reduce his army to five thousand men, to pay a war indemnity of a thousand talents, and to promise to undertake no war without the leave

**Battle of  
Cynosce-  
phale.**



of the Romans. He was also compelled to send his son Demetrius as a hostage to Rome. The Greeks were able now to celebrate in safety the Isthmian games, which had been prevented by the Macedonian occupation. Flamininus also assisted the Achaean League against their enemy Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, from whom they took Argos and some possessions in Laconia and Crete. Nabis, however, was craftily left in power to act as a counterpoise to the Achaean League.

The Romans now turned their arms against Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. He had been in alliance with Philip, who had assisted Hannibal and received him when he was driven out of Africa by the Romans, and had in 191 begun the so called Syrian war by attacking Rhodes and Pergamum, the allies of Rome, and making an expedition against Greece with the assistance of the Aetolians.

**Wars with Syria.**

He was, however, defeated by Glabrio and his lieutenant Marcus Porcius Cato, in the battle of Thermopylae, and also worsted at sea, so that he was compelled to return to Asia. Lucius Scipio, with his brother Scipio Africanus as lieutenant, was sent to

**Battle of Magnesia.**

attack him in his own country, and, in 189, defeated him entirely in the battle of Magnesia on Mount Sipylus, and reduced him to subjection in the same way in which Rome had treated the king of Macedonia. He was obliged to surrender Asia Minor from the mountains of Taurus to the Halys, to give up his fleet, to pay 15,000 talents, (over £3,000,000) to Rome, and 400 to Eumenes, and to send his son Antiochus to Rome as a hostage. The Aetolians, who had assisted him, were sentenced to pay 500 talents, and to deliver up statues and other works of art.

The Romans, with a shameful want of generosity, required Antiochus to surrender their noble enemy Hannibal, now seventy

**Deaths of Hannibal and Scipio.**

years of age, whom they ought to have treated with the greatest honour. He sought refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia, and, when the Romans again insisted upon his surrender, he took poison, which he had for a long time carried about with him for that purpose.

Other important deaths occurred in this year 183. Publius Scipio Africanus died, banished to his country house of Linternum by the attacks of his enemies, of whom Marcus Porcius Cato was the chief. He was, indeed, acquitted in the law courts, but his brother, Lucius Scipio, had to pay a large fine which entirely ruined him. Philopoemen also died, the last competent head of the Achaean League. He also was compelled to poison him-

self. The restless Aetolians, who had again rebelled against Rome, were at last subdued by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior.

The third Macedonian war now ensued, and lasted from 171 to 168. Philip III., also called V., of Macedon had assisted the Romans in their struggle against Antiochus, but, disgusted with his want of recognition, and jealous of the favours which had been acceded to

**Third Macedonian War.**

Eumenes and the Rhodians, made war against them. His younger son, Demetrius, who had lived for some time at Rome as a hostage, was well disposed to the Romans, and was a friend of Flamininus. Hence Perseus, his wild and untameable illegitimate brother, poisoned him, in 181, breaking his father's heart. Two years later Philip died. Perseus succeeded and proved a good sovereign, but his efforts for the aggrandisement of his country and the independence of Greece naturally excited the enmity of Rome, and war was declared. It was brought to an end in 168 by the victory of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, whose father had fallen at Cannae, in the battle of Pydna. Perseus was captured, carried in triumph through the city, and imprisoned in Alba, where he died. Macedonia did not, however, become a Roman province until 148.

**Battle of Pydna.**

The year 146 is always regarded as the end of Grecian liberty. When the Achaean League, which had received a certain recognition from Rome, began to exert itself to obtain greater independence, Metellus was sent to suppress it, and defeated Critolaus, the general of the league, at Scarphea in Locris. But the real blow was

**Subjection of Greece.**

dealt by the Consul Lucius Mummius, who stormed and destroyed the rich and noble Corinth, and declared Greece to be a portion of the newly created province of Macedonia under the name of Achaia. It did not become a separate province until the time of Augustus. Corinth, so long the chosen seat of culture and art, was treated with revolting barbarity, although Mummius is said to have been a man of mild and gentle character, and was certainly very dull and stupid. He said that, if any works of art were destroyed, they must be replaced. The male inhabitants were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, the town plundered and burned. The priceless pictures and statues were carried off to Rome. The defeat of Perseus at Pydna in 168 decided the supremacy of Rome over the East. Epirus and Illyria fell into the hands of the Romans. In the first named country, seventy towns were destroyed in

one day, and 150,000 of the inhabitants sold into slavery. Thousands of Achaean hostages, amongst whom was the historian Polybius, were carried off to Rome, and Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, was compelled to desist from his conquests and to surrender Palestine to the heroic Maccabees. Even the faithful Eumenes of Pergamum, and Rhodes, its old ally, were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome.

The same year (146) saw the final destruction of Carthage. Since the conclusion of the second Punic war, Carthage had

**Third  
Punic War.**

recovered a large portion of its prosperity, although it was continually harassed by Massinissa, who was an ally of Rome. Cato the censor, a strong but narrow-minded man, was continually urging his countrymen to its destruction, and concluded every speech he made with the statement that he was of opinion that Carthage ought to be destroyed. At last, on a paltry pretext, Rome declared war against the doomed city. Carthage did her utmost to avoid the fate which threatened her. She sent three hundred hostages to Rome, and received a promise that her territory should be respected, but unfortunately no mention was made of the city itself. When the Roman army landed in Africa in 149, the Carthaginians were first required to deliver up their arms and to burn their ships of war, upon which they surrendered 200,000 stand of arms and 2000 war catapults. They were then ordered to leave the town and to build one at some distance from the sea, as Carthage was to be destroyed. This reduced them to a condition of despair, and they determined to defend themselves to the last. They turned all their theatres and public buildings into workshops for the making of arms, and the women gave up their hair to make bow strings. The city at this time had a population of 700,000. The defence was undertaken by two Hasdrubals, one of them a brother of Massinissa. For two years the city held out against all attacks, notwithstanding the treacherous disarmament, which had weakened it from the first. At last Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, the son of the conqueror of Pydna, and the adopted grandson of the great Scipio, succeeded in cutting through the isthmus on which the town was built, thus preventing all communication with the interior, and in shutting up the harbour by a dam, and at last, after a struggle of four years, Carthage was destroyed. We need not dwell upon the horrors which accompanied the victory. The whole story is a disgrace to

the Roman character, and the recital of these crimes, from which no nation has been free, makes us sometimes doubt whether the rules of right and wrong have an operation in public affairs, and whether there is a God in heaven who exacts punishment for crime. The territory of Carthage was now formed into the Roman province of Africa, with Utica as its capital.

At the same time the Romans became masters of Spain. The Celtiberi in Northern Spain had been defeated by Marcus Porcius Cato in 195, and conquered by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 179. Across the Ebro

Subjection  
of Spain.

the Lusitanians offered a vigorous resistance, at last, under the noble Viriathus; but he was treacherously murdered by the device of the Roman consul, Quintus Servilius Caepio, in 140. A war ensued called the Numantine war, which lasted till 133, when the Lusitanians submitted. Numantia, on the upper waters of the Douro, held out against a siege of fifteen months, during which the inhabitants suffered from a famine which has become proverbial. It was at last taken and destroyed by Scipio, who received the name of Numantinus. The whole of the Spanish peninsula now became a Roman province. A piece of good fortune befell Rome in this very year by Attalus III., king of Pergamum, making the Romans heirs to his enormous fortune and to his large territory, which included nearly the whole of Asia Minor, so that they were now able to establish a province of Asia. The power of the republic was also

Provinces of  
Asia and  
Southern  
Gaul.

extended in Gaul by the founding of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) and Aquæ Sextia (Aix) in 122, and by new conquests which enabled it to form Southern Gaul into a province which was afterwards known as the "province" *par excellence*, and to-day bears the name of Provence. The Arverni were received as allies, but the Allobroges were subdued. Further successes were also gained over the Carnians, the Istrians, and the Dalmatians. Thus, at the close of the second century before Christ, most of the countries which surrounded the Mediterranean Sea acknowledged the authority of Rome. Her empire included Sicily, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Carthage.

By these rapid advances, the conditions of Roman life had been entirely changed. The Romans, formerly exclusively occupied in war, agriculture, and the duties of government, began to receive a tinge of Greek culture, a movement en-

couraged by the greatest Romans—the two Scipios, Flaminius, and Aemilius Paulus. A great effect was produced by three thousand Achaean hostages, whose arrival in Rome has been already related, amongst whom were sophists, rhetoricians, philosophers, and historians. One of them, as we have said, was the historian Polybius, the friend of Scipio, who wrote the history of the three Punic wars in Greek. The play writers Plautus and Terence began to imitate Greek models, while the plundering of Syracuse and Corinth enriched the capital with many of the best examples of Greek art. At the same time, the rapid increase of wealth, accompanied by the introduction of an extravagant and corrupting luxury, did much to impair the strength and simplicity of the Roman character. This also led to a conflict between the aristocratic and the democratic parties, the Optimates and the Populares, the rich and the poor, as, according to the operations of unequal economic laws, the rich became more wealthy and the needy poorer. The nobles, composed partly of patricians, partly of rich plebeians, arrogated to themselves all the highest offices, and the lucrative government of the provinces. They also purchased, with their newly acquired wealth, huge estates, known as *latifundia*, which were cultivated, not by free labourers, but by slaves. At the same time, the poor citizens thronged to the towns, and swelled the numbers of those who were in want.

The two Gracchi set themselves to remedy this disastrous state of things, and to establish, between the very rich and the very poor, a sound and healthy middle class. One of the first steps necessary was to secure a fairer division of the public property, the *ager publicus*, which was now in the exclusive possession of the rich. The mother of the two Gracchi was Cornelia, the daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus, and the elder, Tiberius, when he became tribune of the plebs, endeavoured to follow Scipio's lead by re-establishing the old arrangement of the Licinian Laws by which no citizen might hold more than five hundred acres for himself, and two hundred and fifty for a grown-up son, or more than a thousand acres in all, while all the rest was to be divided in small allotments amongst the poorer citizens.

The aims of Tiberius Gracchus were in every way admirable, but the means which he adopted were illegal. In order to carry his proposals through, he obtained the deposition of his

colleague, Octavius, who was opposed to his views, by a decree of the people, thus undermining one of the fundamental safeguards of the Roman constitution, the inviolability of the tribunes. His scheme having been carried, a committee of three was appointed to carry it out, consisting of himself, his brother Gaius, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius. The Optimates naturally did their best to prevent his being elected tribune for the following year. When he attempted to secure the prolongation of his office by force, he was attacked by a crowd of ruffians hired by the aristocracy, and was killed at the foot of the Capitol, together with three hundred of his friends. Ten years later his plans were revived by his brother, Gaius Gracchus, with the addition of a scheme for founding colonies both in Italy and beyond, in which Roman citizens might be settled. Gaius also had a Corn Law passed, which provided a supply of grain from the state to the poorer classes at a lower price. He also made a change in the judicial arrangements, by which the judges in the standing courts were to be drawn from the equites instead of from the senators. Having thus won the support of the equites, he brought forward a bill to give the rights of citizenship to all the Italian allies. This was rejected by the people, and his popularity suffered a still more severe blow by the Tribune Livius Drusus going over to the side of the Optimates. Gracchus now went to Africa with the object of founding a colony at Carthage, and, in his absence, Drusus endeavoured to outbid him in the production of popular proposals, with the effect that Gracchus was not elected tribune on his return. The result of this was a serious battle between the Optimates, led by the Consul Opimius, and the popular party, in which Gracchus with three thousand of his adherents perished. In this way the endeavours of the Gracchi to establish a middle class entirely failed. The result of the whole conflict was to strengthen for the time the power of the Optimates and to encourage them to new efforts of overbearing violence.

After the death of Massinissa, his son Micipsa became king of Numidia, a country which extended from Mauretania, the modern Morocco, to the great Syrtis, which lies between Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Micipsa had intended that after his death his country should be divided between his two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal, and his nephew Jugurtha. Jugurtha, however, was an ambitious and

**Violence  
and Death  
of Tiberius.**

**Gaius  
Gracchus.**

**The Jugur-  
than War.**

unscrupulous man, who desired to obtain the whole country for himself. He therefore killed first Hiempsal and then Adherbal, and, when he was called upon by the Roman Senate to answer for his conduct, he contrived to purchase their connivance with the judicious use of money. Memmius, who was tribune of the plebs, brought this scandal into public notice, and an army was despatched to Africa, commanded by the consul Lucius Calpurnius Bestia. Bestia, however, was himself not proof against corruption, and, in the year 111, allowed Jugurtha to purchase peace. Memmius insisted upon Jugurtha being summoned to Rome, but his wealth would probably again have secured him immunity from punishment had he not murdered his nephew Massiva almost under the eyes of the Senate. He was promptly banished, and another army was sent to Africa, but the corruption and incapacity of the Roman generals was so great that the Roman army, after having been lured into the desert, was obliged to pass under the yoke. At last a competent general was found in Metellus, who, in 109, defeated Jugurtha in the battle of the Mulucha. After this, the war continued for some time, and Jugurtha was driven from Numidia, but he had recourse to the wild Gaetulian tribes in the south, and stirred up Bocchus, king of Mauretania, whose daughter he had married, to help him in a national war against Rome.

There was serving as a lieutenant at this time in the army of Metellus, a plebeian, Gaius Marius, the son of a peasant.

**Marius.** He was born at Arpinum, where the Cistercian monastery of Casa Mari, the house of Marius, preserves the memory of his name and the site of his father's farm. He had, some years before, attracted the attention of Scipio Aemilianus in the Numantine war. His was a strong but rough nature: he was a thorough soldier, an ardent democrat, full of indignation at the corruption of the aristocracy. He surprised Metellus with a request that he might be allowed to go to Rome to stand for the consulship, and Metellus did not dare to refuse. He was, at this time, forty-eight years old. When he arrived at Rome, he attacked Metellus, and said that, with only half his army, he would, in a short time, have Jugurtha in his power, and that the aristocratic generals allowed the war to

drag on that they might prolong their commands. **His first Consulship.** He boasted that he had no images or triumphs of consular ancestors to exhibit, that his credentials were his lance and his sword, and the scars on his breast—those were his images, those his ancestors, not inherited

from others, but won by himself. He succeeded in his object, and was not only elected consul, but entrusted with the African command, and crowds of his democratic supporters flocked to his standard. He did away with the old Servian classes, and founded a new model army of a thoroughly popular character, in which wealth had no privilege. He kept a strict discipline, but was adored by his men.

Proceeding to Africa in 107, he entirely defeated Jugurtha and Bocchus in the battle of Cirta, the modern Constantine. But the honour of his victory had to be shared with Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who had recently joined his army as quaestor. Sulla was a man of noble birth, well educated, and of great ability, but corrupted by sensual in-

**Sulla.**

dulgence. He was energetic and generous, and, notwithstanding his noble origin, knew how to make himself beloved by his troops. He was extremely ambitious, and, notwithstanding his self-indulgent habits, never spared himself in the labours of the field. He was aware that Bocchus was not averse to making peace with the Romans, and he persuaded him to betray his son-in-law. Jugurtha was treacherously captured, and the Jugurthan war, which had lasted for seven years, came to an end. On

January 1, 104, the day on which Marius entered upon his second consulship, he rode in triumph to the Capitol. Jugurtha, with his two sons, walked in chains before his conqueror's chariot. Then he was carried off into the ghastly prison of the Tullianum. "This is a cold bath chamber!" he said. For six days of a Roman winter, his sturdy frame held out against cold and hunger, till he was at last mercifully stifled. Bocchus received part of Numidia as the reward of his treachery, the rest of the country being given to Jugurtha's half-brother, Gauda. The Gaetulians entered into the position of allies. The close of the war left Sulla and Marius rivals and enemies—the one was a "novus homo," the representative of the democracy, the other the champion of the Optimates.

**Marius' Second Consulship.**

Marius was now to gain new laurels in a more dangerous conflict. In the year 113, the Cimbri, apparently of German, not of Celtic origin, impelled by one of those forces which, as has been before explained, broke out from time to time from the human volcano of central Asia, attacked the Roman province of Noricum, the modern Styria. They defeated at Noreja the Consul Papirius Carbo, who was sent against them, and, in their victorious progress

**Cimbri and Teutones.**



through Gaul and Switzerland, destroyed four Roman armies. The worst of these defeats was suffered by Gnaeus Servilius Caepio on the Rhone in 105, a battle in which 80,000 Romans were slain. The Cimbri now crossed the Pyrenees, and plundered Spain, but were driven back by the Celtiberians into Gaul. Here they joined another German tribe, the Teutones, and then threatened Italy, the Teutones taking the road of the coast, the Cimbri of the Eastern Alps. The Romans, thoroughly frightened, summoned Marius to their aid. The war continued for five years, during which time Marius was re-elected consul without a break.

**Defeated by  
Marius.**

He took great pains with the discipline of his army, and established a fixed camp at the spot where the Isère flows into the Rhone, gradually accustoming his soldiers to the sight of the wild barbarians with whom they had to contend, and at last, in 102, completely defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae, the modern Aix. The Cimbri had by now penetrated into Italy, and driven the consul, Lutatius Catulus, across the Po. Marius hastened to his assistance, and together they routed the Cimbri in the Raudian plains, in the neighbourhood of Vercelli.

This danger, so happily averted, did not prevent Rome from being agitated by internal troubles. The democratic party found new leaders in Apuleius Saturninus, tribune of the plebs, and the praetor Servilius Glaucia, who had won the favour of the people by distributions among them of corn and public land. One of their objects was to diminish the authority of the Senate, the stronghold of the power of the Optimates. Glaucia became a candidate for the consulship in 98, being opposed by Gaius Memmius, but the supporters of Memmius were driven violently out of the Forum by the mob of Glaucia and Saturninus, armed with clubs. Marius was ordered by the Senate to put down this riot, and he could not disobey, although Saturninus, the leader of the rioters, had been his friend. Both Glaucia and Saturninus perished in the conflict. This increased the power of Sulla, who was soon to gain greater distinction in the war with the Allies.

The Social or Marsian war, which lasted from 91 to 88, was caused by the fact that a number of Sabellian tribes—the

**The Social  
War.**

Peligni, Marsi, Samnites, Apulians, and Lucanians—had taken their full share in the victorious wars of Rome which we have described, but had not been rewarded with either the rights of Roman citizens or a share of the public lands. Gaius Gracchus, as we know, had

attempted to remedy this case, and in 91 the tribune Marcus Livius Drusus followed in his steps. He was, however, victoriously opposed by the Senate, and was murdered at the entrance to his own house as he was returning from a public meeting. The Allies took up arms, and determined to found a new state in opposition to Rome. They chose as their capital Corfinium, situated in the mountainous country between the two seas, an example which was followed with equal unsuccess by the Emperor Frederick II. many centuries later. The Marsi were led by Pompaedius Silo, and the Samnites by Pontius Telesinus, the Romans by Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo and Lucius Cornelius Sulla. But peace could not be made until the demands of the Allies had been conceded, and the rights of citizenship had been given to all who dwelt from the Macra and Rubicon to the farthest extremity of Italy. In 89, the Consul Lucius Julius Caesar carried a proposal that the Latins who had remained loyal should have the citizenship, but in the following year the tribunes Plautius Silvanus and Papirius Carbo extended the privilege to all Italian towns who should ask for it within the space of sixty days, and by this the war was brought to an end.

Immediately after this, the powerful Mithradates VI., king of Pontus, whose dominions extended from Paphlagonia to Colchis, who possessed the Euxine and had the whole of Armenia as his ally, made an incursion into the Roman provinces lying to the west of his empire. He had, indeed, gained possession of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and there was a danger that the whole of Asia Minor might fall into his hands. The corrupt and covetous behaviour of the Roman proconsuls had made their rule detested, and, in 88, at the instigation of the Pontine king, eighty thousand Romans were massacred in Asia Minor on the same day. The Romans declared war, and the Senate gave the charge of it to the Consul Sulla; but, on the proposition of the tribune Publius Sulpicius Rufus, the popular assembly deprived him of it, and transferred it to Marius. Upon this, Sulla marched with his army from Nola to Rome, and Marius had to flee for his life. After numerous adventures, he was captured in the marshes at the mouth of the Liris, and taken to Minturnae. From this he fled to Africa, and took refuge, according to a commonplace of history, in the ruins of Carthage. Sulla now had a free hand in Rome. He divided the consulship between Gnaeus Octavius,

**The Mithradatic War.**

**Marius driven from Rome.**

an Optimate, and Cinna, a democrat, and then set out to meet Mithradates, who, having subdued Asia Minor, had attacked Greece. He took Athens by storm, defeated in two successive years Archelaus, the general of Mithradates, first at Chaeronae and then at Orchomenos, and finally passed over to Asia Minor. Meanwhile, the popular party in Rome, determined not to be beaten, sent an army to Asia Minor, under their consul Flaccus, who was, however, murdered by the traitor Fimbria. When Sulla arrived, Fimbria's army passed over to Sulla, and Fimbria had no other resource than to kill himself. Sulla then, in the year 84, defeated Mithradates, compelled him to surrender all his conquests in Asia Minor, and his whole war navy, and to pay an indemnity of about half a million, which, from his enormous wealth, he was easily able to do. This was followed by a so-called Second Mithradatic war (83 to 81), in which Sulla's lieutenant, Murena, foolishly invading Pontus, was defeated by Mithradates on the Halys. It was after this that the victorious king conquered the Crimea and established his capital at Panticapaeum, the modern Kertch. The treasure of Kertch, preserved in the museum at St. Petersburg, gives startling evidence of the magnificence of the Pontic sovereign and of the exquisite art which flourished in his dominions.

During the absence of Sulla from Rome, the democratic consul, Cinna, had procured the adoption of many liberal laws, and amongst them one which provided for the reception of the new citizens into all the thirty-five tribes, and their being placed on an equality with the old citizens. The result of this was that the new citizens crowded into Rome to vote, and increased the power of the democratic party. Octavius and the Optimates could not suffer this, so they took up arms against Cinna and drove him from Rome. He, however, collected an army and forced his way back into the city, being assisted by Marius, who had been recalled from banishment. For five days there was fighting in Rome between the two parties, with the loss of many lives. In 86, Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, but died immediately afterwards, and Cinna, after having procured his election as consul four times in succession, was murdered by his own soldiers at Ancona, just as he was about to attack the victorious Sulla in Greece. Sulla, having finished the Mithradatic war, marched to Rome, having to fight his way through a number of Marian

**Victories of Sulla.**

**Cinna's Reforms.**

**Deaths of Marius and Cinna.**

soldiers, who were assisted by the Samnites. The most serious battle took place at the Colline Gate, in which 4000 Samnites were taken prisoner, and three days later were slaughtered in the Campus Martius, together with their leader, Pontius Telesinus. Sulla was now master of Italy. The remains of the Marian party in Sicily and Africa were subdued by the young Gnaeus Pompeius, generally known as Pompey the Great, who, on Sulla's return, had collected an army of three legions for his support at his own expense.

**Return of  
Sulla.**

Sulla now set himself to work entirely to destroy the popular party, and to secure the rule of the Optimates. He established a reign of terror by drawing up a list of proscriptions, containing the names of citizens who were to be put to death and their property confiscated.

**Sulla's Dictatorship.**

He was created perpetual dictator, which, as has been before explained, had nothing to do with the old dictatorship, but gave him further power to remodel the constitution. He re-established the power of the Senate, the numbers of which were increased; diminished that of the tribunes by enacting that no one who had been tribune could be afterwards elected to any higher office; took away from the Comitia Tributa and the Concilia Plebis the power of initiating laws, which remained solely with the Comitia Centuriata; and increased the number of standing tribunals from four to eight. He gave the right of serving as judges back to the Senate, and made the office of senators to last for life, taking away from the censors the power of removing them. He attempted to destroy the democratic feeling of the provinces by placing 120,000 of his veterans in military colonies. He liberated 10,000 slaves who were devoted to his interests, and made them citizens. They were called Cornelians, and formed his bodyguard in Rome. Having thus, as he thought, established the constitution of Rome on its old aristocratic footing, and having given himself the title of Felix in 79, he laid down his office of dictator of his own accord, having held it for two years, and retired to Pozzuoli, where he died in the following year.

After Sulla's death, Pompeius, who had already received the title of Great (Magnus), became the leader of the party of the Optimates. In order to complete the work of destroying the Marian party, he was sent to Spain, where a formidable rising had taken place under Sertorius. The struggle continued in the mountains of the peninsula for seven years (79-72), until Sertorius suffered

**Exploits of  
Pompey.**

a not uncommon fate by being treacherously murdered by his lieutenant, Perpenna. When this was over, Pompeius had to suppress a rising of slaves and gladiators under Spartacus. This man, a Thracian gladiator, had escaped from his training school at Capua, and collected an army of 100,000 slaves and gladiators with the idea of throwing off the yoke of the Roman government. He defeated the first four armies which were sent against him, but was at last conquered by Licinius Crassus at the river Silarus, where he lost his life. Pompeius on his return from Spain fell in with a body of 5000 slaves who had escaped the slaughter, and were marching towards Gaul. He entirely destroyed them, and got the glory of having put an end to the war. In the following year, Pompeius and

**Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.** Crassus were elected consuls, and attempted to make terms with the democratic party, although they continued to be the leaders of the aristocrats. They restored the power of the tribunes on its old footing, and settled the vexed question of the judges by dividing them between the Senate, the equites, and what were called the Aerarian Tribunes, who represented the popular party. They restored to the censors their former power over the Senate, and in other ways mitigated the stringency of the Sullan constitution. Pompeius ingratiated himself so much with the democratic party by these measures that he found himself elected as general, first against the pirates, and then in the next year against Mithradates, each time on the proposal of a tribune, who did not seem afraid of placing these large powers in his hands.

The Mediterranean was at this time infested with pirates, as it has been almost up to our own day, especially after the **Pompey suppresses the Pirates.** destruction of Carthage put an end to the police of the seas. Their chief seats were Cilicia and Crete: they harassed the coasts of Italy and Spain, interfered with the supply of corn to Rome, and even dared to destroy a Roman fleet in the harbour of Ostia. In 67, the praetor, Caecilius Metellus, had taken possession of Crete, for which he received the title of Creticus. But their ravages still continued; like the Barbary pirates of recent times, they captured distinguished persons and held them to ransom, Julius Caesar himself having suffered this fate in his youth. But with the attack upon Ostia, the cup of Rome's indignation was full. In 67, Pompeius got together a large fleet of 500 ships of war, 120,000 infantry, and 5000 cavalry, and in three months cleared the seas of pirates, and defeated the Cilician fleet at the pro-

montory of Coracesium. Ten thousand of them were killed, 20,000 taken prisoner, 1000 of their ships were burned, and 120 of their castles captured, in Isauria, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. Merchants could now traverse the Mediterranean in safety.

Pompeius next turned his attention to Mithradates, in the Third Mithradatic war, which lasted for ten years (74-64). It had begun in 74, by Mithradates attacking the province of Bithynia, which had been bequeathed to the Romans by its king, Nicomedes. He defeated the Consul Aurelius Cotta at Calchedon, and besieged Cyzicus. Licinius Lucullus, a Roman general of the highest distinction, whose talents should have obtained for him a more prominent name in history, was sent against him. He defeated Mithradates in 72, at Cabira, in the neighbourhood of the Halys, and compelled him to take refuge with his father-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia. When Tigranes refused to deliver him up, Lucullus crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and defeated both kings at Tigranocerta in 69, and at Artaxata in 68. He was prevented from going farther by a mutiny of his soldiers, and was recalled to Rome by the Senate, it is supposed by the intrigues of the tax-gatherers, to whose dishonesty Lucullus was violently opposed. Thus, in 67, the conclusion of the Mithradatic war was committed to the hands of Pompeius. He succeeded in defeating Mithradates on the river Lycus, at the place where the city of Nicopolis was afterwards founded, and compelling him to take refuge in his recently acquired country of the Crimea.

**Third  
Mithradatic  
War.**

**Victories of  
Lucullus.**

Pompeius, justifying his appellation of the "Great," did much more than had been expected of him, and put the affairs of the East on something like a basis of permanent security. After conquering Tigranes in Armenia, he marched by way of the Caucasus to Asia Minor, made Pontus a Roman province, as well as Syria and Cilicia, and placed Galatia and Cappadocia in the position of protected states. He settled the affairs of Palestine, making Hyrcanus, of the house of the Maccabees, king under the suzerainty of Rome and liable to tribute. Here he heard that Mithradates, betrayed by his son Pharnaces, had killed himself in Kertch, upon which Pharnaces was made king of the Crimea, and recognised as a friend and ally of the Roman people. When Pompeius had thus arranged the affairs of Asia, he returned, with a huge amount of plunder, by way of Ephesus,

**Pompey's  
Settlement  
of the East.**

Athens, and Brundisium to Rome, where he celebrated a triple triumph for his victories in Europe, Africa, and Asia. It was said that he had subdued sixteen countries, a thousand fortresses, and nine hundred cities.

During the absence of Pompeius from Italy the conspiracy of Catiline took place at Rome in the year 63, which has perhaps received more attention from Roman historians than it deserves, partly from the fact that it has been narrated by Sallust and partly from its connection with the name of Cicero.

**Catiline's  
Conspiracy.**

Lucius Sergius Catiline, a dissolute young patrician, formed a conspiracy with a number of his boon companions, like-minded with himself, with the design of killing the consuls, setting Rome on fire, burning the ancient books, and overthrowing the constitution. The conspiracy was discovered by the great orator Cicero, one of the consuls, who made a number of speeches about it in the Senate. Catiline fled from Rome and collected some troops at Fiesole; but was defeated at Pistoria, and slain by Marcus Petreius, the lieutenant of the consul Gaius Antonius. His fellow-conspirators in Rome, who included the senator Cethegus and the praetor Lentulus, were arrested by Cicero's order and strangled in prison. This action was supported by Cato, but opposed by Julius Caesar and Crassus, who objected to their capital punishment, and preferred that they should be imprisoned and deprived of their property. To take the life of a Roman citizen was indeed a serious thing. Cicero, who firmly believed that he had saved Rome, received the title of "Father of his country." Pompeius, on his return

**Return of  
Pompey.**

from Asia, called upon the Senate to confirm all the arrangements he had made for the government of the East; and when they hesitated to do this, he made a coalition with Julius Caesar, who had obtained great favour with the people.

Gaius Julius Caesar—probably the greatest man of whom we have any knowledge, "the foremost man of all mankind," as Shakespeare calls him—was born in the year 99

**Julius  
Caesar.**

B.C., and was therefore at this time thirty-six years old. He came of the ancient family of the Julii, but attached himself in early youth to the popular party, seeing probably that the cause of the aristocracy was hopeless and that Rome needed a new kind of government. He married the daughter of Cinna, and naturally fell into disfavour with Sulla, and fled to Asia. Pardoned with difficulty, he did not return to Rome until after Sulla's death, and soon afterwards

went to Greece and Asia Minor to complete the studies which were necessary to fit him for a statesman's life. He became a complete master of style—his Commentaries, which are degraded to the position of a lower form schoolbook and form a part of almost every entrance examination, being one of the most perfect examples of literary composition which the world possesses. Returning again to Rome, he was elected aedile, and won popular favour by the exhibition of splendid games. He was recklessly extravagant; but his debts, amounting, it is said, to 800 talents, were paid by Crassus, and he went as praetor to Lusitania, where he distinguished himself in war. Being conscious of his great talents, he was naturally ambitious, and set himself to rise to power by crushing the authority of the Senate and the Optimates and obtaining the favour of the people. The coalition formed with Pompeius, which we have already mentioned, gave him influence with the army; and they both found it desirable to join themselves with Crassus, who was possessed of enormous wealth. In this manner, in the year 60, the First Triumvirate was formed, consisting of Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus, a party rather for the attainment of their private ends than for the furtherance of any public policy in which they were all agreed.

**The First  
Trium-  
virate.**

In the year 59, Caesar was elected consul, and passed a law by which all impecunious citizens, and amongst them the veterans of Pompeius, should receive portions of the public lands, and all the arrangements made by Pompeius in Africa should be enforced. At the same time, Pompeius married Caesar's daughter Julia. When his consulship was at an end, Caesar was appointed as proconsul to the two Gallic provinces, the Cisalpine and the Transalpine. The power of the Senate was also wrecked, by the removal from Rome of two important members of the party, Cicero and Cato. Cicero was attacked by the Tribune Publius Clodius for having put the Catiline conspirators to death without a formal decree of the Comitia Centuriata, and Cato was despatched to clear the island of Cyprus of the pirates who had made it their home.

The conquest of Gaul by Caesar is one of the notable events in the history of the world. In eight successive campaigns, he entirely reduced to order and made subject to the Romans the great country of France, and it has never lost the form which he then impressed upon it. France is now the most homogeneous country in Europe, and it owes that to the genius of Caesar. What he did

**Caesar in  
Gaul.**



once, he did for ever; and the settlement of Gaul bears the impress of the same powerful mind as that which wrote the narrative of his deeds in the Commentaries, where there is not a word which could be altered without loss. In these campaigns Caesar did many cruel things, but he did them completely, and we may suppose that it is in this way that the progress of the world is brought about. He fought against many tribes and different races in several countries, by land and sea. He first attacked the Helvetii, a Celtic race, who, pressed by the Germans, had crossed the Jura to find a new habitation in Gaul, and drove them back to Switzerland. He did the same to Ariovistus, a German Suevian who had also invaded Gaul, and made him recross the Rhine. He found worthy antagonists in the Belgian Nervii, whom he broke on the Sambre, and then subdued with greater ease the tribes dwelling on the shores of the Atlantic and the English Channel. He crossed the Rhine, and marched into Germany; he built a fleet, and sailed twice to Britain. He put down revolt after revolt, and smote the dwellers near Trier, Namur, Orleans, and the Scheldt. Having fought them hard and continuously during the two terrible years of 54 and 53, he had in 52 to contend with the greatest of all his opponents, Vercingetorix, who collected against him nearly all the inhabitants of Gaul, in the inaccessible mountains of Auvergne, and gained the undying distinction of having defeated Caesar. But at last Caesar subdued the stubborn patriot by famine at Alesia, and scattered to the winds an army of a quarter of a million Gauls, who were coming to the assistance of the beleaguered city, and in 51 the conquest of Gaul was complete. Vercingetorix adorned the triumph of his conqueror, and was, to the disgrace of the Romans, put to death. Thus Caesar executed in the West what Pompeius had attempted, with far less success, in the East. He had won for himself a great reputation as a general, but had also created a devoted army which he could use as an instrument to conquer the world and to place himself at the head of it.

Whilst Caesar was thus engaged, the other members of the Triumvirate found themselves quite incapable of coping with the civil disorders which agitated the capital, with the violence of Clodius and the bloodthirsty outrages of Milo. The weak Senate found that it alone could preserve some appearance of order, and was able to recall Cicero from exile in 57. The three Triumviri met at

**Disorder in  
Rome.**

Lucca in 56, and renewed their party coalition. Pompeius and Crassus were to be made consuls in 55: after that Pompeius was to have the province of Spain, and Crassus that of Syria, while the command of Caesar in Gaul was extended for five years from 55 to 50. Crassus brought confusion and ridicule upon the coalition by going to the wealthy Syria before his time, eager to exploit its riches, crossing the Euphrates to attack the Parthians, and being conquered and slain at Carrhae in 55. Pompeius, more worldly wise, did not go to Spain, but remained in Rome. He was becoming afraid of his powerful rival, and the bonds between them were weakened by the deaths of Crassus and of his wife Julia, Caesar's daughter. He was gradually drawn to his natural ally, the Senate, which indeed at that time was the only defence against anarchy in Rome. When matters came to a crisis in the murder of Clodius on the Appian Way, by the prize-fighter Milo, who was a candidate for the consulship, Pompeius was made a kind of dictator, with the strange title of "consul without a colleague," a contradiction both in letter and in spirit of the fundamental constitution of Rome.

Caesar was too prudent to venture as a private citizen into the hornets' nest, where he would probably have been slain, but determined to stand for the consulship, so that he might take up that office as soon as the Gallic command was over. The Senate met this by declaring that no one might stand for an office in his absence, and, under the influence of Pompeius, called on him to resign. Caesar said that he was willing to do so, if Pompeius would do the same, but at last the Senate, becoming aware of the danger which threatened them, passed a decree that Caesar, unless he laid down his command by a certain day, should be regarded as the enemy of the republic. The intercession of the tribunes Antonius and Cassius against this decree was disregarded, and the constitution was again violated. Pompeius was entrusted by the Senate with the defence of the capital. The two tribunes, one of them afterwards to be Caesar's murderer, the other the avenger of his death, fled to his camp at Ravenna, and Caesar, with the words "*Jacta est alea*" (the die is cast), with only one legion and three hundred horsemen, crossed the tiny stream of the Rubicon, making it a synonym for ever afterwards for all the forcible actions of the world. The civil war had begun.

**Break up of  
the Trium-  
virate.**

**Caesar and  
the Senate.**

**The  
Rubicon.**

Pompeius had not expected this stroke. He left Rome with

Cicero and Cato, and the rest of the Senate, and crossed from Brindisi to Epirus to await his antagonist in Greece. Caesar did not immediately proceed to the capital. He

**Flight of  
the Senate.**

went, by way of the coast, to Corfinium, the heart of Italy, where the consul Domitius Ahenobarbus submitted to him with his army and stores. Then he came to Rome, seized the money in the treasury, which Pompeius had neglected to take with him, and in sixty days became master of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Still avoid-

**Battles of  
Lerida**

ing his chief antagonist, he proceeded to Spain, where he conquered, at Lerida, a Pompeian army commanded by Afranius and Petreius, secured possession of Marseilles, and returned to Rome in December 49.

Not till the beginning of 48 did he cross in stormy weather from Brindisi to Dyrrachium, and attack the fortified camp of Pompeius. Twice was he defeated, and then he traversed the range of Pindus into Thessaly, whither Pompeius was foolish enough to follow him. The decisive battle came unexpectedly at Pharsalia on June 16. Caesar was preparing to retreat when Pompeius attacked. "Well!" he cried,

**and  
Pharsalia.**

"our task is at last fulfilled. It is better to fight against men than against famine." Pompeius had every advantage—twice as many infantry, six times as many cavalry—but Caesar, with his seasoned veterans, gained a decisive victory. Pompeius escaped first to Cyprus, and then to Egypt, where he was murdered, as he stepped upon the shore, by his old comrade, Lucius Septimius, in the sight of his wife and child. Three days after the murder of Pompeius, on July 27, 48, according to our modern style, Caesar landed in Egypt,

**Caesar in  
Egypt,**

and decided the dispute about the succession between Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy, in favour of Cleopatra, one of the most striking figures in the ancient world and one of the most unfortunate. In Alexandria he was attacked by the opposite party, and had to remain seven months in the citadel, till he was rescued by King Mithradates of Pergamum. Then, having secured Cleopatra in

**in Asia  
Minor,**

the possession of Egypt, he went to Asia Minor to crush the rebellion of Pharnaces, son of the great Mithradates of Pontus. He defeated him in the battle of Zela, about which he coined the expression,

**in Africa.**

"Veni, vidi, vici" (I came, I saw, I conquered), and gave his dominions to the other Mithradates, of Pergamum. He then returned to Rome. His next campaign was in Africa, where he defeated the Pompeians, who were

assisted by King Juba of Numidia, at Thapsus in 46. Cato, despairing of the republic, killed himself in Utica.

It only now remained to deal with the sons of **in Spain.**

Pompeius, Gnaeus and Sextus, who had assembled an army in Spain, but were defeated in the battle of Munda in 45.

On his return to Rome, Caesar was made dictator for life, and became an absolute sovereign, by uniting in his own person the powers of consul, censor, tribune, praetor, and pontifex maximus, which had been intended **Caesar Dictator.** to be mutual checks on each other. He assumed the airs of a king. He sat in the Senate on a golden throne between the two consuls; he wore the purple mantle of a general in his triumph, with a laurel wreath on his head; he coined money with his image and superscription; he took the title of Imperator. These changes in the constitution will be more minutely described in the next chapter. For the empire which he governed, he did much and projected more. Like the young Napoleon, he introduced a spirit of generosity and conciliation. He allowed his enemies to return from exile; he gave the hungry citizens of the capital bread; he cleared Rome of robbers, and adorned it with spacious buildings; he relieved hopeless debtors from their burdens, and repressed corrupting tyranny with a strong hand. He introduced great agrarian reforms and founded numerous colonies. He extended his prudent care to the provinces, and did his best to encourage Greek learning and science. He began to codify the law: he reformed weights and measures, and introduced the Julian calendar. When he died he was preparing for a great war with Parthia which should bring that savage and warlike nation within the bounds of civilisation. When he had avenged the defeat of Carrhae, and secured the Roman frontier in the East, he would have subdued the Dacians and the Getans on the banks of the Danube, and then, returning to Italy through Germany, would have done for these countries what he had previously done for Gaul. Had Caesar lived, there would have been no invasion of the barbarians, no violent destruction of the Roman empire.

But it was not to be. Notwithstanding the benefits of Caesar's rule, the republicans could not see a monarchy arise in their midst, however necessary it might be for the salvation of Rome and the civilisation of the **The Opposition.** world. A conspiracy was formed by about sixty of the Optimates, who were, perhaps, ill disposed to Caesar as the enemy of Pompeius and the leader of a democratic party,

but were also warmly attached to republican institutions. Among the leaders of the plot were the two praetors, Gaius Cassius and Marius Junius Brutus, the intimate friend of Caesar, who was persuaded to join the conspiracy against him with great difficulty. Probably, at first, he and the others only intended an open rising and not a treacherous murder. The deed took place. A sitting of the Senate had been summoned for the

**Murder of  
Caesar.**

Ides of March, B.C. 44, in the theatre of Pompeius. It is said that Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, terrified by dreams and omens, begged her husband not to attend the meeting; that Spurina, a soothsayer, had especially warned him against the Ides of March; and that Artemidorus had given to him, on the way to the Senate, a paper containing an account of the conspiracy, which, however, he left unread. He arrived late; indeed he had made up his mind not to go, partly for the sake of Calpurnia, partly because he felt unwell, but Brutus, who was in the confidence of the murderers, persuaded him to attend. When he took his seat on the golden throne, the conspirators crowded round him. Trebonius kept Antonius, who might have defended him, engaged in conversation at a distance. As they pressed upon him to see whether he wore arms or concealed weapons, Caesar, to escape their importunity, stood up. Cimber gave the signal, by tearing the toga from his shoulder, and Casca stabbed him in the back. He sank at length, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius, pierced by twenty-three wounds, covering his head and his body with his mantle, that he might not fall indecorously. He was fifty-two years old. The murder of Caesar is probably the most fatal deed which has ever been wrought in the history of the world, and it is certainly one of the most dastardly. Had he lived—and he might have lived many years—he would probably have consolidated the Roman empire with a stronger hand than Augustus was able to use, and secured that its marvellous government and organisation should pass without a break into the progress of mankind. Political prophecy is always idle, but this forecast is more probable than most. But the vileness of the treachery by which the catastrophe was brought about is indescribable. Not without reason has Dante, who thought treachery the worst of human vices, placed in the three mouths of Lucifer, as he stood imprisoned in the centre of the globe, the three great traitors of the world—Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his God, and Brutus and Cassius, who betrayed and murdered their master.

## CHAPTER XII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 44 B.C.—96 A.D.

THE empire of Rome, which succeeded the republic, was developed out of it by gradual steps. As the territory of Rome, beginning with a city and its suburbs, extended itself first to Italy and then to the whole world as it was then known, the machinery of government devised for it in its earlier condition became incapable of doing the work which was expected from it, and a change became necessary. Before the final crisis, the constitution had to be strained, in order to accommodate itself to the new order of things. In this manner, not only were powers given to the existing magistrates which they did not originally possess, but new magistracies were created, which were precursors of the imperial power. Sulla and Caesar were both made dictators of an entirely new kind, and the triumvirate was a phenomenon unknown to early Roman history. In the first dictatorship, 82 B.C., Sulla was invested with unlimited powers of inflicting capital punishment and the confiscation of property, of forming colonies, of establishing or abolishing communes, of conferring or taking away kingdoms; and this ample authority, which Cicero marks with the fatal title of *regnum*, was assured to him until he had pacified the Roman state. As dictator, Caesar presided at the Electoral Council, at which he was himself elected consul for the year 48. He was afterwards created dictator for ten years, and then for life. On several occasions he held the consulship and the dictatorship together. At various times, the Senate and the people imposed on him the following powers—the supreme decision of peace and war, the tribunician power for life, the privilege of presiding over the elections of patrician magistrates, the control of the praetorian provinces, the power of censor, under the title of *praefectus morum*, for three years, and the right of designating candidates for plebeian magistracies. Thus Caesar gradually

became an absolute monarch for life, and when he was murdered on March 15, 44, it mattered little whether he had the title of king or not.

The first triumvirate, of Pompeius, Caesar, and Crassus, was a purely political coalition, but the second, of which we shall

**The Second** have to speak, was regularly constituted by law.

**Trium-** It was first created at the end of 43, to last up

**virate.** to January 1, 37, and then renewed for a second

period of five years, but came to an end by the dissensions of

those who held it, and was followed by the establishment of

the empire by Caesar Octavianus, better known as Augustus.

This was effected in the following way. In 40 B.C. he had

assumed the title of Imperator as a praenomen, considering

that he inherited it from his adoptive father, Julius Caesar.

**Elements of** Being sole master of the empire after the battle

**the Imperial** of Actium, he gradually organised the imperial

**Power—The** power, having a number of important duties

**Principate.** delegated to him by the Senate and the people.

In 28 B.C., in his sixth consulship, he revised the list of the

Senate, and became Princeps Senatus, from which time the

title Princeps designated the emperor as the first magistrate

of the state, although it never became one of the imperial

titles officially, and the new form of government was called

the Principatus, whether the title of Princeps meant *princeps*

*senatus* or not, which is uncertain. But the kernel of the

**The New** empire lay in the union of the two antagonistic

**Imperium.** powers of the *imperium* and the *tribunicia*

*potestas*, which were originally intended to

balance each other, and the most conspicuous title was that

of Augustus. Octavius was invested with the *imperium* in

27 B.C., and obtained the title of Augustus a few days after-

wards. This *imperium* was of a new kind. It included not

merely the chief command of all the armies, but the decision

of international questions, an important part in legislation,

certain judicial functions, and the government of certain pro-

vinces. This power was further extended by the *jus consulare*,

conferred upon Augustus in 23 B.C. On the other side, he

**The** renewed the *tribunicia potestas* without limit of

**Tribunician** time or place in 30 B.C., having been previously

**Power.** declared *sacrosanctus* in 36, his person being

rendered inviolable. After 23 B.C., this power was rendered

both perpetual and annual, so that Augustus began to date

the years of his reign by the years of his tribunician power.

Besides this, he held the consulship several times, he became a member of all the important colleges of priests, and, in 12 B.C., obtained the dignity of pontifex maximus. He was called Imperator Caesar Divi Filius, and, in 2 B.C., was invested with the honorary title of Pater Patriae.

The imperial power came to an end by the death of the emperor, by his voluntary abdication, or by his deposition. It was not hereditary, nor could the emperor name his successor. On the demise of the emperor, the imperial power passed into the hands of the consuls, who were the presidents of the Senate. But, if the emperor did designate a successor in his lifetime, his known desire had great influence over the choice of the Senate, although it did not bind them. The candidates naturally marked out for the choice of the Senate were the Caesars—that is, the legitimate, natural, or adopted sons of the emperor, without any right of primogeniture. The emperor might mark his preference for any particular Caesar by making him heir of his *patrimonium*. After the time of Hadrian, the cognomen Caesar was reserved for those princes of the imperial family whom the emperor recommended as candidates for the imperial dignity. The emperor could also pave the way for the appointment of his successor by securing for him the proconsular imperium and a minor degree of the tribunician power, just as in the German empire the future emperor was first created king of the Romans. If no candidate had been designated by the preceding emperor, a candidate was generally imposed upon the Senate, either by the Praetorian Guard, or by the legions in the provinces, so that the choice of the Senate was rarely free. No especial franchise for the post of emperor was prescribed by law, but the emperors of the Julian and Claudian houses were patricians by birth, and, if a plebeian were chosen emperor, the Senate made him a patrician.

**The Succession to the Empire.**

The two principal acts by which Augustus was made emperor were the Lex de Imperio, by which he was recognised as emperor, and received the official title of Augustus, and the Lex de Potestate Tribunicia, which was also conferred later than the imperium. These two laws were *Senatus consulta*, submitted for confirmation to the will of the Comitia in the Campus Martius, with the regular interval of the trinundinum or three market days, during which the proposed law was publicly exposed. But

**Formalities of Accession.**



before long acclamation was substituted for the regular votes, and after the third century this formality took place immediately after the meeting of the Senate. Every year, on the first of January, the Senate, the magistrates, and the legions took an oath to the emperor, by which they bound themselves to the observance of his acts, and also those of his predecessors unless their acts had been annulled. After the death of the emperor, the Senate made an inquiry into his conduct and his public acts. If the opinion were unfavourable, the acts were rescinded, and his memory was condemned. If it were favourable, he received the consecration of apotheosis and the title of *Divus*. This consecration had to be proposed by the emperor who succeeded, and after the third century was done by the emperor alone, without the intervention of the Senate.

We will now proceed to a further examination of the imperial power, and first consider what rights were conferred by the Lex de Imperio. By this the emperor was

**The Lex de  
Imperio.**

constituted commander-in-chief of all the forces of the empire by land or sea, inside or outside the pomerium. The emperor had the sole right of recruiting or dismissing soldiers, although perhaps the recruiting in the senatorial provinces may have been subject theoretically to the jurisdiction of the Senate. All troops took an oath of allegiance to the emperor, and were paid in his name. He had the nomination of centurions and of all effective officers of senatorial or equestrian rank. He distributed all decorations except the triumph, and that fell into his hands after a time. He had, as we have said, the right of deciding on peace or war and of concluding treaties. He also had the right of disposing of the *ager publicus*, the public land, and of assigning it to the veterans, and he possessed the exclusive right of administering the imperial provinces. Besides this, he had considerable

**Legislative  
and Judicial  
Powers.**

power of legislation. This could be effected in various ways, either directly by the power given to him for passing laws on various subjects, called *leges datae*, or by interpreting laws by what were called Imperial Constitutions, analogous to decrees or ordinances. Not

**The Em-  
peror and  
other Magis-  
trates.**

only was the emperor a criminal and a civil judge, and an arbitrator, but he could revise the decisions of all the other magistrates. The rights which he possessed for nominating magistrates, he did not use to the full. He presided over the meeting of the Senate, and was dispensed from the operation of certain

laws. Besides this, the *jus proconsulare*, with which he was invested, gave him a high authority over senatorial provinces, because he possessed by it an imperium superior to that of the proconsuls themselves. On the other hand, the *potestas tribunicia*, the other focus of his power, given to the emperor for life, without limit of time or place, was superior to the *potestas* of the ordinary tribunes, because the emperor could intervene against them, but they could not intervene against him. It assured to the emperor the inviolability of his person, the presidency of the Concilia Plebis, and the power of giving *auxilium*, or special assistance, to all the citizens. It was, as we have before said, both perpetual and annual, and Augustus and Tiberius reckoned the years of their reigns from the commencement of their tribunician power.

The position of pontifex maximus and a clause in the Lex de Imperio, conferring on the emperor authority to do anything which he thought advisable for the dignity of religion, gave him supreme superintendence over the state worship and the nomination of a certain number of priests. He also had other powers. The supervision of the equites, which was one of the duties of the censors, was taken over by him, and also the general superintendence of public works, which properly belonged to the aediles. These duties he delegated to different colleges of curators, and the duties of the aediles, such as the high police of the city of Rome, and the superintendence of the supply of corn, came into the hands of the emperor and were committed to various public functionaries, —the high police to the *praefectus urbi*, the night police to the *praefectus vigilum*, the supply of corn to the *praefectus annonae*. In this manner, the emperor united in his own person an important share of powers which were exercised under the republic by the Senate, the Comitia, and the Magistrates.

**The Emperor and Religion.**

**Other Powers.**

The emperors were surrounded by much pomp and circumstance, which gradually grew in intensity. They could sit either on the curule chair of the consuls, or on the little stool of the tribunes. They were accompanied by twelve lictors, and after the time of Domitian by twenty-four, with their fasces wreathed in laurels, also by running footmen, very necessary in a crowded city, by servants to shout before them, as is seen now in India, and by linkmen carrying torches. They wore a laurel crown and

**Imperial Cereemonial.**

embroidered robe, and a special triumphal dress on feast days, and from the time of Septimius Severus they wore the purple military cloak even in Rome. Their statues or busts were set up in the headquarters of the legions, and their portraits decorated their coins. On the first of January each year, solemn vows were offered for the life and health of the emperor. His birthday and the day of his accession were observed as festivals. He was protected by a Praetorian guard, one cohort of which was always present wherever the emperor was staying, and by foreign guards, generally Germans or Batavians. About the beginning of the third century the emperor came to be considered as above the laws, and took the title of Dominus, and after Aurelian he was called Dominus et Deus (Lord and God). The members of the imperial house included the agnatic descendants of the emperor and their wives, who enjoyed the privilege of personal inviolability and the title of Caesar. The citizens who were admitted to the presence of the emperor were called the emperor's friends, and a selection of these who accompanied the sovereign on his journeys outside Italy received the designation of his *comites*, or travelling companions, a name preserved in our modern title of Count. The powers entrusted to the emperor required the assistance of a large bureaucracy, which was divided by Claudius into different departments called *scrinia*.

The government which we have described is known as the Dyarchy—that is, the double rule of the emperor and the public. Whatever might be the fate of republican institutions, Augustus was careful to respect their forms. He maintained the Comitia as they had been before his time, and, in some ways, endeavoured to make them more efficient; he completed the Saepta Marmorea or ranges of marble pens in the Campus Martius, for the purpose of voting, which had been begun by Julius Caesar; and he built a *diribitorium* for counting the votes. The Comitia, however, lost their judicial character, while their legislative authority was much curtailed by large powers being given to the emperor and the Senate. After the reign of Augustus, the intervention of the people in legislation became more and more rare, and it did not survive the first century of the empire. The Comitia Centuriata and Tributa exercised their electoral functions under Augustus, but the right of presenting candidates was reserved to the emperor, and from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius the power passed to the Senate and the

**Republican  
Survivals.**

emperor. However, until the third century, the solemn announcement of the names of successful candidates was still made in the Campus Martius.

The numbers of the Senate, whose members were nominated first by Caesar as dictator, and then by the Triumvirs, had enormously increased, and very unfit persons had been nominated, and Augustus, during his reign, **The Senate.** held three revisions of the Senate, in order to reduce its numbers and to purify it. The normal number of the Senate was fixed at 600, the age for becoming a member at twenty-five, and a certain property qualification was enforced. The emperor naturally had great power over its deliberations. He presided at its meetings, and could propose motions even in his absence, by writing a letter to that effect. The Senate met regularly twice every month, excepting in the months of September and October. The usual meeting-place was the Curia Julia, on the eastern side of the Comitium, which still exists in the church of St. Adriano. But, under Caesar and the Triumvirate, the Senate lost its power and all independence. It recovered these powers, to some extent, under Augustus and Tiberius; but its essential character, as the great consultative body in all important affairs of state, was lost for ever. It was indeed, theoretically, the principal legislative body of the empire, and under the Dyarchy the Senate by right shared the sovereignty with the emperor; but the part which it really played in legislation depended on the personal character of the emperor—upon his strength and weakness. The Dyarchy was changed to a monarchy in the third century, not without some resistance from the Senate. An important institution was founded by Augustus in 27 B.C., the permanent deputation of the Senate. It consisted of fifteen senators drawn by lot, and sitting for six months, with the consuls and representatives of other magistrates. It was intended to fulfil the province of the preliminary discussion of matters which were to be brought before the Senate. It was afterwards enlarged, and its decisions became equal in value to decrees of the Senate. This delegation of the Senate may be regarded as the forerunner of the various royal councils, and councils of state, which meet us in different forms of monarchies, both in medieval and modern times.

The old magistracies of the republic underwent important changes under the empire. The order in which the different offices might be held was rigorously observed—first the aedileship, then the quaestorship or the tribunate, then the praetorship,

and lastly the consulate. The censors lost nearly all their power, and under Domitian ceased to exist altogether. The

**The Old Magistrates.** duration of the consulship was generally shortened, and eventually it was held only for two months, there being thus six sets of consuls in the year.

This arrangement was afterwards imitated by the Italian cities of the Middle Ages. At the same time, the first elected were regarded as the regular consuls, the others as supernumeraries. The consuls retained their high dignity even under the empire, but they had very little power excepting as presidents of the senate. The administration of the empire had passed entirely from their hands into those of the emperor, on whom they were completely dependent.

The murder of Caesar was received with horror by the people of Rome: they admired and loved him, and were proud to serve

**Mark Antony.** under him, and they had neither sympathy nor understanding for the policy of the conspirators.

Antony seized the occasion. He ordered the dead body of Caesar to be carried into the Forum, and made an impassioned speech, immortalised by the genius of Shakespeare, to the assembled crowd. He told them how Caesar had left them, by his will, his gardens across the Tiber and a sum of money to every citizen. He showed them his blood-stained robe, still gashed by the daggers of the murderers. The body was burned on the spot, where a large mass of rubble still marks the site, and the heads of the conspiracy were driven from the city by public indignation. Antony now carried a decision in the Senate by which all the acts of Caesar, as found in his testament and other papers, were confirmed. In a certain sense, he took Caesar's place for the moment, and, in order to form an army for his protection, he got himself invested by the popular vote with the proconsulship of Hither Gaul. This had already been assigned by a decree of the Senate to Decimus Brutus, who was not prepared to give it up, and, when Antony marched to take possession of it, shut himself up in the city of Mutina, now Modena, which Antony was obliged to besiege. The war of Mutina, as it is called, lasted for some little time. The

**The War of Mutina.** Senate, excited by the so-called Philippic orations of Cicero, declared Antony guilty of high treason, and sent an army against him under the command of the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, who defeated him at Mutina, and forced him to

take refuge in Gaul, where he was joined by Lepidus, who had been master of the horse under Caesar.

But both consuls fell in the war, and the command was taken by the proprætor, the young Augustus, known as Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, one of the most remarkable men in the annals of the world. His well-known boyish bust stands as the model for the expression of statesman-like resolution and firmness and for engaging sweetness of disposition. Its discovery in 1806 had much influence in forming the type of the portraits of Napoleon. He was now twenty years of age, the great-nephew and adopted son of Caesar. Aiming at once at avenging his uncle and advancing himself, he reversed the policy of the Senate, forcing it to allow his election as consul and pass a decree against Caesar's murderers. Brutus and Cassius were collecting an army in the East, but when Antonius marched to Italy, Octavian joined him, and they associated with themselves the far inferior Lepidus. The legions of Decimus Brutus mutinied against him, murdered him, and sent his head to Antonius, upon which the three, Octavian, Antonius, and Lepidus, meeting on an island in the Reno, near Bologna, formed a Triumvirate for the purpose of crushing Brutus and Cassius, and the Senate confirmed their arrangement for five years. In order to get money, they established a reign of terror, in which three hundred senators and two thousand equites lost their lives and property, among them the unfortunate Cicero, whose savage attacks Antonius could not forgive.

**Augustus.**

**The Second  
Trium-  
virate.**

Now began the war against Caesar's murderers, who represented themselves as supporting republican principles. Octavianus was not able to drive Sextus Pompeius from Sicily, where he was intercepting the supply of corn to Rome, but he defeated the republican fleet at Brindisi, and opened a way for his colleagues to the East. Antonius, who possessed great qualities as a general, hastened to Macedonia; and, in 42, entirely defeated Brutus and Cassius in two engagements at Philippi, where, after their defeat, they both killed themselves. Antonius went to Egypt, where he fell under the fascinations of Cleopatra, one of the most attractive of her sex, who knew how to use her charms and her wealth to ensnare political leaders like Caesar and Antonius, but, in this seeming dissoluteness, kept a cool head for the solid interests of her country. Octavianus returned to Italy, and

**Renewal of  
War.**

**Battle of  
Philippi.**

distributed the lands promised to them in Hither Gaul to 170,000 veterans. Fulvia, the ambitious wife of Antonius, jealous of the sudden rise of the young Octavian, and assisted by her brother-in-law, Lucius Antonius, joined the discontented inhabitants of Upper Italy, and made war against the upstart youth, the most notable feature of which was the siege

**Renewal of  
the Trium-  
virate.**

of Perusia, which Lucius was at last compelled to surrender. Marcus hastened with a fleet to Brundisium, and here the Triumvirate was renewed in the year 40, Octavianus receiving command of the West, Antonius of the East, and Lepidus of Africa.

Concord was preserved among the Triumvirs by the efforts of Octavia, the worthy sister of Octavian, whom Antonius

**Defeat of S.  
Pompeius.**

married after the death of Fulvia. As it was impossible to conquer Sextus Pompeius or his fleet, the Triumvirs made an arrangement with him at Misenum, by which he should retain for himself Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and Achaia. But there was some reluctance to carry out these conditions, and the result was a maritime war between Pompeius and Octavian, which lasted from 38 to 36, and ended with the defeat of Pompeius at Mylae and Naulochus by a fleet which M. Vipsanius Agrippa had built. Pompeius, seeking assistance from Antonius, was treacherously murdered at Miletus in 35. Lepidus, who had assumed a

**Lepidus  
retires**

position for which his talents and capacities in no way fitted him, was forced to retire from the Triumvirate, and died many years afterwards at Circeii in honourable retreat.

Octavian was now undisputed master of the West, and, living at Rome, won the favour of all by his strong and prudent

**Mark  
Antony in  
the East.**

government. But Antonius, at Alexandria, allowed himself to become more and more the slave of Cleopatra and to be corrupted by oriental ways. She robbed him of the provinces of Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, and parts of Judaea and Cilicia; she incited him to make war against the Parthians, which cost him the greatest part of his army, and to celebrate in her capital an unworthy triumph over Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, which was a disgrace to the Roman name; and finally to declare war against Octavian, whose sister Octavia he latterly divorced. Octavian was roused to action, but, to avoid the appearance of another civil war, he declared war against Cleopatra. The two lovers, instead of proceeding to Italy, which was unprepared for resistance, spent the winter in silken dalliance at

Ephesus, and then at Athens. In the following year, 31, Octavian had collected an army of 80,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and a fleet of 250 ships. With this he fought the battle of Actium in the Ambracian Gulf. The victory was a strange one. Antonius had a superior army and twice the number of ships, but Cleopatra cared less for Antonius than for her own safety, and determined to desert him at the first opportunity. With this view she insisted on a sea fight, leaving the army unused. Agrippa attacked the unwieldy galleons of Antonius with his light Liburnian vessels, and, when Cleopatra saw that the result of the conflict was doubtful, she sailed away with her fleet, and Antonius followed her. Agrippa thereupon pursued the ships of the enemy, and the land forces, when they were assured of the flight of their general, surrendered. Octavian thus became the undisputed master of the world, having arrived at this position by prudence and self-command, without one trace of treachery or deceit.

**Battle of  
Actium.**

It now remained to subdue Cleopatra. Strengthened by the legions of Antonius, Octavian went first to Greece, then to the Greek islands, and lastly to Egypt. Cleopatra now tried her arts of fascination over him, who in his brilliant youth would have been a more worthy conquest than either Caesar or Antonius, but he was proof against temptation. However, he used her devotion to him to get possession of her army and her fleet. When Antonius sought to upbraid her for her treachery, she shut herself up with the treasures she had amassed in the mausoleum which she had constructed. She let Antonius believe that she was dead, and he put an end to his life, dying eventually, it is said, in her arms. Once more she used her arts to obtain her liberty from Octavian, but, when he resisted, she took poison, that she might not suffer the disgrace of being exhibited in his triumph. The story goes that she was poisoned by an asp concealed in a basket of figs. Octavian gave her a splendid funeral, and buried her by the side of Antonius. The lovers now rest under a powder magazine in the harbour of Alexandria, opposite the world-renowned Pharos, and it is difficult to discover why the present masters of Egypt do not disinter their remains. Egypt was made into a province, independent of the control of the Senate, and Octavian returned to Rome to celebrate his triple triumph, and to consolidate his imperial government in the manner which has been already related.

**Death of  
Antony and  
Cleopatra.**

It is impossible within the compass of this work to give



an adequate account of the Augustan Age, one of those rare periods of harmony in the history of the world when circumstances united to produce peace, wealth, and culture.

**Augustus, Master of the World.** Augustus aimed at establishing an empire in the form of a republic. His domains included almost the whole of the world as it was then known—in Europe, the peninsulas of Spain, Italy, and the Balkans, with Gaul as far as the Rhine; in Asia, Asia Minor and Syria as far as the Euphrates; in Africa, Egypt and Carthage. He was a lover of peace, and the wars which he undertook on the Rhine and the Danube, and in the Alps, were undertaken for the defence of the Roman frontiers.

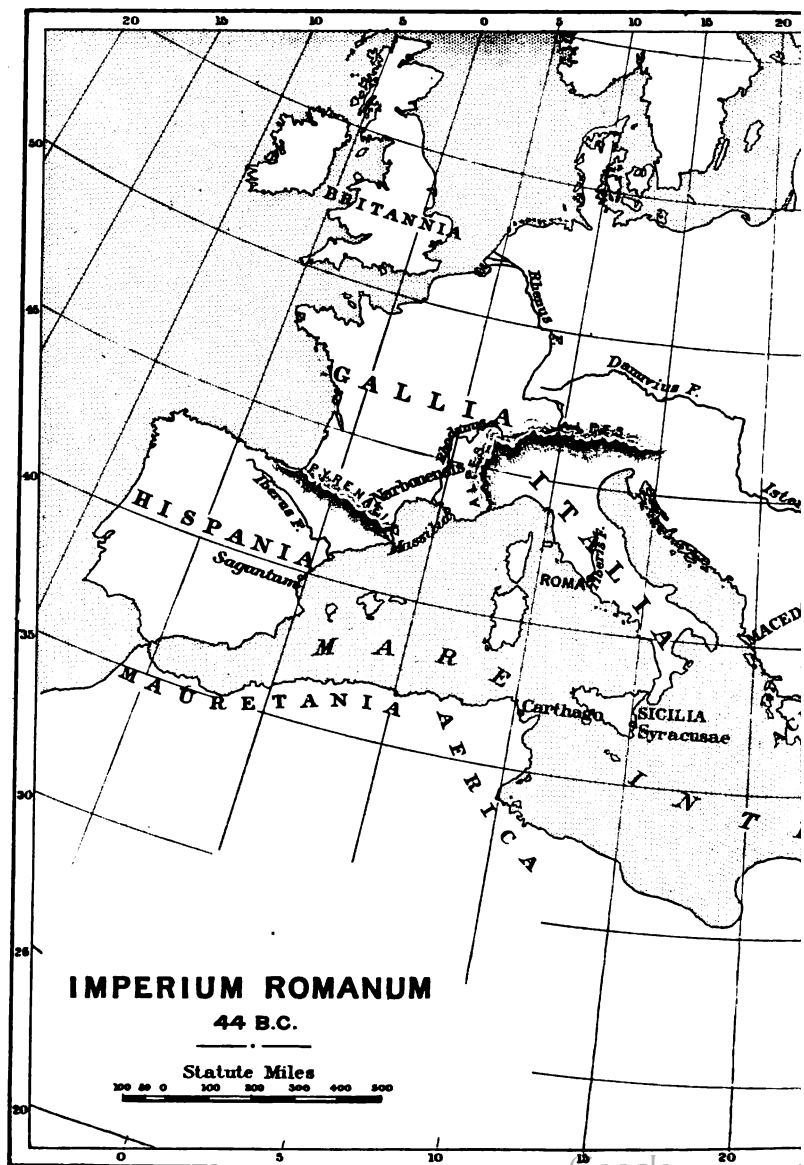
In order to secure the northern frontier of Italy, Drusus and Tiberius, the stepsons of Augustus, carried on, in the years 16

**The German Frontier.** and 15 B.C., several successful campaigns against the Celtic tribes between the Alps and the Danube; and made Raetia, Vandalusia, Noricum, and Pannonia into Roman provinces, defended by fortresses at Vienna, Regensburg, Salzburg, and Augsburg. Drusus also undertook, in the years 12 to 9 B.C., four campaigns in the interior of Germany as far as the Elbe, and fortified the frontier from Mainz to the north of the Rhine by forty fortresses, amongst which were Xanten, one of the most interesting of German towns, Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Mainz, Strasburg, and Basel. His brother Tiberius also brought under Roman sway, mainly by adroit diplomacy, the north-west of Germany from the Elbe to the Rhine. One of the Roman governors left in

**Arminius defeats Varus.** these provinces was Quintilius Varus, who offended the Germans by the little regard which he paid to their laws and customs. They rose against him, led by their heroic chieftain Arminius, who belonged to the tribe of the Cherusci, and defeated him in 9 B.C. in the defiles of the Saltus Teutoburgensis, now known as the Teutoburger Wald, in the neighbourhood of Detmold. This defeat produced a profound effect on the Romans, and was indeed never forgotten, and it is now celebrated as a glorious victory by the modern Germans. Thus the descendants of Julius Caesar tried in vain to establish that settlement of the frontier

**Augustus' domestic Troubles.** of the empire which he would have effected if he had lived. Augustus was unfortunate in his domestic arrangements and relations; if he had been less so the empire would have suffered fewer shocks, and would have been more successful. Augustus married and









divorced two wives in early youth : he married Scribonia in 38, but divorced her a year afterwards, when she had borne him a daughter, Julia, having been fascinated by the charms of Livia, the wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, who surrendered her to him. Livia's two sons, Tiberius, who was born in 42 B.C., and Drusus, who was born three months after her marriage to Augustus, were brought up in the house of her former husband, but after his death were transferred to the house of Augustus. The most promising member of the imperial household was Marcellus, the son of Octavia, sister of Augustus, who in early youth married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, to the disgust of Livia, who designed her for one of her own children. His principal rival was Agrippa, his brother-in-law, who was very jealous of Maecenas. Marcellus died in 23 B.C., the darling of the Roman people. Augustus now married Julia to Agrippa, who, for the purpose, divorced Marcella, the sister of Marcellus. In 17 Agrippa went with Julia to the East to arrange disputed successions and other matters, and founded Julia Felix on the site of the modern Beirut. After spending several years in the East, Agrippa returned to Rome, and died in March B.C. 12, being buried by Augustus with distinguished honour. His Pantheon at Rome, like his splendid baths, has been replaced by buildings of a considerably later period. Tiberius was now thirty years old. Livia divorced him from his wife, Vipsania Agrippina, whom he dearly loved, and made him marry Julia, who had already borne five children to Agrippa—three sons, Gaius, Lucius, and Agrippa; and two daughters, Julia and Agrippina. This brought him near the succession, but Augustus did not care for him.

The imperial circle was now sadly diminished in numbers. Agrippa, Octavia, Drusus, and Maecenas all died between the years 12 and 8 B.C. Augustus turned with affection to his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, the children of his daughter Julia and his friend Agrippa, gave them the title of Caesar, and treated them as members of his family. They were regarded with jealousy by Livia; and Tiberius, perhaps to escape the annoyance of family broils, obtained permission to go to the island of Rhodes, where he spent seven years in deep study. Suddenly Augustus took the surprising step of banishing his own daughter, the mother of his favourite grandsons, to the island of Pandataria, on the plea that her mode of life was a scandal to the imperial family. This is certainly correctly ascribed to the jealous intrigues of

The  
Imperial  
Family.

Livia, but it is difficult to penetrate the intricacies of that corrupt age, in which ordinary men and women had to bear a burden of sovereignty too heavy for any human being to support.

**Deaths of  
Gaius and  
Lucius.**

Julia's son Gaius, now eighteen years of age, was sent with proconsular authority to Asia, with the object of subduing the Armenians, who had revolted from Rome with the assistance of the Parthians, and of punishing certain Arabian tribes. Accompanied by Lollius as an adviser, he went by way of Samos to Egypt, visited Tiberius at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Palestine and Syria. He had an interview with the Parthian king, Phraates, on an island in the Euphrates, and persuaded him to evacuate Armenia. But, worn out by exertions and weakened by a wound, he died in Lycia on February 4, his younger brother Lucius having also succumbed to sickness eighteen months earlier at Marseilles. Their deaths are, of course, attributed to poison administered by Livia, but without the slightest evidence.

**Death of  
Augustus.**

At last, Augustus himself, now seventy-six years old, died suddenly at Nola, in Campania. It is said that Livia, then an old woman of seventy, not only poisoned her husband, but concealed his death until Tiberius could be brought to Rome. These stories are to be regarded more as evidence of the degeneracy of the age than as serious history. Augustus was burned and buried in the Campus Martius, where the remains of his stately mausoleum still exist.

The character of Augustus has always been a matter of great dispute, some regarding him as a mere actor, others as a far-

**Place of  
Augustus in  
History.**

seeing statesman of the first rank. The wise historian will probably concur with the latter judgment. Julius Caesar, greater than his successor, has undoubtedly the credit of having conceived the form which it was necessary for the new empire to take if it was to be successful and lasting. But he was only able to lay the foundations of it, and the raising of the imperial fabric was left to Augustus. He governed the empire with such wisdom and judgment and moderation that the Augustan Age has always been regarded as one of the few bright spots in the annals of mankind, an oasis of security in the desert of turmoil, in which

**The Birth  
of Christ.**

it was both appropriate and fortunate that the great Founder of our religion, Jesus Christ, should be born. The birth of Christ not only dignifies the reign of Augustus, but stamps its character. Only in a period of rest, in silence of arms, in a world-peace, could

Christianity have come into existence and found an appropriate nidus for its growth and dissemination. Undoubtedly the momentous hiatus between the years of before and after Christ was bridged over by the rule of one of the greatest of earthly sovereigns. As with Pericles, his sweet and noble countenance indicated the wisdom and moderation which characterised his rule. Whether he spoke or was silent, a cheerful restfulness played over his countenance, and his benevolence disarmed the violence of the assassin. He combined dignity and geniality; his large clear eyes were the windows of a mind wide and penetrating in the outlook. If we regard Caesar as the most highly gifted of human beings, with capacities so far beyond our power to imitate them adequately, Augustus must remain for us the embodiment of dignity and wisdom, the oracle of the Roman empire, the builder who found Rome built of bricks and mortar and who left it of marble, the man of letters who surrounded himself with historians and poets who would rightly make his age an object of admiration and envy to posterity.

Tiberius reigned for twenty-three years, from 14 to 37 A.D. The narrative of his reign has been so disturbed by calumny, and so smirched by revolting falsehoods, that it is difficult to describe it accurately. The probability is that he was really a great ruler, but, having passed a great portion of his time in solitude and study, he was less fitted for imperial representation than Caesar or Augustus, and his retirement to the island of Capri at the end of his life is a pendant to his seclusion at Rhodes in his middle age. No doubt, the great glories of his reign lay in the victories of Germanicus, his nephew and adopted son, the child of his brother Drusus, who succeeded him in the pacification of Germany, a country which was a constant thorn in the side of Rome, but which Julius Caesar would have reduced to order if he had lived. In 14 A.D., at the news of the death of Augustus, a mutiny broke out in the camp of Vetera on the Rhine, and Germanicus hastened from Gaul to suppress it, which he effected with some difficulty. He thought that the best remedy for disaffection would be active service, and he led his troops over the river. Here he conducted three campaigns with the same energy as his father Drusus. In the first, he devastated the territory of the Marsi, but was driven back by the union of the Bructeri and Usipetes. In the second he defeated the Chatti, broke into the lands of the Cherusci, and paid funeral honours to the

**Reign of  
Tiberius.**

**Campaigns  
of Ger-  
manicus.**



dead whose bones recorded the catastrophe of Varus, three years before. He was, however, repulsed by an attack of Arminius, and also lost his fleet by a storm. At the same time his lieutenant, Caecina, suffered a severe defeat in Friesland. In the third campaign, he sailed with a fleet of a thousand ships into the Ems, and then marched to the Weser, where he gained a victory, but was obliged to retire before superior forces. Germanicus was preparing for a fourth campaign, when he was recalled, not necessarily from jealousy, but because Tiberius had conceived a different idea of frontier policy, and thought that the Germans had better be allowed to slaughter each other by mutual quarrels. After his departure, Arminius marched against Marbod, who had taken no part in the campaign against the Romans, and drove him back into Bohemia, where he was deposed by Catualda, a Gothic prince, and, surrendering himself to the Romans, was sent to Ravenna. In 21, Arminius, the great German patriot, fell by treachery. From this time the Romans contented themselves with a defensive policy on the Rhine and the Danube.

From his brilliant but not very successful campaigns in Germany, Germanicus was sent to the East, where there was plenty to occupy his attention. He visited the places of ancient fame—Athens, Byzantium, Ilion, and Colophon—and was able to alleviate misery which an earthquake had inflicted on Asia Minor. It is said that he was opposed in all his undertakings by Calpurnius Piso, the governor of Syria, and his wife Plancina. He brought order into the affairs of Armenia, Parthia, and Cappadocia. He then sailed up the Nile as far as the second cataract, and studied the history and monuments of that country, and relieved the conditions of the suffering people. Returning to Syria, he

**Germanicus in the East.** died at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, at the age of 34—it was of course said by poison. His wife

**His Death.** Agrippina brought back his ashes to Rome in a triumphal progress which has few parallels in history, and has been described to us by the brilliant but partial pen of Tacitus. Piso returned to Rome in 20, but was accused of murder before the Senate. Whatever may have been the truth, public opinion was strongly against him, and before judgment was pronounced he killed himself. His wife Plancina received a pardon, and his sons were allowed to inherit their father's property. Agrippina was left with three sons, Nero, Drusus, and Gaius. She entirely believed the charge against Piso and his wife, and was

very bitter at the way in which her husband had been treated. She was supposed to be urging her children to aim at the throne, and, by a decree of the Senate, was sent with her son Nero to an island, where they both perished by hunger. In the following year, her second son, Drusus, was declared an enemy of his country, imprisoned, and killed. It is generally related that the later years of Tiberius, when he assumed more power to himself and paid little attention to the Senate, were largely under the control of Sejanus, who was head of the Praetorian Guard. We must again receive the utterances of Tacitus and Juvenal with caution. He died at the age of seventy-eight at Misenum, and he was succeeded by Gaius, the third son of Germanicus, who had by some good fortune escaped the fate of his brothers.

The twelve Caesars, who have always occupied so prominent a part in the history of the world, are made up of four sets of three. The first three of these, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius, have already received attention. Then came Caligula, Claudius, and

#### **The Twelve Caesars.**

Nero, with whom the Julian-Claudian family, natural and adopted, came to an end. These were succeeded by the three military Emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and these again by the three emperors of the Flavian house, Vespasianus, Titus, and Domitian. It is difficult to write the history of any of these emperors with accuracy. They occupied a position in the world which has rarely been held by any human being—that of absolute control over a large portion of the globe, indeed the only portion of any importance; called to this position suddenly and by a kind of accident, unprepared for it themselves, without the apparatus and the instruments of government which were necessary for the successful fulfilment of their duties. This produced two results. First, it placed upon human beings, generally of ordinary capacity, a burden far too heavy for them to bear; it made the mild capricious, in some cases nearly mad. Secondly, it made a judicial and temperate account of their reign almost impossible, because historians had not yet come to understand the conditions under which such extraordinary powers must necessarily be exercised, and consequently could not describe them. We have to depend on two lines of

#### **The Roman Historians.**

narrative; authors like Suetonius giving prominence to silly stories and to court gossip, which, even if true, would throw little light upon the facts about which we are most interested,

and others, politicians like Tacitus or satirists like Juvenal, powerful and impressive writers, who are so full of party jealousy, and so bitterly conscious of the evils of autocratic rule, that it is impossible to separate truth from falsehood. It is a safe rule, in considering the career of a very great man like Caesar or Napoleon, not to pay attention to his imputed faults until you have taken trouble to understand his merits, and the same is true of persons holding exceptional authority, which removes them from the society of the multitude, like the early emperors of Rome, and some similar rulers in modern times. We have tried in our own narrative to follow this rule, to disregard the stories with which many accounts of these sovereigns are filled, and to confine ourselves to those matters which are of permanent interest and the evidence of which is tolerably certain.

Of the second group, Gaius, known as Caligula, the name of the military shoe which he wore as a child during the campaigns of his father, was the youngest son of Germanicus, who escaped the murder of his uncle and his two elder brothers. He reigned

**Reigns of  
Caligula**

only five years, from 37 to 41 A.D. We are told that he was first received with joy and acclamation, but that, after a few months, he fell a victim to the madness of despotism, which led to acts of cruelty and extravagance, so that he was murdered by an officer of the Praetorian Guard. He was succeeded

**and  
Claudius.**

by his uncle, the younger brother of Germanicus, known as Claudius, who reigned from 41 to 54.

We know that he was a scholar and a man of science. We are told that he was ridiculous in appearance and character, and that after his death he was changed, not into a god, but into a pumpkin. But that need not concern us: the solid facts of his reign are that he made the harbour of Ostia; began to drain the Lake Fucinus, an enterprise completed in our days; invaded our country Britain, and took a personal part in the campaign; made Mauretania, Lycia, and Thrace into Roman provinces; and, after the death of Herod Agrippa, brought Judaea under the control of the Roman government. He had two wives, Messalina, and Agrippina, of whom we do not hear a good account. The name of the first has become proverbial for inordinate lust, and the second has been raised by the literary talents of Tacitus to an eminence in which we do not know whether to detest or pity her most. She had a son called Britannicus by

the Emperor Claudius, and another son, Nero, by her first husband, Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Britannicus died as a boy, and when Claudius died, we are told by poison, Nero succeeded to the throne. He produced a powerful effect on the Roman world, which will never be effaced, but there is the same difficulty in disentangling truth from falsehood in the annals of his life. He had been educated chiefly by the philosopher Seneca, one of the wisest and best men of the time, and was directed in state affairs by Burrus, the prefect of the Praetorian Guard, who was an excellent adviser. During the early part of his reign, which lasted for fourteen years, from 54 to 68, he gave good hopes, but afterwards the madness which accompanies unrestrained power in minds not able to bear it seems to have taken possession of him. We need not believe the worst stories told about him—that he murdered his brother, his mother, and his wife, or that he wilfully set Rome on fire. He certainly put to death both Jews and Christians, who were both unpopular, but there is no evidence that he instituted a systematic persecution of either one or the other. He took advantage of the burning of Rome to rebuild the city in a more magnificent and safer style, which it sadly wanted, and erected for himself a gorgeous palace called the Golden House, which he filled with the spoils of the temples of Asia and Greece. There can be little doubt that he possessed great artistic gifts, both in music and in acting, and that he loved to exhibit these accomplishments in an undignified manner, and showed himself in this way quite unworthy of his position. It was natural that the serious soldiers of his empire should rise against him with a view of putting a more worthy successor in his place. Julius Vindex, propraetor of Gaul, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, proconsul of Spain, formed a conspiracy against him, and Galba was elected emperor and marched upon Rome. Nero fled to a country house, where, at his own request, he was killed by a faithful servant. He did not die unlamented. His personality had made a deep impression upon the Roman world, so that there was a belief that he was not really dead, but would return some day from the far East, where he lay concealed. His bust in Rome was decorated every year with fresh flowers, false Neros arose to represent him, and it is said that even Domitian trembled at his name. He was sincerely mourned by the Greeks, for whose art and literature he had a deep admiration, and

who could not forget that he had visited Athens to show his artistic accomplishments. On the other hand, the Christians regarded him as Antichrist. With him perished the imperial line which could boast its descent from Venus and Aeneas, and which, for two hundred years, had been so closely connected with the most important events in the history of the Roman world and people.

The next triad of Caesars (Galba, Otho, and Vitellius) reigned only for a year and a half, from June 68 to December 69.

**Galba, Otho,  
Vitellius.**

Galba, a strict and penurious old man, seventy-three years of age, whose virtues were not fitted to that self-indulgent age, was murdered by the Praetorians, after a reign of six months. Otho, viceroy of Lusitania, who had bought the crown, was defeated by his rival Vitellius, at Bedriacum, in Upper Italy, at the spot where the Chiese flows into the Oglio. Otho is represented as a luxurious fop, who never deserted his looking-glass, and Vitellius, as a very fat man with swollen cheeks, whose chief delight lay in the pleasures of the table. Happily they were succeeded by a more worthy ruler, T. Flavius Vespasianus, the first of the Flavian line, who, being then in the East, was summoned to the throne by the legions of Moesia, Pannonia, and Egypt. He did not establish his power without a conflict in Rome itself, in which the ancient Capitoline temple was destroyed by fire. The confusion and disorder of the capital produced its natural effect in the provinces. The Batavi, the warlike ancestors of the Dutch, with the warlike race of the Frisians, stirred up by their patriotic prophetess Velleda, rose in rebellion under Claudius Civilis, and were put down with difficulty; and, at the same time, the Gauls, under Julius Sabinus, who was desirous to found a Gallic kingdom for himself, also rose to help their neighbours on the sea-coast. Not until the year 70 was peace restored. The turbulent Jews, who had driven out the viceroy of Syria, Cestius Gallus, declared their independence, and in 67 Vespasian was sent to quell them. He was, however, recalled to the capital to be emperor, and left his son Titus in command. Titus besieged Jerusalem, captured it, and de-

**Destruction  
of Jeru-  
salem.**

stroyed the holy temple by fire, a large number of Jews perishing in the flames. This destruction of the Jewish temple by Titus in 70, although it may have seemed a slight matter to the Romans of that time, was really an event of great importance in the history of the world. It not only obliterated the most holy seat of worship

in Syria, and left the people of that country without a shrine which might give expression to their religious aspirations, but had the effect of scattering the Jews through all the nations of the world, and also gave a great impulse to the dissemination of Christianity.

In **Vespasian**, Rome had once more a worthy emperor, who brought back order and morality into the shattered polity. He reformed the Senate, gave it back its privileges, placed the finances on a sound footing, and set an example of simplicity and moderation. He was

**Reigns of  
Vespasian**

a friend of science and education, established a system of paid professors, and enriched Rome by inimitable buildings, the Temple of Peace, and the Coliseum, which is now one of the wonders of the world, an amphitheatre to contain without difficulty 90,000 spectators. He attempted to subdue Britain, and sent to it the notable statesman Agricola, who, during the years 78 to 85, left there an example of wise and benevolent rule. His son Titus, who was associated with him in the government on his return from

**and Titus.**

Palestine, succeeded him in 79. He was less stern than his father, and left a memory more remarkable for kindness and benevolence. This was shown by his treatment of Rome, after it had been devastated by a three days' fire, and by the zeal he displayed in relieving Italy, when it suffered from famine, pestilence, and earthquake. He received the title of the "love and darling of the human race," and he was accustomed to say that he considered that day lost in which he had not performed a benevolent action. It was in his reign that Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae were destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius on August 24, 79.

After a reign of ten years, in which he deeply impressed the imagination of mankind, Titus died at the early age of forty-one, and was succeeded by his brother Domitian, who reigned for fifteen years, from 81 to 96. A

**Domitian.**

man of very different character, he, too, began well, but, like several of his predecessors, was not able to support the burden of irresponsible rule, and became a cruel and cowardly tyrant. He called himself not only Lord, but God, Divus as well as Dominus; he robbed the rich to gratify his habits of extravagance, and delighted in murder. At last he was murdered by his wife. He was unfortunate in war. He celebrated a triumph over the Chabri, whom he had never conquered, and over the Dacians, the warlike inhabitants of Transylvania and

Roumania, who were reserved to fall before a more worthy antagonist. He completed the conquest of Britain, but killed Agricola through jealousy. He did a great deal for the advancement of the capital. He built the palace which to-day excites our wonder on the Palatine Hill, and the Temple of Vespasian, which is the most beautiful monument in the Forum. To him also is due the famous Arch of Titus, with which he celebrated his brother's victory over the Jews.

The reigns of the three Flavian emperors, the last triad of the twelve Caesars, form a notable epoch in the history of the Roman empire. Under them the frontiers of the **The Imperial Frontiers.** empire were extended beyond the Rhine, and beyond the Danube. An enlightened frontier policy was introduced. New provinces were formed, and the great wall of defence, the "limes Romanus," extending from the Rhine to the Danube, was built to safeguard Roman territory against German incursions. Domitian's name has become notorious for his persecution of the Christians, but this has been probably exaggerated, and was caused by the oppression of the Jews by heavy taxes, and by the little distinction that was drawn between Christians and Jews. The Flavian period was, on the whole, a worthy prelude to the great age of the Antonines, but, after all allowance has been made for calumnious exaggeration, the historian will find it difficult to place Domitian on a level with his brother and his father, although, undoubtedly, in his longer reign, he did more to carry out their designs.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 96-337 A.D.

THE world has probably never seen a nobler series of sovereigns than those to whom its government was committed after the death of Domitian. Nerva only reigned a short time, and had little opportunity of showing what was in him, but Trajan remains the example of a strong and faultless ruler, and the reigns of his three successors, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius—the “age of the Antonines”—form, by the general consent of posterity, an oasis in the desert of human affairs. Marcus

**The  
Antonines.**

Cocceius Nerva, a senator advanced in years, who had probably taken part in the conspiracy against Domitian, was chosen by the Praetorian Guard to be his successor. He proceeded to reverse the policy of Domitian, and gave the chief power into the hands of the Senate. He opened the prison doors, he recalled exiles from banishment, he put an end to the curse of informers, he was an enemy of extravagance, he alleviated the burdens of the provinces. This policy, however, did not please the Praetorians, and they regretted that they had given their consent to Nerva's election. To remedy the defects of his own character, he summoned to the throne, as his colleague, Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, a capable and

**Nerva.**

respected general. He was by birth a Spaniard, who had, first as consul and then as commander of the Rhine army, obtained a great reputation. He combined, as much as any emperor who had ever reigned over the empire, the two conflicting principles of *imperium* and *libertas*. Europe still exhibits many monuments of his reign. He completed the Appian Road through the Pontine marshes; he created new harbours, and built roads and bridges, such as the bridge over the Rhine at Mainz. The roads he made along the Danube above Orsova, and the bridge which he built over that mighty river below the Iron Gate, still attract the interest of the traveller. He established a system of post-houses throughout the empire:

**Trajan.**



he provided for the education of five thousand orphan children. The districts between the Rhine and the Danube generally known as the Agri Decumates he surrounded by a wall, so as to secure their being contained within the Roman empire. He defeated the Dacians in two campaigns, and the column of Trajan in the Forum, which he constructed at Rome, still remains as evidence of his conquests, covered with valuable representations of the conflicts by which they were achieved. He made Dacia into a Roman province. He delivered Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria from the incursions of the Parthians, and entered the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon, as a conqueror. He marched through Arabia, and reached the Persian Gulf. He formed a province of Arabia, consisting of a portion of Syria from Damascus to the Red Sea. He made an expedition into Nubia, and extended its boundaries. His health suffered from the hardships borne in these torrid lands, and he prepared to obey the order of the Senate which recalled him to Italy, but he died on August 11, 117, at the age of 64, at Selinus in Cilicia, which afterwards bore the name of Trajanopolis. His ashes were brought to Rome in a golden urn, and buried at the foot of his column, which he had erected in his Forum. He received the title of "Optimus," and it was customary to greet future emperors on their accession with the words, "May you be more fortunate than Augustus and better than Trajan!"

He was succeeded by a worthy successor, Publius Aelius Hadrianus, who reigned twenty-one years, from 117 to 138. He was a relation of Trajan, and married his wife **Hadrian.** Plotina. He paid great attention to law, as Trajan had to education. He codified Praetorian Law, the Equity of the Romans; invited distinguished lawyers to the capital; and organised the administration of the empire in the three separated departments of palatine, public, and military, concerning respectively the empire, the state, and the army—a classification which endured to the latest times. The great feature of his reign lay in the imperial progresses, in which he visited every part of his dominions, very largely on foot, remedying abuses, and leaving monuments of his rule in magnificent buildings. In Rome, the Castle of Saint Angelo, first founded as his sumptuous burying place, recalls his memory to every traveller. The falls of Tivoli owe their origin to him, and his villa in that neighbourhood was full of buildings and works of art which recalled the memory of his travels. He

completed the dome of the Pantheon, which Agrippa had begun. He enriched Athens with a new quarter. His court was the house of learned men, and was illustrated by historians such as Arrian and Plutarch, philosophers such as Epictetus, rhetoricians such as Fronto and Herodes Atticus. He pursued a policy of peace, and surrendered the conquests which Trajan had made beyond the Euphrates. In Britain he built the great wall to keep out the invasions of the Picts, and in Germany he completed the *limes* which had been worked at by several of his predecessors. He had great trouble with the Jews. A new town had been built on the site of Jerusalem, destroyed by Titus, called Aelia Capitolina, and a temple of Jupiter was erected on Mount Moriah. This roused the Jews to an insurrection under Barchochebas, put down by Hadrian with the greatest energy, which resulted in the absolute destruction and disintegration of the Jewish nation. It is said that 580,000 Jews were killed in the war, and a thousand towns and villages destroyed. In the last years of Hadrian's life he adopted Aelius Verus, for whom, as for the beautiful Antinous, he had a passionate affection, but who died shortly afterwards. The emperor did not long survive him. He died at Baiae on July 10, 138, at the age of sixty-two, in great personal suffering, which led him to some acts of cruelty towards the close of his career. In all the activity of his public duties, his personal individuality asserted itself in strongly marked characteristics. He fascinates the historian, whether he cares much for government or for literature and art.

**Dispersion  
of the Jews.**

Hadrian was succeeded by his adopted son, Antoninus Pius, probably the best emperor who ever ascended the throne of the Caesars. Unfortunately, very few records of his reign remain. His name Pius has been variously interpreted, but his deeply religious character would justify its being regarded as a tribute to his piety. He reigned from 138 to 161, and it is said by Gibbon and other writers that he never left Italy during this time. But this is an error, as he spent a considerable time at Antioch, which he enriched with magnificent buildings. The chief characteristic of his reign was the attention which he paid to legislation and administration. He gave much power to the Senate, admitted the best and wisest of his subjects to free intercourse with him or with the officers of state, and took great pains in the appointment of provincial officials. Deeply religious, he

**Antoninus  
Pius.**

devoted himself to recalling to life the more spiritual aspects of Roman worship. He restored the ritual of the Arval brothers, and erected the magnificent temples of Baalbec in Syria, in which he endeavoured to find a home for the spiritual aspirations of that country, which had suffered a severe blow in the destruction of Jerusalem. Like other excellent emperors, he distrusted Christianity, regarding it as a socially disintegrating and a politically subversive force; but he sought to weaken its influence, not by persecution, but by establishing what he believed to be a purer and more wholesome religion in its place. After a reign of twenty-three years, he died at the age of seventy in his country villa at Lorium. Perhaps an historian will arise who will rescue his personality from the shadow which has been thrown upon it by the brilliancy of the emperors who came before and after him.

He was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius, the celebrated philosopher, whose *Meditations* are amongst the best known religious books of the world. During the nineteen years of his reign, from 161 to 180, he followed in the footsteps of his predecessors. He imposed legislation, reduced expenditure, encouraged morality, and showed especial devotion in alleviating the effects of natural calamities, such as floods, earthquakes, famine, and pestilence. He is, however, reckoned as a persecutor of the Christians. He was unfortunate in the choice of an adopted brother, Lucius Verus, who was chiefly employed in fighting against the Parthians. His reign was afflicted by the Marcomannic War, in which the tribes of the Danube, both Germans and Sarmatians, made a combined invasion into the Roman empire. Other German invaders also threatened the imperial frontiers, and Marcus Aurelius was compelled to cross the Alps three times to repel them. In the second of these campaigns he traversed the frozen Danube, and gained a victory over the Quadi with the help of the Legio Fulminatrix, the Thundering Legion. In the third campaign, he was preparing to restore the fortifications on the Danube begun by Hadrian, when he died at Vienna on March 17, 180, leaving the empire to his unworthy son Commodus. The column erected to commemorate his victories stands before the Italian Parliament House in Rome. Commodus knew no better way of delivering himself from the Germans than by proclaiming peace. With the death of Marcus Aurelius the series of great emperors comes to an end, until it is revived by Septimius Severus, Diocletian, and Constantine.

Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, became emperor at the age of nineteen, and reigned for twelve years, from 181 to 192. After having established peace upon the Danube, he entered Rome amid the joyful shouts of the army and the people, a fine handsome man, the first emperor born in the purple. For the first three years of his reign his hands were unstained with blood, but he had really a weak and timid nature; and as soon as he began to give way to sensual enjoyment, against which his father had expressly warned him, his character changed, and he became lustful and cruel. It is said that he was deeply affected by an attempt upon his life. Eventually he devoted himself entirely to the exercises of the circus, and it is said that he killed 735 animals with his own hand. This passionate devotion to the practice of the athletics of those days did not prevent his shameful excesses from becoming gradually worse; while he persecuted, and even put to death, those who attempted to restrain him, or whose lives were a reproach to his own. At last he perished, on New Year's morning, 193, the day on which he was to have entered upon his consulship in the dress of a gladiator. It is said that his mistress Marcia attempted to poison him, and that, when this failed, he was strangled by Narcissus. When he died he was considered to be the best archer and the handsomest man in Rome, and a doubter may ask how this physical excellence was compatible with the sexual excesses which were laid to his charge.

On the same night, Pertinax was summoned to the throne. The son of a Ligurian wood merchant, he had raised himself to the highest position in the army and the government. He was a senator full of virtues, public and private, and set himself to the reform of the state. But the Praetorians wanted no reform, and they attacked him in his palace and slew him. He died at the age of sixty-seven, having reigned eighty-seven days. The head of the murdered emperor was brought to the praefect of the city, Sulpicius, who was in the Praetorian camp. He immediately offered to buy the crown for 5000 drachmae, but Didius Julianus, a distinguished civil servant, outbid him with 6250 drachmae. Sulpicius was allowed to depart with his life. But the choice of the Praetorians was not accepted by the Roman world, and there were other claimants to the vacant throne—Clodius Albinus in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and Septimius Severus in Illyria. The last mentioned won the

prize. He reached Rome at the beginning of June 193, and was met by the news that Didius had been murdered in the palace.

Septimius Severus reigned for eighteen years, from 193 to 211. The first action of his reign was to dismiss the Praetorian Guard. He then had to conquer his two rivals.

**Septimius  
Severus.**

He was a good ruler, but was too much of a military tyrant. He depressed the power of the Senate, and showed little regard for learning or science. He surrounded his person with a bodyguard of 50,000 soldiers, chosen from all the provinces of the empire. He conducted several campaigns in the East, and invaded Mesopotamia and Arabia. A triumphal arch to commemorate these achievements still exists in the Roman Forum. He spent a long time in Syria and Egypt, and, in 208, undertook an expedition to Britain, accompanied by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. He crossed the wall of Hadrian, fought against the Picts and Scots, and penetrated to the farthest extremity of the island, clearing forests and draining marshes, till, worn out with labour and troubled by the dissensions of his two sons, he died at York on February 4, 211, at the age of sixty-five. When the Senate heard of his decease, they said that Severus either never ought to have been born or should never have died.

His two sons had been created Caesars during their father's lifetime, and were now recognised as joint-emperors. But they hated each other, and lived in different parts of

**Caracalla.** the vast palace on the Palatine, carefully shutting up all means of access between them. Caracalla, however, whose real name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, succeeded in murdering his brother just a year after his father's death, it is said in the apartments of his mother, Julia Domna, who had invited them there for the purpose of reconciliation. Caracalla was a cruel tyrant, as he looks in his portraits, many of which exist. He left Rome a year after his brother's death, never to return. His deeds of violence and lust are scarcely credible, but the account of his murdering the whole of the promising young men of Alexandria rests upon the authority of Herodian, who was a respectable historian. From Alexandria he went to Antioch and Mesopotamia, and won the title of Parthicus from his exploits against the Parthians, which were not very creditable to him. Under him, Abgarus, the last king of Edessa, was sent to Rome in chains; his country became a Roman province, and his capital a colony. We must not forget that Caracalla's

reign was illustrated by the great jurists Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, and that he has the credit of having given the standing of Roman citizens to all the free inhabitants of the empire, which is the most notable event of his reign. The Roman empire now became, for the first time, a consolidated government, and every position in it was open to the ambition of every free inhabitant. However, he met with the usual fate, and, on April 8, 217, was treacherously murdered by Martialis at the instance of his chief confidant, Macrinus. Three days later, Macrinus became emperor, and associated with him his son Diadumenianus, a handsome boy, as Caesar.

The Roman world was now exposed to a curious destiny. Julia Domna, the mother of Caracalla, heard of her son's death in the camp of Antioch, and immediately put an end to her life. Her sister, Julia Maesa, had removed from Antioch to Emesa, a town in Syria, now known as Homs, not far from Baalbec, taking with her her two widowed daughters, Soaemis and Mamaea, and their sons. The son of the first of these, Bassianus, a handsome boy of low moral character, was made priest of the temple of the Sun, with the title of Elagabalus. Maesa, with little regard for the character of her daughter, gave the soldiers who were quartered in the neighbourhood to understand that Elagabalus was the natural son of Caracalla, and, on May 16, 218, he was saluted as emperor with the title of Antoninus. Their choice was accepted by the whole of Syria, except by the Praetorians, who were faithful to Macrinus. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where the Praetorians were defeated, apparently by the cowardly flight of Macrinus, and the position of Elagabalus was secured. The first act of the new emperor was to put Macrinus to death, together with his son, Diadumenianus, who was ten years old. Elagabalus reigned for four years, and presents one of the most difficult problems in Roman history. It is said that he combined the effeminate vices of Syria with the cruelty and extravagance of a Roman, the passions of a voluptuary with a fanaticism of a priest. It is difficult to disentangle the truth and falsehood of his reign. The falsehood is not worth repeating, and the truth is impossible to discover. The affairs of the empire were administered by his mother, and it is said that she had a seat in the Senate. The cousin of Elagabalus, the son of Mamaea, had been carefully educated and was of excellent character. He was elevated to the rank

**Extension of  
Roman  
Citizenship.**

**Elagabalus  
Emperor.**

of Caesar. Eventually, we know not exactly how, Elagabalus was killed, together with his mother, on March 10, 222, and Alexander, who bore the name, not altogether appropriate to his character, of Severus, was accepted as emperor by the Praetorians.

It is said that during his reign the power rested chiefly in the hands of his mother, Mamaea, who, on the whole, governed

**Alexander  
Severus.**

well, but neither she nor her son were able to keep the Praetorians in check. The most important event was that in 226, Ardscher, a name corresponding to Artaxerxes, a man of obscure origin, rose against the Roman suzerainty, and founded the new Persian

**The New  
Persian  
Empire.**

empire of the Sassanidae. Artaxerxes died in 240, and was succeeded by his son, Sapor, who was a worthy successor. Severus, after fighting against the Persians in the East, undertook a campaign upon the Rhine, and was murdered, with his mother, at Mainz, on March 19, 235.

He was succeeded by Maximin, a Thracian, and half a barbarian, a strong man with an iron will, admired by the soldiers, but without any education, and imper-

**Maximin.**

fectly acquainted with the Latin tongue. With him began a new epoch in the history of Rome. The empire was governed by the army, who knew no fatherland but their camp, no laws but the orders of their general, no influence but fear. The soldiers were now masters of the world. Whatever may be the truth or falsehood about Maximin's career, there is no doubt that he was unfit to reign. He was killed during the siege of Aquileia, in 238, after a reign of three years, and was

**Gordian.**

succeeded by Marcus Antonius Gordianus, a boy of fourteen, whose grandfather and uncle had conducted a rising against Maximin in Africa. He reigned for six years, and turned out better than might have been expected, chiefly by the influence of his tutor, Timesitheus, whose daughter he married. After Timesitheus' death, Philip, an Arabian from Bostra, became commander of the Praetorians, and soon succeeded in murdering Gordian, then nineteen years of age, on the banks of the Euphrates, where his tomb was long an object of admiration in the road between Circesium and Ctesiphon.

About the five years' reign of Philip the Arabian (244-249), who succeeded Gordian, we have no knowledge whatever, except that in 248, after the return from the East, he celebrated the

so-called Secular games which had been previously celebrated by Augustus. In the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian at Rome, a sculptured tablet is preserved, which was found in the Tiber, forming a sort of play bill or programme of Augustus' games; it contains the amazing line, "*Carmen composuit Quintus Horatius Flaccus*" (a hymn was composed by Quintus Horatius Flaccus), a contemporary reference to the well-known *Carmen Seclulare*, which school-boys had to learn by heart fifty years ago. On that occasion, mystic sacrifices were celebrated on the banks of the Tiber, and for three nights the Campus Martius, illuminated by lamps and torches, resounded with music and dancing. Similar scenes took place in the games as revived by Philip; choruses of young men and maidens of the noblest families celebrated in solemn hymns the virtue, good fortune, and majesty of Rome, a sharp contrast with the horrors which we have been narrating. However, the fact that the records of Philip are so scanty shows that there was little scandal to relate about him.

**Philip the Arabian.**

**The Secular Games.**

The reign of Decius, who succeeded him, and who occupied the throne for two years (249 to 251), was notable for a general rising of the Germans from the Danube and the Rhine to the Alps and the Pyrenees, to which he himself fell a victim. We find among them the *Allemanni*, a composite but brave tribe, bearing the name of Allmen and giving the appellation by which their country and their own people are known in France at the present day. We find also the Franks, who gave their name to France, the Saxons, and the Goths. These invaders crossed the Roman wall, and penetrated beyond the Alps, laid waste Gaul and Spain, plundered Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. The efforts to resist them, as well as the recently revived Persians, occupied the attention of the emperors who succeeded Decius—Gallus, Aemilianus, Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius II.—for the next nineteen years, 251 to 270, when we reach the reign of Aurelian, 270 to 275, who received the title of the Restorer of the empire.

**Decius and his Successors.**

**Barbarian Invasions.**

Aurelian, the son of a poor farmer, was born at Sirmium on the Save. He surrendered Dacia to the Goths, but succeeded in driving the Germans across the Rhine, and compressed and kept within limits the new Sassanian Persians. But his chief glory was in subduing Zenobia, the heroic queen who had founded a powerful

**Aurelian restores the Empire.**



empire at Palmyra in the desert. Her dominions included Syria, a large portion of Asia Minor, and part of Egypt; and she was attempting new conquests when Aurelian marched against her, defeated her at Antioch and Emesa, and besieged her in her capital. She fled, but was captured, and decorated a Roman triumph. Such a scene had rarely been witnessed, even in Rome. The procession was led by twenty elephants, by a string of panthers, lions, leopards, giraffes, and other strange animals; then followed eight hundred pairs of gladiators destined for contests in the amphitheatre; prisoners from all nations in their national dress, their hands bound behind their backs, the women dressed as Amazons. Tables bearing their names and countries were carried before them. Last of all came Zenobia, the queen of the East, with fetters of gold on her hands and feet, her dress covered with such a weight of precious stones that she could scarcely support it, while a Persian slave led her by a golden chain. She walked proudly before Aurelian's chariot, which had belonged to the king of the Goths and was drawn by four stags. Aurelian introduced into Rome the worship of Baal, the sun-god, the great divinity of the East, whose priest Elagabalus had been at Emesa, and for whose worship Antoninus Pius had erected the wonderful temple at Baalbec, and it remained the religion of the imperial house till the reign of Constantine.

Aurelian was succeeded by the excellent Probus (276 to 282), who restored the discipline of the army, defended the frontiers of the Danube and the Rhine against the incursions of the Germans, and brought order into the East by successful warfare, but after a beneficent reign of six years was murdered by his soldiers in Pannonia. He was succeeded by Carus, a man of sixty years old, who had risen against him, but who, with his two sons Carinus and Numerianus, soon suffered a similar fate.

Now comes upon the scene the great Diocletian, who reigned from 284 to 305, and deserves an honourable place among the restorers and the wielders of the Roman power. He was born at Dioclea in Dalmatia, of humble origin, his mother being a slave; but when he achieved power he gave an entirely new character to the Roman polity. He did away with all republican forms and privileges in Italy, and made himself an autocratic ruler. He abolished the distinction between the *fiscus* and the *aerarium*, the two treasuries of the

state and the emperor, so that all taxes were paid into the same fund. Besides organising finance, he reformed legal procedure and favoured learning and science. He wielded autocratic authority with ability and power for more than twenty years, but he exaggerated the divine character of his position and gave his court an oriental character. His great work, however, was the organisation of the government of the empire on a new basis of administration, which, though necessary for the power, impaired the authority of Rome and paved the way for the transference of the capital to Constantinople. He first raised his friend Maximian to an equality with himself, committing to him the charge of the West, with Milan as his capital; while he took charge of the East, fixing his capital at Nicomedia. He then went further, and associated Constantius Chlorus with Maximian as ruler of the West with the title of Caesar, and took to himself Galerius in a similar position for the East. Galerius conquered the Persians, took five provinces away from them, and compelled them to surrender Mesopotamia. It was natural that a ruler of this arbitrary character should not be favourable to Christianity, and the name of Diocletian is associated with the last and most serious persecution of the Christian religion, which is, however, as much to be attributed to Galerius as to himself. Having exhibited to the world the splendour of a strong and wise ruler, and having erected the fabric of an efficiently organised government to control the known world, to the surprise of all men he abdicated his office and retired to Salona on the Dalmatian coast. There he lived in retirement for nine years, having built for himself a palace of such size and magnificence that it affords ample room for the modern town.

**Autocracy  
established.**

**Division of  
the Empire.**

His work, however, did not last, but was followed by a period of confusion, in which there were sometimes four and sometimes six emperors, and which could only be brought to an end by one prevailing over the others. After the murder of Maximian and the death of Galerius, there were two emperors in the East and two in the West. Of the latter one was Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and the other Constantine the Great. Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, had been proclaimed by the soldiery at York on his father's death, and, like Constantius, he protected the Christians from persecution, though he supported the old worship from reasons of state. He speedily quarrelled with

**Period of  
Anarchy.**

Maxentius, who claimed sole authority in the West. Twice he defeated his rival, and then the decisive battle was fought, on **Battle of** October 28, 312, at Saxa Rubra, not far from the **the Milvian** Milvian Bridge, now the Ponte Milvio, a few miles **Bridge.** from Rome. Maxentius was completely defeated, and was drowned in the Tiber. Constantine's first use of his victory was to destroy the Praetorian camp, which had been the stronghold of Maxentius, and to issue an edict of toleration under which every one was permitted to follow any form of religion he pleased, thus relieving the Christians from any fear of further persecution.

Constantine was now sole emperor of the West. Licinius, defeating his colleague Maximin, who attacked him while celebrating his marriage with Constantine's sister, **Constantine** soon became sole emperor in the East. Then **Emperor of** Constantine and Licinius quarrelled, and Licinius **the West.** was compelled to surrender his possessions in Europe with the exception of Thrace and Eastern Moesia. For some time Constantine endured a joint rule with his elderly but still vigorous brother-in-law; but it was obvious that such an arrangement could not continue with a man of Constantine's temper, so that, after defeating him by land at Adrianople, by sea at Chalcedon, and finally at Nicomedia, he had him executed. So, in 325, Constantine became master of the whole Roman

**Sole** empire, and in the same year issued an edict in **Emperor.** which he declared Christianity to be the only true religion, but at the same time tolerated paganism. The masterful and even despotic nature of Constantine led him to consider himself the founder of a new era, and he could best give effect to this by establishing a new capital. Rome had ceased to be the residence of the emperors; Diocletian had neglected it, and even raised Milan to be a rival to it, and Constantine seldom occupied the great palace on the Capitol. With great insight he chose a spot perhaps too well adapted by nature to be the capital of an empire, where Byzantium, united with and yet divided from the Mediterranean by the Bosphorus and with the Black Sea by the Propontis, possesses an unrivalled harbour in the Golden Horn, and

**New Rome** secures for itself at the same time an impregnable **founded.** position and a staple for the exchange of merchandise of West and East. The first stone of the New Rome was laid on November 4, 326, and it was consecrated as the capital on May 11, 330. It is not necessary to

describe its magnificent buildings, most of which have been destroyed, but it is desirable to give some account of the new organisation of the government which led to what is known as the Byzantine empire, and lasted for more than a thousand years.

The emperor became invested with absolute power without any limits. His person was clothed with a sacred and divine majesty, the external signs of which were the purple robe introduced by Diocletian, the diadem and nimbus adopted by Constantine, and the ceremony of adoration. The emperor was superior to all laws, or rather he was the law incarnate. His official title was Dominus, and all the inhabitants of the empire were his subjects and his slaves. The system invented by Diocletian (284 to 305) implied the simultaneous reign of two Augusti and two Caesars. The two Augusti were equal, and laws were made in the name of both. The empire was divided in order to facilitate the administration of that enormous mass—Rome and Constantinople, as the New Rome was henceforth called, being the two capitals of the West and the East. This arrangement was finally consolidated by the Emperor Theodosius in 395, but, till the destruction of the Western empire in 476, the two empires were considered to be parts of a single whole, and the two emperors were colleagues. Although the Caesar generally succeeded the Augustus to whom he was attached, the empire was not hereditary in state law. The Caesar could not succeed to the throne without the recognition of the army and the decree of the Senate. The institution of the emperor was accompanied by great solemnities. The new sovereign was raised upon a shield, after the German fashion, and, in the Eastern division, after the Emperor Leo I. (457), he was crowned by the patriarch. Immediately after his installation, he addressed a manifesto to the capital, in which he promised a just and beneficent reign. The power and importance of the emperor were extended to his family. The oath of fidelity was taken not only to the emperor but to the empress, and all the members of the imperial family received the title of Most Noble. The emperor was the source of legislation and judicial power; he had sovereign authority over the civil, military, and financial administration of his dominions.

The emperor was assisted in the duties of government by a council of state called a consistory and by the quaestor of the sacred palace. The staff of the palace was under the control

**The Byzantine Empire.**

of the master of the offices, while the personal service of the emperor was under the orders of the provost of the sacred bedchamber. The civil administration of the empire was committed to six high functionaries, the prefect of the city for the two capitals, and four praetorian prefects for the four great divisions of the empire. Finance was committed to two officers, the count of the sacred largesses, who had control of the public treasury, and the count of private affairs, who kept the emperor's purse. Civil servants, whose numbers were enormous, were nominated by the Emperor on the recommendation of a member of the Senate, and were appointed for one year only, but their tenure might be prolonged. The etiquette to be observed by the officials between themselves and towards the emperor was regulated with the utmost minuteness. All these officials received carefully distinguished titles of honour. First came the *patricius*, after Constantine a dignity personal and for life. He held the first place after the acting consuls, and before the praetorian prefects. Then came the order of counts, or *comites*, which was organised in definite ranks and was not uncommon. Officials of senatorial rank were called *clarissimi*, a title which still survives in the title of Serene Highness. The equites were at first called *perfectissimi* or *egregii*, but the title of *egregius* disappeared and *perfectissimus* was restricted, and all received the appellation of *clarissimi*. Soon, however, there grew up three ranks among the *clarissimi*—one *clarissimus et illustris*, another *clarissimus et spectabilis*, and a third *clarissimus* alone. To the first class belonged the praetorian prefects, the prefect of the city, the quaestor of the sacred palace, the master of the offices, the provost of the sacred bedchamber, the count of the sacred largesses, the count of private affairs, the master of the soldiers, and the counts of the bodyguards. It is not necessary to enumerate the divisions of the other classes.

We will now turn to the methods of legislation. All imperial laws and constitutions were prepared by the quaestor of the sacred palace in concert with the other *proceres* or nobles, and, after 446, submitted to the consideration of the Senate of the capital. They were then discussed in the imperial consistory, and finally draughted in the imperial scrinia or offices. They were then signed with purple ink with the emperor's divine hand, and countersigned by the quaestor of the sacred palace. The laws

#### Methods of Legislation.

were recited in the Senate and published in the whole of the empire. Besides the laws and constitutions there were imperial rescripts, which were sent in answer to the questions of officials or private persons, drawn up by the quaestor of the sacred palace, and signed by the emperor with purple ink. When they were addressed to corporations, communes, or provinces, or when they concerned public affairs, they were called pragmatic sanctions, a term which meets us occasionally in the history of the German empire. It was evident that these laws should receive codification, and so, in the year 429, Theodosius II. appointed a commission of nine members to collect all the constitutions published since Constantine, and to arrange them according to their contents, chronological order being observed. In 436 the same duty was entrusted to a new commission of sixteen members, and in 438 the collection was published in the official code of the East, the same collection being also sanctioned and published by Valentinian III. in the West.

The imperial consistory was the council of state which assisted the emperor in the general administration of the government. Its duties were very various. In the presence of the consistory the emperor gave solemn audiences and promulgated laws; it assisted the emperor to administer justice and deliberated before him on important matters of general administration. The minutes of the proceedings of this consistory were carefully kept. During the audience the police of the palace was kept by thirty officers called silentiaries, a title which occurs not infrequently in Byzantine history. The civil and military household of the emperor was elaborately organised under the orders of the master of the offices. There were, besides the general attendants of a court, the couriers, who executed the commissions of the emperor in the provinces; *mensores*, who prepared a camp for the emperor during his progresses; the *comes stabuli*, the count of the stable, the origin of the modern constable, whose duty it was to examine and approve the horses which were bound to be furnished for the emperor's journeys; the link bearers; the *decani* or deans, who commandeered property for the emperor's use; the *cancellarii* or chancellors, who assisted at the judicial sittings with their numerous clerks. The master of the offices was expected to maintain discipline in the palace, and had civil and criminal jurisdiction over his subordinates.

The  
Imperial  
Consistory.

The  
Emperor's  
Household.

As time went on, the power of the master of the offices became more important, and paved the way for the mayor of the palace in later times. The private service of the emperor was made the work of the provost of the sacred bedchamber, or grand chamberlain. The Praetorian Guard, whose numbers had been reduced by Diocletian, was entirely suppressed by Constantine, and its place was taken by a mounted and unmounted body-guard called *domestici* or *protectores*. They were highly paid, and had numerous privileges, and were recruited from the centurions and young men of senatorial rank. They were less numerous than the body of men called *scolares*, but were superior in rank.

Constantine instituted a complete separation between the civil and military functions of the government, giving the civil administration to the praetorian prefect and the charge of the army to the master of the soldiers. He raised Constantinople to the rank of the capital of the East, divided it into fourteen regions, and gave it a similar government to that of Rome. Like Rome, it was governed by a prefect of the city, who immediately represented the emperor, being nominated by him from men of senatorial and consular rank. In the Senate, he gave his opinion before the *consulares*, and after the time of Justinian presided over it. He gave a report about the deliberations of the Senate every month to the emperor, and transmitted to him the wishes of the Senate and the people. All the administrative officials of the emperor were subject to him—he was the *culmen urbanum*, the summit of the city. The principal officers under the prefect of the city were the prefect of the market, who was charged with the provisioning of the city—Rome's principal supplies of corn coming from Carthage, Constantinople, and Alexandria—and the *praefectus vigilum*, who was head of the police. There was also at Rome and at Constantinople a public system of higher education. Professors were nominated by the Senate, who fixed their salaries, and after twenty years' service accorded them the rank of *comes*.

By the side of this municipal administration, Rome remained the seat of the ancient Senate, the Consulate, the Praetorship and the Quaestorship, institutions which had survived the fall of the republic, and, when Byzantium was raised to the rank of the second capital, it received a Senate after the model of Rome, as well as Quaestors and Praetors, while the Consulate was divided

**Relics of the Republic.**

between the two capitals. But these offices had become mere honorary distinctions without real power, and the Senate had fallen to the rank of a quasi-municipal institution, without authority over the rest of the empire. The only duties left to the members of this famous body were the care of games and matters concerning their own order, although the emperor sometimes consulted them about the crime of high treason and other judicial matters, and sometimes brought new laws before their notice. At the same time the Senate occupied a high place in the empire, and formed its nobility. The distinction of membership was acquired either by inheritance or by favour, and carried with it the title of *clarissimus*. It involved subjection to certain charges, but also the enjoyment of certain privileges. The consuls were still considered the highest officers of the state, but their duties were confined to presiding over the Senate. They were nominated by the emperor, and their names were published all over the empire so as to serve for the designation of the year. There were sometimes one consul in each capital, and sometimes two consuls in either. The praetors and quaestors were expected to exhibit games at their own expense, so that the tenure of the office was a considerable charge.

The empire was now divided into four great praefectures, each governed by a praetorian praefect. The two praefectures of the Eastern Empire were called Oriens and Illyria, those of the West, Italy and The Gauls. Each praefecture contained a certain number of dioceses, and each diocese was divided by Diocletian into a certain number of provinces of small extent, the diocese of Italy containing seventeen provinces. At the head of each diocese was a governor generally called *vicarius*, at the head of each province a rector. Each province had also a capital called *urbs*, or metropolis, which was the residence of the governor and the seat of the administration. The rectors made frequent tours through their provinces. They also were compelled to remain in them fifty days after the expiration of their office, in order to be able to answer any complaints which might be brought against them. The emperor also received direct information about the state of the provinces, by means of a secret police called *curiosi*. The provincial assemblies which previously existed were not abolished under the monarchy. The provinces were further divided into communes, their territory being composed of *pagi* and *vici*, *pagus* representing a tract of country

Admini-  
trative  
Divisions.



and *vicus* a village. The Italian name for a country village, *paese*, is derived from *pagus*, as is also the term pagan. The communal nobles were called decemvirs, and the dignity was hereditary. To be a decemvir was a heavy charge, and persons did their utmost to be relieved from it.

We see that the Roman government, as existing under the monarchy, was a highly centralised organisation, governed by a bureaucracy with the emperor at its head. It was, on the whole, efficient and just, and it is a mistake to suppose that the new races when they came in substituted a vigorous rule for an effete system. On the contrary, they could not have founded a government at all if they had not borrowed their institutions from Rome. An interesting institution found in Italy and elsewhere is that of the coloniate, consisting of

**The Coloni.** free men capable of becoming Roman citizens, but bound indissolubly to the soil, and passing with the sale of the soil to a new proprietor. They held their land at a fixed rent, paid either in money or in kind according to the custom of the property. Their rent could not be raised by the proprietor, nor could he sell his land without them. They were subject to a poll tax, which was collected by the proprietor and transmitted by him to the governor, and they supplied most of the recruits which their proprietors were bound to furnish. The colonies exist, almost unchanged, in many parts of Italy at the present day. Under the new régime the condition of the slaves was much improved, and Constantine deprived their masters of the power of life and death. Indeed Christianity was a most powerful influence in first alleviating the lot of the slaves and then abolishing slavery altogether. During this time there was a constant influx of barbarians into the empire, but we hear little about their legal condition, except that they were not allowed to intermarry with citizens.

In the Easter week of 337, Constantine fell ill. When he found that remedies did not avail him, he became a catechumen

**Death of Constantine.** and on his death-bed received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of Eusebius, who was an Arian. His character has been so differently depicted by Christians and pagans that it is difficult to estimate it correctly. There can be no doubt that he behaved with extreme cruelty to his excellent son Crispus, and that he delayed the determination to declare himself a Christian as long as he could, because he wished to derive all possible advantages from the antagonism of the two religions. We

may also conclude that his public recognition of Christianity was rather a political than a religious measure. It was better to bring so powerful an organisation under the control of the state than to leave it as an independent force. He died at the age of sixty-five, having been emperor for thirty years of his memorable life.

## CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF EUROPE, 337-565 A.D.

CONSTANTINE left behind him three sons, Constantinus II., who died in 340—Constans, who died in 350—Constantius, who died in 361, and two daughters, Constantia, who married Hannibalianus, and Helena, who married Julian. He divided the empire between them, setting an example of partition which was afterwards abundantly followed, giving Constantius the East with Thrace, Constantinus the West, and Constans Africa, Italy, and Western Illyria. They rapidly became furious enemies of each other, which resulted in the death of two of them, and in 353 Constantius united the whole empire under his sceptre. He found, however, that the task of repelling enemies both on the east and on the west was too much for him, so, while he fought against the Persians without success, Julian, his cousin and brother-in-law, whom he had made Caesar, saved Gaul, by defeating the Allemanni and the Franks at Strasburg in 357. He drove the invaders across the Rhine, but allowed the Salian Franks to settle in Belgium. Constantius, jealous of Julian's success, ordered nine of his legions to join him in the East to repel the Persians, but they refused, and saluted Julian as emperor. Constantius set out on the march against him, but died on the journey at Tarsus in Cilicia.

It was not unnatural that Julian, with such examples before him, should conceive a hatred of Christianity, and prefer the philosophy of Neoplatonism, and indeed, during his short reign, which only lasted two years, from 361 to 363, he did all that he could to destroy Christianity as an established religion and to substitute for it the more spiritual aspects of paganism. He is therefore known as the Apostate. His first act on arriving at Constantinople as emperor was to open the temples and restore the altars, to proclaim toleration for all religions, to recall the Jews to Jerusalem,

and to rebuild their temple. He did not, however, persecute the Christians, as some of his predecessors had done. He assumed the office of pontifex maximus as head of the pagan religion. Every day, with his own hands, he offered a sacrifice both to the rising and to the setting sun—indeed, the sun Baal, the visible source of all light, life, and energy, had always been the rival of the unseen God who created it. He attempted to reform the priesthood, and to remove from paganism the charge of sensuality. In all these measures, the philosopher Libanius was his adviser, friend, and assistant. He naturally threw scorn on the Galilean and his fishermen apostles, and he could not restore the temples and bring back the priests without injuring the churches and those who served in them. But, on the whole, he left the Christian sects to their dissensions, and their disciples to their poverty. He met with some opposition in Antioch, where he brought back the worship of Apollo to the laurel grove of Daphne, and turned out the bones of Christian martyrs.

It became, however, necessary that he should defend the frontiers of the empire, and that he should treat the Persians as he had already treated the Allemanni and the Franks. He therefore set out from Antioch for this purpose in the spring of 363. He advanced beyond the Tigris, and reached the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon; but from this place he was obliged to retreat, followed by a swarm of mounted enemies from whom it was difficult to escape. He exhibited the greatest bravery and energy, but, as in the heat of the day he had laid aside his breastplate, a spear pierced him and he died. According to the famous story he grasped a handful of blood from his wound, and throwing it up to heaven, cried, "Thou has conquered, Galilean!"

Julian was succeeded by Jovian, who made peace with the Persians, restored to them nearly the whole of Mesopotamia, and replaced the Christian religion in its former place. He, however, died in 364, after less than a year's reign. For ten days after Jovian's death, the empire remained without a head, Sallustius having refused the perilous position, until unanimity was secured in the election of Valentinian. He was the son of a Pannonian soldier, and had himself been brought up entirely in the camp. He was of majestic stature, and possessed the virtues of courage, experience in war, purity of morals, simplicity of life, and sound practical wisdom. At the same time, his intellectual education was defective, and he was

**Persian  
Campaign,  
and Death.**

**Jovian.**

**Valentinian  
and Valens.**

ignorant of Greek. He was elected in Nicæa, and, choosing his younger brother Valens to share the throne with him, gave him the care of the East, while he fixed his own capital at Milan. Valens was a Christian, but was devoted to the teaching of Arius, which did not admit that Jesus Christ was precisely on an equality with God, and he persecuted the orthodox Athanasius with as much zeal as he persecuted the Arians. This caused the rising of Procopius, a relation of Julian, who committed the fatal error of calling in the Goths to assist him. The Goths, the ancestors of the modern Germans, who, settled on the northern frontier of the empire, had long served to protect it against the inroads of the wild Sarmatians, were divided into two great sections, the East Goths and the West Goths, generally known as the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. At this time they were both under the control of a single monarch, called Amanrich or Hermanrich, whose authority extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic. They were Christians, but Arians, and they owed their conversion largely to Ulfilas, who had made a Gothic translation of the Gospels, the manuscript of which is still preserved at Upsala in Sweden.

The two brothers knew no other way of preserving their authority or of defending the empire than that of severity and cruelty. It is said that Valentinian kept two bears in a den behind his bedroom, and that a criminal as soon as he was condemned was immediately delivered to these creatures. Their reign, however, was illustrated by the historian Eutropius and the poet Ausonius, and Athens still remained a centre of eloquence and philosophy. Valentinian reigned over the Western empire

**Frontier  
Wars.**

with success for nearly twelve years, and guarded the frontier of Rome on the Rhine, in Britain, and in Africa, while his brother Valens followed his example in the East. At this time the Bishop of Rome or Pope was Damasus, who was a great and magnificent ruler over the church and the city, and whose memory is still preserved by the extreme beauty of those inscriptions of his which have survived. In this reign war was waged against the Allemanni, who were defeated in 366 at Châlons on the Marne. Valentinian was accompanied in the campaign against them by his son Gratian, whom he associated with him in the government. They also had to contend against two other German tribes, the Burgundians and the Saxons. While Valentinian was occupied on the Rhine, Britain was defended by Theodosius, the ablest man in that country since Agricola,

who also rescued Africa from rebellion and invasion. He was, however, beheaded at Carthage on the charge of high treason. Valentinian had also to contend against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and in 375 was wintering in Pressburg with a view to recommencing the campaign in the spring; but, on November 17, he died suddenly from a stroke of apoplexy. He was succeeded by his son Gratian, who was seven-  
 teen years of age; but at the same time, Valentinian II., a child of four years of age, the son of the late emperor's second wife, Justina, was

**Accession of  
Gratian and  
Valentinian  
II.**

also made emperor, and Gratian was obliged to accept the decision. Justina went to live at Milan and Gratian at Trier.

The year of his accession, 375, is marked as a great epoch in the history of the world by the crossing of the Volga by the Huns. It has been already said that the more remote parts of central Asia were at this time the seat of a human volcano, whose eruptions

**The Huns  
cross the  
Volga.**

might at any time upset the equilibrium of Europe and cause convulsions, the effect of which it was impossible to foretell. To these causes are due the sudden invasions and devastating inroads which meet us in history and which seem so mysterious and uncontrollable. Of the Huns we do not receive a very attractive account. Their appearance was hideous. The habit of cutting their faces when young prevented the growth of hair and made them horrible. Strong in body, they had heads like animals. They possessed great powers of endurance: they fed on vegetables and half-raw flesh, made eatable by being placed under the saddles of their horses. They never entered a house. They were dressed in linen and in shoes which they wore until they dropped to pieces from old age. They never fought on foot, but rode on horses as ugly as themselves. They never left their horses night or day, but trafficked and bartered, ate and drank, slept and dreamed, on their backs. They even held their assemblies and chose their leaders on horseback. They fought at a distance with spears and arrows, and at close combat with the sword. They knew no culture of the land, no home or hearth, no law nor government; their wives and children dwelt in waggon. They seemed to follow the impulse of the moment. They lived like wild animals, thinking nothing of vice or virtue, faith or religion. At the same time they were very fond of money.

These untameable people, having first crossed the Volga and subdued the Alani, who dwelt between the Volga and the Don,

attacked the Eastern Goths with their help, and caused the death of Amanrich, who was 110 years old. The consequence was

**Invasion**

**of the**

**Visigoths.**

that the East Goths were driven against the West Goths; some of whom took refuge in the Carpathians, whilst others under Frigidern crossed the Danube into Thrace, and were allowed to settle there by Valens under condition that they embraced the Arian faith. But, infuriated by an attempt to kill their leaders by an act of treachery, they broke, reinforced by new swarms of Goths,

**Battle of**

**Adrianople.**

over the passes of the Balkans, and defeated the Emperor Valens, who marched from the East to oppose them, in a decisive battle at Adrianople, which cost him his life. The Visigoths now swarmed over the whole country as far as the Julian Alps.

When Gratian heard of this disastrous defeat and of his uncle's death, he hastened to Sirmium, and appointed Theo-

**Theodosius**

**pacifies the**

**Goths.**

dosius, whose father's death we have before narrated, first as commander-in-chief and then as Augustus. So long as Frigidern lived, Theodosius could effect little, but after his death he was able to set the two divisions of the Goths against each other. Athanaric succeeded in reuniting them for a short time, but after his death Theodosius contrived to induce the Visigoths and part of the Ostrogoths to become allies by treaty of the Roman people, and to accept land in Dacia, Moesia, and Thrace, as well as in Phrygia and Lydia, where they might remain at peace. With the help of his new allies, Theodosius was able to put down two usurpers—Maximus, who had been saluted as emperor by the legions in Britain, and who, by invading Gaul, caused the

**Deaths of**

**Gratian and**

**Valentinian.**

death of Gratian on August 25, 383, and the Frank Arbogast, who caused the death of Valentinian II., on May 15, 392. Valentinian, after the death of his mother, Justina, came under the influence of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who gave him an excellent education, so that he acquired the reputation of being one of the best of the Roman emperors.

Theodosius now united the whole of the empire under his single rule, and governed it in such a way that he deserves the

**Theodosius**

**sole**

**Emperor.**

title of the "Great," which posterity accorded to him. Saint Ambrose had so much authority that when Theodosius had stained his hands with the murder of 7000 citizens in the circus of Thessalonica, he refused him admission to the church until he had done

penance and received absolution. In 381, Theodosius had commanded a second oecumenical council at Constantinople at which the teaching of Arius was finally condemned, and the Athanasian Creed was declared binding on the churches of both East and West. Still the Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards continued to profess the Arian faith. In 392, Theodosius forbade all kinds of heathen worship, and heathendom fell into disrepute. Heathen temples were closed even in Rome, where heathen practices had remained more obstinately than elsewhere. Theodosius enjoyed the undisputed rule of the united empire for only four months. In January 395 he died at Milan, deeply mourned by Ambrose, who delivered over him a brilliant oration, but two years later followed his master to the grave. Before his death, Theodosius had again divided the empire into the two sections of East and West, entrusting the East to Arcadius, who was eighteen, and the West to Honorius, who was eleven years of age. From this time the two parts of the empire followed independent destinies.

**Final Division of the Empire.**

Arcadius established his capital in Constantinople, and had as his chancellor first Rufinus and then Eutropius, while Honorius took up his abode in Ravenna, a city easily defended from attack, and took as his chief adviser the able Vandal Stilicho. The court of Constantinople was contemptible in itself, and was rendered worse by the character of the consul Eutropius. It was not, therefore, surprising that Alaric, a man of heroic temper, should be raised by the Visigoths to the position of a sovereign, should attack and lay waste central Greece and the Peloponnesus, and should, at last, in 397, be made the governor of Illyria by the court at Constantinople. As soon as Alaric felt himself secure in his new position, he determined to attack Northern Italy, and, in 402, conquered Istria and Venetia, besieged Aquileia, and laid waste the rich province of Verona with fire and sword. Alaric had determined to find in Italy either a kingdom or a grave, and, while Stilicho collected troops from the Rhine and from the British wall, and crossed over the Alps to rescue his master's dominions, Alaric attacked Milan, where he found Honorius, who attempted to escape to Gaul, but was intercepted and besieged at Asti on the Tanaro. But Stilicho came to the rescue, and on Easter Day, 403, a great battle was fought at Pollentia, not

**Arcadius and Honorius.**

**Career of Alaric.**

**Campaigns of Stilicho.**



of a very decisive character. Alaric was able to cross the Apennines to Etruria, and to approach the walls of Rome, but, on Stilicho's occupying Venice, he was compelled to return, and, after a battle fought in the autumn of 403, retired to Illyria. A triumph was celebrated in Rome, with games in the Coliseum, for the last time. It is said that on this occasion a monk jumped into the amphitheatre to separate the combatants, but was stoned by the people, upon which Honorius stopped the games, and they were never resumed. After Alaric's invasion, Honorius fixed his court, for safety, in Ravenna. But, in 405, a number of German tribes, still impelled by the Huns, crossed the Alps and broke into Italy. They consisted of Vandals, Burgundians, and Sueves, supported by the Alani cavalry and by Goths, Rhadagais, an Ostrogoth, being their leader. They marched as far as Florence, which they attacked from the height of Fiesole; but in 406 Rhadagais was defeated by Stilicho and taken prisoner, and 12,000 of his followers were received into the service of Rome.

The defeated Germans were driven back into Germany, where they came into conflict with the Franks and Allemanni, and finally overran Gaul, which they laid waste with deeds of horrible cruelty and destruction. The Allemanni now established themselves in Alsace, and the Burgundians founded a kingdom on the Rhine, which in the second half of the fifth century was extended to the Mediterranean on the south, and to the Cevennes and the Vosges on the west. Britain being left undefended by Roman troops, a certain Constantinus took the opportunity of raising the standard of revolt, and, getting assistance from Gaul and

Spain, attempted to make himself master of Italy. Stilicho turned for assistance to Alaric, and succeeded in securing his services; but just at this

time himself fell a victim to court intrigues, and, on August 23, 408, was dragged from a church where he had taken sanctuary, and slain by order of Honorius, his friends perishing with him.

The arrangement made between Stilicho and Alaric was now repudiated, so that Alaric, starting from Noricum in 408, marched upon Rome, to which he laid siege.

**Siege of Rome.** He was bought off by the sacrifice of masses of gold and silver, and costly furniture, and by the

surrender of all the German slaves in Roman service. "What have you left us?" said the Romans. "Your lives," replied the haughty Visigoth. Alaric received 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000

of silver, besides silk, cloth, and pepper. However, in the following year, reinforced by 40,000 slaves of German origin, and swarms of Goths and Huns, led from the Danube by his brother-in-law Ataulf, Alaric attempted to reduce the court of Ravenna to submission, and, when Honorius refused to accept his terms, he created a new emperor in the person of Attalus. He returned to Rome in August 410, conquered and plundered it, full as it was of every kind of wealth. After a six days' orgy, Alaric marched into Campania, and, reaching the southern point of Italy, made preparations for passing into Sicily; but he died at the age of thirty-four at Cosenza, whose walls are washed by the river Busento. It is said that the course of the river was changed, and Alaric, with his arms and treasures, deposited in its bed, and, when the river was brought back again into its former course, all the workmen were killed, in order that no one might know the place of his interment. He was succeeded by Ataulf, who at once left Italy, and in 414 married Placidia, the sister of Honorius. The same year, having overthrown in Gaul the usurper who rejected Honorius' authority, Ataulf crossed the Pyrenees, and conquered the north of Spain, placing his capital at Barcelona. Here, however, he was murdered by a servant of the Gothic chief, Sarus, whom he had defeated and executed some years before.

**Sack of  
Rome—  
Death of  
Alaric.**

Ataulf was succeeded by Wallia, who detested the Romans as much as his predecessor was well disposed towards them. Yet he made a treaty with Honorius, in accordance with which Placidia was sent back to Italy, and the Goths entered the Roman service. Placidia married Constantius, the minister of Honorius, to whom she bore two children, Honorius and Valentinian. Wallia now fought in Spain against the German settlers there, as the lieutenant of Rome. He defeated the Vandals and the Alani, and also the Goths who were settled in Gallicia. After three years had been spent in these wars, Honorius ceded to the Goths the province of Aquitaine between the Garonne and the Loire, with Tolosa as its capital, where the successor of Wallia, Theodoric, fixed his abode—a rich and prosperous country. Here the Goths were established for nearly a century in peaceful agricultural occupations. At the same time, the Burgundians were settled in the fertile fields on the Rhone, the Jura, and the upper Rhine. They became Christians at an early period. The Franks dwelt in the north of Gaul, and extended their domains from the Maas and the

Scheldt southwards to the Somme, and eastward to Trier on the Moselle, while the banks of the Rhine from Coblenz to the Vosges were occupied by the Allemanni, who already held the Black Forest and part of the Alps. The remains of their capital, Vindonissa, are still to be seen on the banks of the Aar. Armenia and Britain were left to defend themselves, and the absence of the Roman legions gave predominance to the clergy, who were obliged to take the place of the defenders of their country against barbarian incursions.

In Ravenna, Constantius, the husband of Placidia, received the title of Augustus, but died seven months later in 421. His

**Death of  
Honorius.**

widow and her two children retired to Constantinople; but on August 2, 421, Honorius also died, from dropsy. Valentinian III., a child of six years old, was then acknowledged by the Eastern court as emperor of the West, and was married to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II., who had succeeded his father Arcadius. During his long minority, Placidia acted as regent, but she was not equal to the task. At this time Rome possessed two remarkable men, Aetius and Boniface, who, if they could have clung together, would have saved the empire. Unfortunately, their relations were spoilt by jealousy. Boniface had been entrusted by Placidia with the government of Africa, but Aetius demanded his recall, and he raised the standard of rebellion, so that Aetius henceforth enjoyed the entire confidence of his mistress. Boniface, to defend himself, called in the aid of

**The Vandals  
in Africa.**

the Vandal king, Gaiseric, who crossed over into Africa in 429, and rapidly became master of the country. That rich province, once the granary of Italy, distinguished in commerce, industry, and learning, became a desert. Towns were destroyed, palaces plundered, churches robbed, priests murdered. In the midst of these horrors died St. Augustine, the famous Bishop of Hippo, a city which Boniface, repenting too late, did his best to defend for fourteen months. At last in 432, with the remains of the Roman population, he went to Ravenna, and threw himself on the mercy of Placidia, who forgave him. Aetius, disgusted, marched against his rival with an army of barbarians, and Boniface was killed. Aetius fled to his friend Rugilas, king of the Huns. While the Vandal empire was firmly established

**Britain.**

in Africa, Britain was left to defend itself against the incursions of the Picts and the Scots; for this purpose, Vortigern, who ruled in south-eastern Britain, in

449, invited the aid of some Jutes, who, 1600 in number, crossed over to our island in three long ships, under the command of Hengist and Horsa, names which have been thought to be legendary, because they bear the meaning of horse and mare. After executing their instructions, they refused to depart. Other bands of adventurers, Angles and Saxons, followed them, and, after 120 years of hard fighting, had conquered about one half of Britain. The Britons withdrew into the mountains of the west, while part of them emigrated to the north of France, or, as Bretons, settled in Armorica, the Brittany of to-day.

In the meantime, the condition of the Eastern empire had been no better than that of the West. Arcadius, after a reign of thirty years, occupied by palace quarrels, oppressive government, rebellion within and **The Eastern Empire—** invasions of barbarians from without, died at **Theodosius** Constantinople on May 1,408, leaving the empire **II.**

to his son, Theodosius II., who was only seven years old. The Praefect Anthemius, a strong and competent man, held the reins of government for six years. Under him, Uldin, king of the Huns, was compelled to retire from Thrace, and the Scirians, a wild race, were entirely subdued. The capital was protected by a wall, and the Illyrian towns were secured against attack. The weakness of the empire was assisted by the talents of the emperor's sister, Pulcheria, one of the few worthy descendants of Theodosius. **Pulcheria.**

Educated in a convent to lead a pure and blameless life, she received the title of Augusta in 414, and not only directed the affairs of state, but educated her brother to fulfil his duties, so far as he was competent to do so. At the age of twenty, the emperor married Athenais, daughter of the Athenian philosopher Leontius, who took the name of Eudoxia. She had great literary gifts and led an exemplary life, but she did not agree with Pulcheria, and was at last compelled to retire to Palestine, where she died in the year 460 at the age of sixty-seven. Her weak and foolish husband, curiously enough, lives in history as the author of the Theodosian Code, published in 438, which was a worthy predecessor to the immortal work of Justinian.

Half a century had now passed since the Eastern world was terrified by the incursion of the Huns, and they had spread from the Volga to the Danube. We have heard that King Rugilas, a friend of Aetius, had been **The Huns.** settled in Pannonia, and had formed connections with the courts

both of Constantinople and of Ravenna. Theodosius II. gave the king of the Huns who were settled on the Theiss and the Danube the title of Roman general, and paid him a yearly tribute of 350 pounds of gold. The nephews of Rugilas, Attila and Bleda, who, after their uncle's death in 423, succeeded to his throne, demanded an increased tribute, and the surrender of the Hunnish emigrants who had taken refuge in Constantinople. On being surrendered, the most dangerous of them were crucified. Attila, who is known in German legend

**Attila.** by the name of Etzel, murdered his brother Bleda, and in 444 founded the great kingdom of the Huns between the Danube and the Volga. He first attacked the Eastern empire, laid its northern provinces waste, defeated the armies of Theodosius several times, and threatened Constantinople itself. Then, instigated by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, who wished to create a diversion against a threatened attack of the Romans, he assumed the title of Godegisel, the Scourge of God, and marched upon Western Europe with an army of half a million warriors. In 450, he set out from his wooden palace in Pannonia, passed through Austria, Bavaria, and Switzerland to the Rhine, crossed the river at its junction with the Neckar, and defeated the Burgundian king, Gundikar (Gunther), at Worms. Wherever the hoofs of Attila's horse trod, the grass grew no more. The Roman towns were destroyed, and their fields laid waste, to the banks of the Loire. The dwellers in the fields fled, some into the towns, others into the mountains; the forests were full of fugitives, who fought for their lives with wild beasts. The Huns now crossed the Yonne at Auxerre, and attacked Orleans, where they were met by Aetius and the Visigoths under the aged Theodoric. Attila now retreated over the Seine and the Marne, followed by the united Goths and Romans, reinforced by the Burgundians, the Franks under Meroveus (Merwig), and other German tribes. The great conflict took place in the Catalaunian plain, which now gives its name to

**Battle of Châlons.** Châlons on the Marne, in the year 451, and Attila, after showing prodigies of valour, was defeated, and was only saved from destruction by the death of Theodoric, which distracted the Visigoths from the struggle. Yet he soon recovered from this disaster, and in 452 crossed the Julian Alps to Aquileia, the mistress of the Adriatic. He destroyed it so completely that a hundred years afterwards not a trace of it remained, while the inhabitants founded another home, a new water-city in the lagoons, which after-





# E U R O P E

A.D. 500

Scale of Miles

100 0 100 200 300 400 500







wards gave birth to Venice. Padua suffered the same fate; Faenza, Verona, and Bergamo also fell victims; while Milan and Parma bought off the destroyer. Aetius defended himself as well as he could with small resources, and Valentinian took refuge in Rome. In 453, Attila was preparing to destroy the Eternal City, when he was diverted by the entreaties of Pope Leo the Great, and consented to make a treaty with Valentinian and to return to Pannonia. Here he shortly afterwards died, and the Hunnish army was broken up.

The empire of the West did not long survive these events. Valentinian, in 454, the year after Attila's death, fell under the influence of the eunuch Heraclius, and killed

**Death of  
Valentinian.**

Aetius with his own hand. In the following year, he seduced the wife of the rich and worthy senator, Petronius Maximus, who caused him to be murdered on March 15, 455, as he was witnessing a review in the Campus Martius. After the death of the unworthy sovereign, Petronius was unanimously summoned to the vacant throne, but his reign was one of misery. Having lost his wife by the misconduct of Valentinian, he wished to strengthen his position by marrying Eudoxia; but she was indignant at the suggestion, and summoned Gaiseric and his Vandals to avenge her murdered husband. They entered Rome on June 12, 455. Pope Leo again

used his intercession, and Gaiseric promised to spare the churches, the private dwellings, and the unfortunate inhabitants, but he allowed his troops liberty of destruction for a fortnight. It is difficult to exaggerate the havoc wrought during these last fourteen days of June, 455. Temples and statues fell in indiscriminate destruction, and then the Vandal fleet, laden with treasure, and carrying with it the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, sailed to Africa.

**Sack of  
Rome by  
Gaiseric.**

The throne now fell to the Arvernian Avitus, equally distinguished for learning and courage, the father-in-law of the poet Sidonius Apollinaris, who has left us a panegyric of him. Avitus was dethroned by the Suevian, Ricimer, who commanded a large army of Germans. Rome was helpless, and the Visigothic kingdom, under Theodoric II. and his successor Euric, was extended from the Loire to the Mediterranean, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. Ricimer died in 472, after several emperors had occupied the throne, the best of whom was Majorian, and the last Julius Nepos. In 475 Orestes, the new barbarian "Patrician" in Italy, placed his own son Momylus, a boy of fifteen, on the throne, changing his name to Romulus. And

Romulus, whose title was significantly corrupted into *Augustulus*, was the last emperor of the West.

In 476, Ottokar, better known as Odoacer, a German and an Arian, with an army of Herulians, Rugians, and other German mercenaries, conquered and killed Orestes, drove Romulus from the throne, and settled him in a country house in Campania. He then undertook the government of Italy in the name of the Emperor Zeno, requesting from him recognition as Patrician. Zeno urged the rights of Julius Nepos, who lived at Salona in Dalmatia till his death in 480, but Odoacer remained the only real ruler of

**Odoacer**

**Lord of**

**Italy.**

Italy. He did not interfere with Roman laws or institutions. He fixed his court at Ravenna, and, though himself an Arian, showed favour to orthodox Christians. He arranged by skilful diplomacy to avert the invasions of Visigoths and the Vandals, by surrendering Narbonensian Gaul to the former and Sicily to the latter. He rewarded the German troops by giving them a third of the Italian soil. When the Rugians attempted an invasion, they were defeated and destroyed, and those who remained of them became his subjects. He reigned well and wisely over Italy for twelve years, when the Ostrogoths, who had settled in Moesia and Western Pannonia after the dissolution of the Hunnish kingdom, attacked him at the instigation of the Emperor Zeno, who told their king, Theodoric, that he would recognise his rule in Italy if he would turn out Odoacer.

In consequence of this, Theodoric, with the whole of his Goths, left his settlements in 487, conquered the Gepidae on

**Theodoric.**

the Danube and the Rugians on the Julian Alps, defeated Odoacer, first at Aquileia and then in the famous battle of Verona, which lives in legendary history, and shut him up in Ravenna, where he had taken refuge. He then spent three years in the reduction first of Milan and Pavia, and then of the rest of Italy. Odoacer remained in Ravenna, vainly expecting help from the Burgundians, but

**The**

**Ostrogothic**

**Kingdom of**

**Italy.**

the city was at last taken in 493, and the kingdom of the Ostrogoths founded in Italy. Odoacer was granted his life, but was shortly afterwards slain. Theodoric held the throne for thirty-three years, and well deserves the position which he holds both in history and legend. He was fortunate in having as his prime minister Cassiodorus, a well-educated man of letters, whose records of his reign are extremely in-

teresting, if occasionally too diffuse. He lives in German legend as Dietrich of Bern, Bern being the Teutonic form of Verona. His purpose was to establish a great kingdom secured from attack, and he succeeded in including in his dominions, besides Italy and Sicily, Noricum, Istria, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. He also desired to rule the Goths and the Romans with equal firmness, and to put them both in the same position with regard to himself. At the same time, being an Arian, he was always ill-regarded by the orthodox court of Constantinople. He had a large army of 100,000 men, formed entirely of Goths, and a fleet of 1000 ships, which protected his coast from the incursions of the Vandals and the Byzantines. Using his own people for war, he gave up commerce and industry to his Roman subjects, whom he also employed in the business of administration. He is represented to have said, "Let other kings gain booty and half-ruined towns by war and slaughter; my object is, by God's help, to conquer in such a way that my subjects may regret that they did not come under my rule before." In the year 500, he issued an edict declaring the principles on which he intended to govern. It was founded on Roman legislation, and had for its object the gradual education of the Goths in Roman ways and the union of the two peoples. He established a number of *grafes*, or counts, whose business it was to exercise equal justice between the two races. In his youth, Theodoric had been a hostage at Constantinople, and had there learnt to admire art and literature. He therefore favoured these, and did his best to preserve the remains of Roman magnificence. All his contemporaries regarded him with admiration and reverence, but his reign was naturally not without its difficulties, which began with matters of religion. The emperor of Constantinople, Justin I., stimulated by his nephew Justinian, began to persecute the Arians, upon which, in 526, Theodoric sent an embassy to the Byzantine emperor, with Pope John at its head, to protest against this action. The request was refused, and Theodoric found that some of his best and most trusted advisers were ill-disposed to the Arian faith. In consequence of this, Boethius, one of the glories of the empire, and Symmachus, a senator of high rank and influence, were put to death. The work of Boethius, "The Consolations of Philosophy," written during his imprisonment, remains a masterpiece to the present day. Theodoric died at Ravenna on August 26, 528. Soon after his death, the ashes of "the accursed heretic," which his daughter

Amalasunta had hidden under a mass of granite, were torn out of their resting-place and scattered to the winds, and the magnificent tomb which he had erected for himself remains empty, as a testimony to posterity of the greatness of its builder, and a memorial of the mutability of fortune. Theodoric had intended that the succession should pass to Eutharic, his daughter's husband, but Eutharic was dead, and Theodoric committed the care of the kingdom to Amalasunta, because her son, Athalaric, was too young to assume the government, and, after the death of her child, she reigned for some time alone. The Goths, however, did not like her encouragement of Roman customs and culture, and her opening the harbour of Sicily to the Greeks. To defend herself, she married a scion of the royal house, called Theodohat, and shared the government with him. But the arrangement did not last, and she was murdered in the year 535.

After the disappearance of the family of Theodosius, the court of Constantinople gradually fell into a condition of corruption and confusion, occupied partly by the quarrels of the Circus and partly by disputes about religion. The weakness of the emperors gave power to the church, and ecclesiastical affairs assumed an unhealthy prominence. After the death of Zeno the Isaurian, in 491, and Anastasius, during whose reign the empire had been afflicted by numerous incursions of the Bulgarians and other barbaric tribes, who had to be bought off either by the payment of money or by the concession of land, Justin I. succeeded in 518, an uneducated, but wise and vigorous sovereign, who restored some appearance of order to the afflicted empire.

But the old prosperity was not restored till the reign of his nephew and successor, Justinian, one of the most illustrious sovereigns of history, who reigned from 527 to 565. His chief legacy to posterity was the

**Justinian.** Corpus Juris, in compiling which he was assisted by the jurist Tribonianus. It comprises, first, the Institutions, an introductory book for learners; secondly, the Pandects, a digest of authoritative juristic writings; next, the Codex Justinianus, a codification of imperial enactments; and lastly, the Novels, or laws recently issued. It has exercised less influence in England than elsewhere, but in several parts of the world, e.g. in Germany and in South Africa, it remains the cornerstone of jurisprudence. In 529, Justinian put an end to

the philosophical schools which still existed in Athens, and thus rooted out the last remains of heathenism, and he built the great cathedral of Santa Sophia, which still exists at Constantinople as one of the most worthy examples of Roman architecture. At home, he crushed the dissensions of the Circus by the slaughter of 30,000 of the Greek faction. Abroad, he both secured and extended the frontiers of the Roman empire. In the North, by the erection of eighty fortresses, he put a stop to the invasions of the Bulgarians, Avars, and other Danubian tribes; and in the East, he checked the incursions of the famous new Persian king, Chosroes, or Nushirvan, partly by arms and partly by the payment of money; in the West, he formed the plan of conquering Italy and establishing the Roman empire on its former basis. Geiseric, the Vandal, who died in 477, was succeeded by his son Hunneric, and in 523 the gentle Hilderic came to the throne. As he was unwilling to follow the examples of his predecessors by persecuting the orthodox Christians, he was deposed by his cousin Gelimer and thrown into prison. Justinian seized the opportunity of avenging him, and of thus arriving at the execution of his designs. The great general Belisarius, who had fought with distinction against the Persians, was now sent to Africa to attack Gelimer. In a campaign of six months, he captured Carthage, and put an end to the Vandal kingdom, which had lasted for ninety-five years and was now made into a Greek exarchy. On his return to the capital, Belisarius was saluted as the third conqueror of Carthage, and was allowed to celebrate a triumph, in which Gelimer was led as a captive. At this time, as we have already related, Amalasunta was murdered by Theodohat, and Justinian sent Belisarius to avenge her in 535, the year after the destruction of the Vandal empire in Africa. Belisarius captured Sicily, stormed Naples, and would have entered Rome had not Justinian, it is said from jealousy, given a command to Narses, which prevented unity of action. The consequence of this was that Milan, which had been already conquered, fell back again into the hands of the Goths, assisted by the Burgundians.

**Belisarius  
reconquers  
Africa.**

**His Con-  
quests in  
Italy.**

Vitiges, who had succeeded the deposed Theodohat as king of the Goths, now stirred up the Persians to attack the empire, in order that Belisarius might be recalled from Italy. But before his departure he got possession of Ravenna, took Vitiges prisoner, and carried him off to Constantinople. The Goths

chose as successor to Vitiges, Totila, who, in a short time, drove out the Greek exarch, and recovered almost the whole of Italy for the Goths. Belisarius was sent to Italy again, and succeeded in conquering Rome; but, being left by the emperor without sufficient reinforcements, asked that he might be recalled, whereupon Totila again became master of Rome.

Narses came in the place of Belisarius, with a large army of mercenaries, chiefly of German nationality, and defeated the Goths

**Narses** at Tagina, at the foot of the Apennines, in July 552,  
**destroys the** a battle in which Totila was wounded and slain.  
**Ostrogoths.**

Narses then occupied Rome, and marched to the south to encounter Tejas, who had succeeded Totila as king of the Goths. The decisive battle was fought at Nocera in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius, and Tejas, who fought like a hero, fell. After a few more ineffectual struggles, the Ostrogothic kingdom came to an end in 555. Narses celebrated his triumph in Rome, exhibiting as trophies in the city the arms and treasures of the Goths, Franks, and Allemanni, while the soldiers, with garlands on their heads, sang hymns in honour of the conqueror. Italy became a province of the

**Italy re-** stored to the Empire. Byzantine empire, but its splendour and prosperity had entirely disappeared. With the death of Justinian in 565, ancient history may be said to have come to an end. The new nations, who were to change the face of Europe, had begun to assert themselves. The story which we have told ends with an undoubted hero, whose character has been much maligned. We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to distinguish between truth and falsehood, but we shall not go far wrong if we give him credit for the great actions of his reign, and recognise that they could only have been accomplished by a union of exalted ambition and of great capacity, which is not likely to have been stained with the meanness and vices which some historians of the Byzantine court have delighted to attribute to him.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FRANKISH EMPIRE 486-768—RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM, 570-802.

TEN years after the first appearance of Odoacer in Italy, the last possession of the Romans in the West was also lost, falling into the hands of the Salian or Merovingian Franks, who founded the Frankish empire under Chlodwig or Clovis. The Franks, who had been previously settled by the Yssel and the sea, and were, therefore, called **The Salian Franks.** Salians or Meerings, as they lived in the Saalgau or the Meergau, came into Belgium under Chlodio, who was son of Faramund, and then, led by Chlodio's son Merwig, and with the help of his own son Childeric, spread over South Brabant and Liège along the Maas and the Sambre to the Somme. The Salians, being of a free and independent nature and discontented with the arbitrary government of Childeric, called to their assistance Aegidius, who was the Roman viceroy who ruled over a small district round Paris and Soissons. However, the rule of Aegidius suited them no better, and they recalled Childeric, who had taken refuge with Basinus, king of the Thuringians. While there, he gained the affections of Basina, the wife of Basinus, who bore him a son, Chlodwig or Clovis, and with them he returned and resumed his reign. When Childeric died, Clovis, now fifteen years old, succeeded him and took Tournay for his capital, other Frankish tribes, governed by princes of the house of Faramund, being also settled in Belgium. Clovis allied himself with some of these princes, and also with **Conquests of Clovis.** another body of Franks called Ripuarians, and with their help defeated Syagrius, the son of Aegidius, in the battle of Soissons in 486, and thus founded the Frankish empire, which extended as far as the central and lower Loire. Armorica, the modern



Brittany, remained independent, but the rest of northern Gaul easily submitted to him, because a number of Frankish immigrants had previously filtered into it. Clovis, who was of an enterprising and aspiring character, was not content with what he had done, but proceeded to defeat the Burgundians, at Dijon, in 501—the Allemanni, probably at Tolbiacum or Zülpich, near Cologne, in 506—and finally the Visigoths, at Vouillé, in 507.

The Allemanni were at this time settled on the Main, occupying the lands on the middle Rhine which had been

**Burgundy.** deserted by the Burgundians. The Burgundians, at the beginning of the fifth century, had removed to the south of Gaul, and had founded a Burgundian kingdom on the Rhone and in Switzerland and Savoy. They were, however, distracted by civil dissensions. In 470, their country was divided amongst four brothers—Hilperic, reigning in Geneva, Gundebald in Lyons, Godegisel in Besançon, and Godemar in Vienna. Gundebald slew Godemar and Hilperic in war, and carried off to Lyons Hilperic's treasures and his daughter Chlotilde. Clovis then married Chlotilde. The Franks were heathens and the Burgundians Christians, but, in the battle of Zülpich, as it is called, which we have already mentioned, Clovis took an oath that if he won he would become a Christian. He was baptized, with 3000 of his nobles, by Remigius, the bishop of Rheims. As

**Clovis baptized.** Clovis was orthodox, and all the other German princes Arians, he found supporters among the orthodox subjects of all neighbour kings. Chlotilde, it is said, stirred up Clovis to attack Gundebald for having slain her father, Hilperic, but his life was spared, and by killing his remaining brother Godegisel he became king of all Burgundy, governed it well, and gave it a code of laws. After this, Clovis proceeded, on the plea of religion, to attack the Arian Visigoths, adding to his dominions most of the country between the Loire and the Pyrenees. He was stopped from further advance by Theodoric the Great, whose grandson was now king of the Visigoths. Clovis received the title of Patricius from the emperor of the East. Being greatly assisted by his orthodoxy, he succeeded, by either force or fraud, in gradually getting the greater part of Gaul under his sway, and when he died, in 511, left it to be divided between his four sons—a disastrous practice, which caused civil war and prevented unity.

All this happened before the reign of Justinian, of which we

have already given an account. Justinian was succeeded by his nephew Justin II., whose weakness and incompetence lost the possession of Italy, which his uncle had won. In 568, Alboin, king of the Lombards, who were settled in Pannonia, having destroyed the Gepidae, with the help of the Avars, gave up his country to them as a reward for their assistance, and, reinforced by some bodies of Slavs or Saxons, marched with his whole nation to Italy, which he overran as far as the Tiber, with the exception of the sea-coast of Venetia and Liguria. After the battle of Pavia in 569, he founded the Lombard kingdom in Italy. He had married Rosamunda, the daughter of Kunimund, king of the Gepidae, whom he had killed in single combat. However, when in a drunken fit he compelled her to drink wine out of her father's skull, which he used as a goblet, she murdered him in his sleep, with the help of her paramour, Helmichis. Having failed to obtain the throne which she had coveted, she fled with her treasures and her lover to Ravenna, where they killed each other by poison. The Lombards first chose Kleph to be their king, and then murdered him, so that for ten years they remained without a king. But, finding that this arrangement led to civil war and weakness against their enemies, in 584, they chose Autharis, who, to resist the Franks, made an alliance with the Bavarians—*Bajuarii*—whose domains extended from the Danube to the Alps. The Bavarians were a German nation, composed of Marcomannic and Gothic elements. They formerly occupied the country between the Lech and the Ems, reaching beyond the Danube in the north, and as far as Trent in the south. Autharis, following the usual custom, married Theodelinde, the daughter of the Bavarian king whom he had conquered, who bore the name of Garibald, but he died in the following year, 590. The Lombards then invited his beautiful and pious widow to be their queen, and to marry any one of them whom she might choose. She selected Duke Agilulf of Turin, and made him king. He was baptized into the Catholic faith, upon which many of the Lombards deserted Arianism. After her second marriage, Theodelinde built the cathedral of Monza, in which is still preserved the iron crown with which the kings of Lombardy have always been crowned, said to have been formed out of a nail which was used in the crucifixion of Christ.

To return to the Franks. After the death of Clovis in 511, his kingdom was divided amongst his four sons. Theodoric, the

eldest, received the eastern portion, known as Austrasia, chiefly German, which he enlarged by the conquest of most

**Austrasia** of Thuringia. He placed his capital in Metz.  
**and** Chlodomer was settled in Orleans, Childebert in  
**Neustria.** Paris, and Chlothar (Lothair) in Soissons. These

three provinces were known as Neustria, or the country of the West Franks, the prevailing language being French. The West

**Chlothar I.** Franks conquered Burgundy. Chlothar I. was

fortunate enough to outlive his brothers, and, in 558, became king of the whole of the Frankish domains from the Atlantic to the Unstrut, and nearly to the Adriatic, but, dying in 561, again divided his domains between his four sons. This led to terrible family feuds, which were accentuated by the

**Fredegunde** bitter hatred between Fredegunde of Neustria  
**and** and Brunhilde of Austrasia, which made the  
**Brunhilde.** Merovingian house notorious for domestic quarrels.

Brunhilde was the wife of Sigebert, who died at Metz in 575, leaving one son, Childebert II., who died in 596, his line coming to an end in 613. Fredegunde was the wife of Chilperic I., and their son, Chlothar II., succeeded eventually to the whole

**Dagobert.** Frankish kingdom, dying in 628. His son,

Dagobert I., who died in 638, became king of the whole Frankish empire, and has left a reputation scarcely inferior to that of Clovis. After his death came the

**The Rois** "Rois Fainéants," the do-nothing kings, who  
**Fainéants.** lived in retreat, wore long fair hair, the sign of  
 their sovereignty, but only showed themselves

occasionally, driving in waggons to public assemblies, the real power being exercised by the *major domus*, the mayor of the palace, from whom sprang the mighty Charlemagne, Charles the Great, the one sovereign in history whose title has become part of his name.

Before we leave the Merovingians, we must give an account of the constitution of their government and show that it was

**The Mero-** borrowed from the Roman polity, which they  
**vingian Con-** found existing in the countries which they con-  
**stitution.** quered. There can be no doubt that the Mero-

vingian constitution followed in all important respects the pattern of the Roman empire, and there is no evidence of its having been affected by German individualism. There is no trace of the monarchy having been elective; the succession of the throne passed like a private estate, and could be left by will. Every prince reigned by virtue of the natural order of succes-

sion, two things being necessary, the act of installation, and the taking of the oath of fidelity of the whole people. There was a meeting of the people in arms, held in spring, called the Champ de Mars, or the Champ de Mai, but it was only a military inspection, and it had no deliberative character and no influence over the government. Neither Clovis nor his successors ever held an assembly of the Frankish people. There was a Frankish nobility, but it was not hereditary, and was conferred by the king. We find five terms used to designate nobles amongst the Franks: Leudes, Antrustions, Optimates, Proceres, and Nobiles. Leude, which is a form of the German *Leute* or people, is a correlative term. A leude was always a leude of some one. Antrustion is a person in the trust of the king—that is, owing allegiance, or as the prayer-book says, “affiance and trust in him.” A man was made an antrustion by the king, and he was of higher rank than a leude. Optimates and proceres signified a nobility of service which was not hereditary, and nobiles was a general term for persons of rank.

The king never performed royal acts of government alone. He was always surrounded by a small group of persons, who deliberated and discussed with him, and who offered their advice on all subjects, but he was not bound to consult them by law, but by a convention of the constitution. This court was composed of bishops, dukes, and counts. But no one attended this council as a matter of right. Sometimes the whole of the bishops and grandees were summoned, sometimes only a part of them. They were summoned one day, and not the next. The Roman emperors also consulted their consistory; they did not think it necessary to say that they had done so, but it became the custom of the Merovingian chancery to declare that the royal act had been done in council, and that it had the approval of the grandees. There is no sign of the intervention of the people in legislation, or of a popular assembly. The king was called *dominus*, and disobedience to a simple letter of the king was punished by a fine equal to that of murder. At the same time, he could not promulgate a law or *lex*. This word seems to have been reserved partly for the old Roman laws which were always venerated, and partly for national customs which bore the sanction of antiquity. At the same time, the royal edicts had all the force of laws.

Under the Merovingians there was no national assembly

possessing political rights, no aristocratic body with traditions of independence, no people electing their kings, no people making laws. There was neither by the side of the king nor in front of him any institution which limited his power. The Gauls under the dominion of the Romans had been used to a highly organised form of government, and they obeyed the Frankish king as they had previously obeyed the praetorian praefect. The Merovingians considered the kingship and the kingdom as their property. Not only were all the public affairs of the kingdom in the hands of the king, not only was he the master of peace and war, of taxes, laws and justice, but he could intervene in private affairs with arbitrary power. A new name for the wish of the king was *bannus* or *ban*. Every one was bound to obey the king's ban. The Frankish kings soon adopted the Roman ensigns of royalty. They wore the purple tunic like the Roman consuls; they had the sceptre, the throne, and the crown of gold; their letters were called oracles, and their residence was called the sacred palace. The old law of *laesa majestas* (*lèse majesté*), or high treason, was applied by them with great severity.

Under the Roman empire, the Palatium was, at once, the court of the emperor and the seat of government, and we find the same among the Franks. The name of Palace

**The King's Palace.** was given by them to the king's house and also to the persons comprising the king's court, who followed him about wherever he went. It was also called *aula*, *aula palatina*, or *domus regis*. The members of the royal court were called *aulici* or *palatini*: to live in the king's court was a privilege highly envied. The members of the court were also called *nutriti*, or persons fed by the king, *convivae regis*, or persons entitled to eat at the king's table, where matters of state were frequently discussed. No one was admitted to the palace except by wish of the king; no birth, however noble, gave a person a right to it. The king could exclude any one he pleased—indeed, to be driven from it was the punishment for certain offences; no one, once admitted to it, could leave it without the permission of the king. Many persons passed the whole of their lives in the palace. They entered young, and grew old in it, passing through the various degrees of the palatial hierarchy, beginning as *aulicus*, then becoming *comes*, then *domesticus*, then *conviva regis*, then *procer* or *optimas*. Children were sent to the palace very young, and a school was held there, attended by both Franks and Romans. The

men employed in the personal service of the king held a very high rank. First came the *pincerna*, or butler, who had charge of the king's wine; then the *cubicularii*, or chamberlains, who had charge of the king's bedchamber; then the *senescalcus*, seneschal or steward, who had charge over the servants; then the *marescalcus* or marshal, who had charge of the king's horses, and under him was the *comes stabuli*, the count of the stable or constable, a name given to various ranks, ranging from the village policeman to the constable of France, second only to the king himself. Also the king's chapel was of great importance, and especially the relics it contained. No act of justice or procedure could take place without the relics of some saint; even the oath of fidelity to the king had to be taken in this way. The chapel, like the palace, always followed the king. Even down to the end of the French monarchy in 1870, the place where the sovereign slept, even though it were a hovel, was always called the palace.

Such was the domestic part of the palace, but it was also the centre of government, and the administration of the kingdom was carried on there. There were the ministers and their offices, called *Scrinia*. From the palace came royal wills, precepts, authorities, decrees, edicts, *capitula*, and charters, which were written by notaries or *amanuenses* or *scriptores*, names all borrowed from the Roman empire. There were also chancellors or referendaries, the duty of these last being to present documents for signature, and to sign them themselves. The treasury also held an important position in the palace. It was at once a depository of money, a storehouse for precious objects, and a *depôt* for archives. The palace also contained a class of persons called *domestici*, who must not be confounded with *antrustiones* or *convivae*. Some of them were directors of domains, while others looked after the household. They were officers of very high rank. At the head of them was the *comes palatii*, the count of the palace, whose functions eventually obscured those of the king himself. His most important duties were judicial; he had charge of the palace court. The Frankish kings had no capital properly so called. Paris, Metz, and Orleans were their principal towns, but the kings did not live in them, and the government did not sojourn in them. The palace followed the king about from villa to villa, and never left him. It was a moving capital, an ambulatory government. It was the supreme tribunal of the kingdom, and the supreme council of the state. Indeed, the palace was

The King's  
Ministers.

the most important institution of the Merovingian period. Perhaps what most nearly resembles it is the court of an Indian prince at the present day.

This being the position of the palace, we cannot be surprised that the mayor of the palace came to have such great importance in the kingdom. The *major domus* was, at first, a term used only in private families, and was given to one who had charge both of the domains and of the servants. It was known to Roman society in the fifth century, but was not found in the imperial palace. It is, however, found amongst the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Burgundians. Among them we find strong expressions used about the power of the mayors of the palace. We are told that he governs the palace, he governs the court of the king, he is raised above the royal house. All the services of the palace are directed by him; he is like a prince of the palace; he governs the body of the *palatini*, who govern the kingdom. There is no doubt that as head of the palace he had the right of justice and coercion over all the persons who composed the palace—that is, over the *grandeas* of the kingdom. It was naturally not intended to create an officer with such extended powers, but as the palace gradually concentrated into itself all the powers of the kingdom, so the authority of the mayor of the palace grew. He became the first judge, the first treasurer, the first administrator; he took the royal place in the absence of the king; he directed the finances and imposed the taxes; he was guardian of the royal domains. His powers were indefinite and unrestricted. He was sometimes a judge, sometimes a general, more often an administrator than a soldier; he had charge of all kinds of things, and he was responsible for everything; every one consulted him. Much depended on his personal character, his goodness, his pride, or his cupidity, for he could enrich himself when he pleased, and he alone pronounced restoration or confiscation of lands. Thus, his duties, without being defined, extended to everything. The Merovingian king had no master of the offices, no count of the sacred largesses, no master of the soldiers. Their places were taken in great measure by the mayor of the palace, who was the first minister—indeed, the only minister—of this absolute monarchy. At first the mayor was appointed by the king, but eventually the palace elected both its mayor and its king. We shall see presently that the mayor became eventually entirely independent, and ended by securing the throne, but during two-

thirds of the Merovingian period the palace was only a collection of the king's court, and the mayor of the palace was the servant whom the king appointed to govern the others in his name.

The relations between the Frankish monarchy and the church are very important. The Franks did not introduce their pagan religion into France, as they were converted at the moment of invasion. But the church of the fifth century was not the primitive church; its dogma was fixed, and it was arranged in hierarchies. Originally Christianity bore a very democratic character; the church formed a community which was called the *ecclesia* or the assembly; its chiefs were called elders, presbyters, or priests; its head was an *episcopos* or overlooker, eventually changed to bishop; its servants were deacons. It presented itself to the eyes of the outer world as a close body, a *clerus*, whereas the rest of the world was called the crowd, *laos*, so that the community was divided into clergy and laity. But this democratic character was lost as soon as the church began to take to itself the character of the Roman empire. The church, like the empire, was divided into provinces and *civitates*; the city became a parish; the province was ruled over by a metropolitan. The bishop of Rome did not at first possess any great authority. Milan and Ravenna were the two seats of government in Italy. Below the bishop was often, at this time, his assistant the *chorepiscopus*. There were also archpriests and archdeacons, the last named having authority over the religious services, the discipline of the clergy, the revenues, and the salaries. An archdeacon must be a man of ability.

It thus happened that the Frankish kings when they arrived in Gaul found a strong episcopate, having great power over souls, strongly attached to the constitution of the state, more venerated and more influential than the municipal magistrates, independent of the imperial power, which rarely interfered with it, but subordinate to the people, who sometimes claimed to elect the new bishop and sometimes to depose him. The new nations of the country had no feelings of hostility against the episcopate. Clovis treated with the bishops before he became king, and, after he was baptized affected to consult them. He enriched them with the lands which he had conquered. But the monarchy gradually got the election of bishops into its hands, and either dominated the episcopate, or appeared to dominate

**The Church  
in the Fifth  
Century.**

**The Church  
and the  
Frankish  
Kings.**



it. It is not, however, till 549 that we find the will of the king specified as a feature in the appointment of bishops. The king at first exercised only a veto, later the actual right of nomination.

The Frankish kings were so intent upon establishing a right to nominate the bishops that they did not care about limiting their power. That power grew by the belief which all Christians had of a future state of reward and punishment. The first interest of every one in this world was to procure for himself a place in the next. The church disposed of every one's destiny. The punishment of excommunication was very severe, but, if the church had punishments, it had also rewards—all festivals were church festivals, the body of a saint was a most precious possession. In a powerful church, the bishop was the most powerful person; he seemed to hold the place of Christ himself, as the visible head of the community. He was the mediator between God and man, a sacred being, and the common people regarded him as a saint, which he often was,—the power of the episcopate being indeed greatly due to the high characters of the men who held the office. He was supposed to cure diseases by making the sign of the cross, by allowing people to touch his garment, by giving them water to drink. If he did not do miracles during his lifetime, it was certain that he would do them after his death. The church became immensely rich: lands and money were given to it in profusion. Attached to the soil were a number of serfs, all devoted to the church. It also possessed in every city a number of men who had received some kind of orders and were called *clerici*, though they might marry and have families, and sometimes kept shops. Large numbers of the poor were also maintained by the church, and these swelled the adherents of the bishops. Many of the bishops had proceeded from the palace; they had passed part of their lives as referendaries or counts, and had acquired a knowledge of affairs, and naturally kept up close relations with the palace from which they had come. All these things helped to strengthen the power of the bishops; they acted almost as temporal sovereigns, and tended to reduce to impotence the old municipal magistrates. The bishops gradually made for themselves a place by the side of the counts, and shared public authority with the functionaries of the king.

The church in Germany owes its strength and, indeed, its existence largely to missionaries, who were sent at the end

of the sixth century from Ireland and England to preach the gospel in the interior of that country, which, in the seventh century, had a powerful effect upon the church in France. The conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons, who were heathens, led to the destruction of Christianity, which had been introduced by the Romans. It was founded again by Pope Gregory the Great, who sent forty missionaries to England, led by Augustine. They found there King Aethelbert of Kent and his queen, Bertha, who was the daughter of a Frankish prince, and a Christian. She converted her husband, and they and their family did much to spread Christianity throughout the island, and founded bishoprics, the chief of which was established at Canterbury in Kent, of which Augustine became archbishop. Ireland had already been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick in the fifth century, and first from Ireland, and then from England, proceeded missionaries who brought the gospel to Scotland and then to those parts of Germany which were either as yet unconverted or had fallen back into heathendom. Amongst these may be mentioned the Irishman St. Columba, who, between 590 and 615, accompanied by twelve missionaries, went to the Allemanni, and worked in the Vosges mountains, at Zürich, and at Bregenz on the lake of Constance. His companion, Gallus, who worked between 590 and 640, founded the monastery of St. Gallen, which gave its name to a canton in Switzerland, and was a seat of education and enlightenment to that portion of Europe, extending to the whole of southern Germany. Kilian, bishop of Würzburg, preached among the Franks, and Emmeram, bishop of Poitou, in Bavaria. The Anglo-Saxon Willibrord came to Germany at the close of the seventh century with eleven missionaries, and, with the help of Pepin, converted the Frisians.

**The Church  
in Germany,**

**in England  
and Ireland.**

**The Irish  
and English  
Missionaries.**

Meanwhile Gregory the Great (540-604) did much to establish the position of the bishop of Rome and to strengthen the unity of the church; and Benedict of Nursia, who died in 543, had set on foot a reform of the monasteries. His chief foundation was the monastery of Monte Cassino, in the centre of Italy, and from this proceeded a number of smaller monasteries, which devoted themselves to manual labour, to agriculture, to study, and to the education of youth. Indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate the services which the Benedictine Order has rendered to the cause of learning in the world.

Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy all possessed mayors of the palace, the growth and extent of whose powers have just been described, and it was natural that they should quarrel with each other. At last, in 687, Pepin, of Heristal, now a suburb of Liège, who was grandson of Pepin of Landen, becoming mayor of the palace in Austrasia, defeated his Neustrian and Burgundian rivals in the battle of Testri, on the Somme, and became mayor of the palace for all the kingdom. He was in fact, though not in name, the king of the Franks, and, under the weak government of the "do nothing" kings, was able to consolidate his power and to pass it on to his descendants.

**Pepin of  
Heristal.**

The son of Pepin of Heristal was Charles, called Martel, or the Hammer (714–741), who united the whole of the Frankish empire under his rule. Under him, Christianity was threatened by the advance of Islam or Mohammedanism, of which we shall speak in the latter part of this chapter. The Arabs and the Moors of Spain crossed the Pyrenees into France, with the object of converting the whole of that country to their own faith. The very existence of Christianity seemed to be at stake, when, in 732, Charles defeated the invaders in a battle which was fought between Tours and Poitiers, and lasted several days. Even then, for some time, Mohammedans were able to maintain themselves in Septimania in the south of Gaul. After the death of Charles Martel, his two sons by his first marriage divided the kingdom, Karlmann, the eldest, taking Austrasia, and Pepin, the younger, Neustria and Burgundy. Karlmann went into a monastery, and Pepin, called "le Bref" or the Short, undertook the government of the kingdom. His rule was so efficient that, in 752, at a diet held at Soissons, the Frankish nobles, with the concurrence of Pope Zacharias, deposed Childeric III., last of the Merovingians, and made Pepin king of the Franks.

**Pepin le  
Bref.**

This had a great influence over the fate of the church, because, in the meantime, Winfrid, an Englishman, better known as Boniface, had begun the labours which insured him the title of the Apostle of Germany. He not only preached in Germany, but by his zeal and devotion effected the conversion of the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians. Bavaria, which had been previously converted by Severinus and Emmeram, was also stimulated by him, and the episcopal sees in Germany which were either founded or

**Boniface in  
Germany.**

reformed by him were brought into closer connection with the see of Rome. Winfrid, who was born at Kyrton in Wessex in 680 or 683, had first worked amongst the Frisians under Willibrord, and had then received the eastern part of the land of the Franks as his missionary field from Pope Gregory II. Pope Gregory III. made him archbishop of Germany, without any special see, in 742. He was supported strongly by Karlmann and Pepin, who made him archbishop of Mainz, by which he became primate of Germany. He founded the bishopric of Buraburg in Hesse, now represented by Fritzlar, the monastery of Fulda, the bishoprics of Würzburg and Eichstädt in Thuringia, the bishoprics of Regensburg, Freising, Passau, and Salzburg in Bavaria. At the close of his life, he committed the care of his archbishopric to his pupil Lullus, and devoted himself to the conversion of the Frisians, amongst whom, at the age of seventy, he suffered a martyr's death at Dokkum in 754. The heathens whom he was attempting to convert, seeing the Bible and the church vessels which he brought with him, thought they were of value, and fell upon him and killed him, with fifty-two of his companions.

Pepin saw that the security of his government depended greatly upon the support of the Roman church, and the bishop of Rome was desirous of obtaining the support of the Franks for himself, as he was threatened both by the Lombards and by the exarch of Ravenna. So Pepin received the consecration of the pope, which was afterward given to his successors. He also assisted Pope Stephen in his struggle against the Lombard king, Aistulf, defeated him in two campaigns, and took away from him the exarchate of Ravenna, which he gave to the pope. This was known as the "Donation of Pepin." It did not include the city of Rome, but it was the foundation of the temporal power of the pope, which lasted for eleven hundred years, and did not come to an end till September 20, 1870. In 756, Pepin made the Saxons of Westphalia tributary to him, and destroyed the domination of the Moors in Septimania. After establishing the duchy of Aquitaine as a state tributary to the Franks, he died in 768. He left his kingdom to his two sons, Charles and Carloman, but, in order to avoid the dissensions which arose from the division into East and West—that is, into France and Germany—he attempted to unite the two nationalities by a division into North-East and South-West, of which,

**Pepin and  
the Pope.**

Charles received Austrasia, with Thuringia and Bavaria, but also much of Neustria and the land between the Loire and the Garonne: Carloman, ruling the rest of Neustria, had also Burgundy, Provence, Alsace, Allemannia and part of Aquitaine.

In the Byzantine empire, Justin II., the nephew of Justinian, was succeeded by Tiberius II., and both of them were much troubled by the attacks of Nushirvan, the shah of Persia. Maurice, who succeeded, was similarly oppressed by the Avars and Scythians; and Phocas, who reigned from 602 to 610, and who is chiefly known by the tall column which bears his name in the Forum at Rome, established a reign of terror which made matters worse. The Persians had robbed the Eastern empire of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and were encamped opposite

Constantinople, so that the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) gave up everything as lost, and determined to take refuge in Carthage. His courage was, however, revived by the energy of the patriarch; he defeated the Persians in three campaigns, and at last obtained a brilliant victory over Chosroes II. at Nineveh in 627. But he did not succeed in reviving the strength of the empire, which suffered under a despotic government, and was torn asunder by ecclesiastical disputes. The weakness of the Eastern empire and of the religion which it professed gave an opportunity for the advance of Islam, which took its rise in Arabia.

The Arabians were a Semitic race, consisting partly of a settled people established in towns, and partly of wandering nomads, the ancestors of the modern Bedouins.

**The Arabs.** They had originally, like the Hebrews, worshipped one God, but they gradually fell into polytheism, and, in the south, into the worship of stars. One of their principal objects of worship was the Kaaba, a meteoric stone, for which a temple had been built in Mecca. The care of the stone had been committed to the Bedouins, who thus became lords of Mecca; but disturbances arose, and in the middle of the fifth century the Kaaba came into the possession of a Bedouin race called the Koreits.

Abdul Kasem Mohammed, son of Abdallah, was born at Mecca in 570, of the Koreit family of the Hashem. He had great gifts both of mind and of body, and was certainly one of the most remarkable men who ever came into the world. He

lost his parents at an early age, and was brought up by his uncle, Abu-Taleb. He travelled with trading caravans in southern Arabia and Syria, and, at last, managed the business of a rich widow, called Kadija, whom he married. Devoted to religious reflection, he withdrew from the world, and spent the whole of his time during the sacred month Ramadan in a cave.

**Birth of  
Mohammed.**

Mohammed had met both in Mecca and on his travels with Jews and Christians, and by their teaching, as well as by his own reflection, he became convinced of the superiority of the worship of a single God to the polytheism which surrounded him. He had also learnt that both Jews and Christians looked for the coming of a teacher—Jews of a Messiah, Christians of a Paraclete, the promised Holy Spirit. Thus he gradually became persuaded that his own people required a purer religion, and an inspired prophet. Now, at the age of forty, he began to feel the birth of new ideas. The Angel Gabriel appeared to him in his cave, and bade him reveal his message to the world. Kadija believed in him and encouraged him, and the angel appeared to him a second time. At last, in 610 or 612, came the night of the secret resolution, the "Leila al Kuds." He determined to proclaim himself the messenger and ambassador of Allah the one God, the lord of heaven and earth. His first disciples were his wife, Kadija, his daughter, his cousin Ali, then ten years old, his friend Abu Bekr, an upright merchant, and his emancipated slave, Zeid. He attempted to conciliate the new faith with the old, suppressing the worship of Kaaba and the pilgrimages undertaken to it. In the first three years, his disciples did not exceed forty. In the fourth, he addressed his tribe the Koreits, and threatened them with the fires of hell if they did not give up their polytheism, but he encountered contempt and ridicule. A number of his followers, among whom were Rukeija and her husband Othman, took refuge in Abyssinia, where they were protected by the king, who was a Nestorian Christian. Persecution had the effect of increasing the number of his disciples in Mecca, the chief of whom were his uncle, Hamza, called the "Lion of God," and Omar, the son of his principal antagonist, Abu Djal. Omar was then twenty-six years old, a man of gigantic stature, of marvellous strength, and of great courage. With his wild look and his heavy staff, he was able to make people afraid

**He pro-  
claims him-  
self the  
Prophet of  
God.**

of him. But Mohammed was finally exiled, and had to take refuge for three years in a fortress in the wilderness, and did not return to Mecca until 620. Soon after this, Kadija died, an irreparable loss, but Mohammed consoled himself by marrying Sanda and by being betrothed to Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bekr, who was seven years old.

Mohammed was now fortified by new visions, and believed himself to be carried by a winged horse to the presence of God, in the seventh heaven. If the people of Mecca would not listen to him, he began to find adherents in Medina, especially in the tribe of the Chazradjites. At last, seventy-three believers from Medina came to him, and begged him to leave Mecca and go to them. He at first declined, and remained for three months in Mecca, but, when he heard that the Kureish had determined to murder him, he fled with Abu Bekr and Ali by night to Medina. This was the

**The Hegira.** Hegira, the beginning of the Moslem calendar, July 16, 622. He entered the city in triumph, and was supported by Ali, Omar, and Othman. He first approached the Jews, revered the Sabbath, and declared Jerusalem to be the Kibla, the place towards which every true Mohammedan turns when he prays. But the Jews rejected him for their Messiah, as they had previously rejected Jesus, so he turned to the Arabians, and made Mecca the Kibla and Friday his Sabbath. In Medina, the teaching of the prophet began to take a new development. His conversations with the Angel Gabriel became more frequent: his utterances were collected and formed the sacred book, the Koran. A mosque was built, called Mesdjid, a common house of prayer, out of palm trees. From its roof, Bilal called the faithful four times a day.

Mohammed now began to draw the sword. He defeated the Koreits at Beda in 624, and again at Ohod in 625. He

**Mohammed's Conquests.** attacked the Jews, who besieged him in Medina. In 629, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, and eventually brought it under his power in 630.

He returned to Medina as a victorious king, sought on all sides by ambassadors of friendly powers and by new adherents, while he sent his own embassy to the south and to the sea-coast to procure new believers in Islam. In 632 he made another pilgrimage to Mecca, when he walked round the Kaaba seven times with fervent prayers. Shortly after his return from Medina, he fell ill in the house of his wife Ayesha, and

died in her arms on June 8, 632. His last words were "Everlasting life in Paradise!" He died in the eleventh year of the Hegira, and the sixty-third year of his age, the prophet, poet, priest, and king of Arabia. **and Death.** He was buried in the place where he died, and his house was turned into a mosque, and became a place of pilgrimage like the Kaaba at Mecca. The corner stone of the belief of Islam is the Koran, a collection of the revelations made by the Angel Gabriel to Mohammed, ordered and arranged by Abu Bekr two years after the prophet's death. Islam attempts to revive the old religion of Abraham, while recognising both Judaism and Christianity; Moses and Jesus are regarded as the ambassadors of God, but Mohammed as his last and chief messenger. The fundamental belief of Islam is contained in the words, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." The Moslems also believe in angels, prophets, in the resurrection, last judgment, everlasting life, and predestination. If Islam is a decline from Christianity, it is a great advance on the former religion of the Arabs and on the teaching of the Parsees.

After the death of Mohammed, a contest arose about the succession, some following Ali, husband of the prophet's daughter, Fatima, and one of the purest and brightest spirits in the whole of the Moslem hierarchy, and others the powerful Abu Bekr, who became the first *khalif*, that is, representative of the prophet.

**Conquests  
of Abu  
Bekr and  
Omar.**

Abu Bekr took energetic steps to spread his religion, and, with the help of Kalid, conquered the Persian princes of Irak and Hira on the Euphrates, and wrested a large part of Syria from the Eastern empire. He died in 634, and was succeeded by Omar (634-644), a rough warrior, who took the title of Emir al Mumenin, commander of the faithful, and established a council of state called the divan. He conquered the Emperor Heraclius at the battle of Tiberias, and took from him, by 639, Damascus, together with Syria, Palestine, and Phoenicia. In 641, Amru, with the assistance of the Coptic Christians, who were opposed by the Byzantines, conquered Egypt and destroyed many thousand Christian churches. There is also little doubt that Omar caused the destruction of the world-famous library of Alexandria, an irreparable loss **and Persia.**

**Fall of  
Egypt,**

to literature. Also, in 642, he overthrew the powerful Persian empire, defended by the last Sassanid, Jezdegerd III., and



his brave general Rustum. This made Islam the predominant religion of the East. Bagdad on the Tigris soon became the principal seat for the Mohammedan world, of commerce, art, and science, and farther toward the East arose the princes of Bokhara, Balkh, and Samarcand. Soon after the conquest of Persia, Omar was murdered in Medina by a Persian slave.

Omar had, before his death, commanded the six oldest followers of the prophet to choose a new khalif from amongst them. They met in the house of Ayesha, and discussed for a time the conflicting claims of Ali and Othman, and the choice fell on Othman. He held the khalifate for twelve years, but without much reputation or success. Real power came into the hands of his cousin Moawija, of the tribe of the Ommajjads, who were spoken of in the Koran as the enemies of Islam, and internal disorder increased. At last, in 656, Othman was attacked and murdered.

**The Struggle for the Khalifate.** Ali was chosen as his successor, but he hesitated for some time to receive the position from blood-stained hands. He was bitterly opposed by Ayesha, Mohammed's widow, who disliked Fatima, the wife of Ali. Ayesha and her followers took refuge in Bozra, and Ali proceeded to attack them. The decisive battle was fought under the walls of Bozra in December 656, and was called the battle of the camels, because Ayesha directed it from the back of a camel, which the followers of Ali struggled in vain to capture. At last the animal was hamstrung, and Ayesha was captured. Ali entered Bozra as a conqueror, but he had new difficulties before him. Moawija had raised the standard of revolt in Damascus to avenge the death of his relation Othman, and had roused the Syrian Moslems against Ali. He was supported by Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, and Ali had to attack them. It is said that ninety battles were fought in one hundred and ten days, Ali losing 25,000 of his men, Moawija 45,000. At last, three Mussulmans swore that they would kill all three combatants, in order to put an end to the civil strife. Amru was slain by a poisoned dagger, Moawija was severely wounded, but not killed, and Ali, stabbed on entering a mosque, died two days afterwards. He left a son, Hussain, who continued the succession of his family in Mecca. By this time, Mohammedans were divided into the two sects of Sunnites and Shiites, which often fought furiously when they met. The Persians were mainly

**Sunnites  
and Shiites.**

Shiites, and regarded Ali as the rightful immediate successor of Mohammed.

The khalifate of the Ommaijads begins with Moawija. He moved his capital from Medina to Damascus, and attacked the Byzantines so vigorously, between the years 668 and 675, that they were only saved by the use of Greek fire. Between 692 and 705, Abdul Malek conquered Armenia, while his general, Musa, destroyed Carthage in 698, and completed the conquest of North Africa, the Berbers being compelled to become Mohammedans. Abdel Malek's successor, Walid (705-714), was the mightiest of the Ommaijads. He conquered the territory of the Oxus and Jaxartes in the East, and, in the West, crossed from Africa into Spain, and in 711 destroyed the kingdom of the Visigoths, and established a Moslem empire on its ruins. The cause of this lay in internal dissensions. The kingdom of the Visigoths, founded by Euric (466-484), was diminished by the conquests of Clovis in the north, and of the Byzantines in the south. In 687, King Leovigild restored its power by defeating the Suevi in Galicia, while his successor, Reccared, drove out the Byzantines from the peninsula and even crossed into Africa. Civil dissensions, however, arose, and King Vitiza, who attempted reforms, was deposed by the clergy and the nobles in 710, and Roderic put in his place. The sons of Vitiza then called the Arabs to their assistance to avenge their father.

The Moslem garrison of Ceuta sent an expedition into the peninsula, consisting of a force of 400 Africans and 100 Arabians. They landed to the south of Algeciras, at a place now called Tarifa from the name of their leader Tarif, and returned in a few days laden with booty and giving such an attractive account of the wealth and charms of the country that Musa, Emir of Africa, determined to attempt the conquest of it. The leave of the khalif of Damascus having been obtained, an army of 12,000 men was sent under the command of Tarik. It first attacked the famous rock which, like a couching lion, watches, as the outpost of England, over the straits, and which has ever since borne the name of its conqueror, Gibraltar, Gibal al Tarik, the mountain of Tarik. Having mastered this stronghold, Tarik met in conflict the governor of Andalusia, Roderic. The battle of Xeres de la Frontera lasted a whole week, beginning anew every morning. On the third day the fortunes of the Mussulmans were on the wane, when Tarik,

rising in his stirrups, cried, "Conquerors of Africa, whither will you flee? Behind you is the sea, before you is the foe. Follow your leader; I am resolved either to die or to place my foot on the neck of the fallen enemy." At last the battle was won. Roderic escaped to find an inglorious death in an obscure river. The date of this great battle, which gave the mastery of Spain to the Moors, was July 19-26, 711.

The victory of Tarik attracted crowds of invaders across the straits. Malaga fell, and then Granada. Cordova offered some resistance, but, after three months, was compelled to open its gates. Toledo, the capital of the Visigothic kingdom, was besieged by Tarik himself, and surrendered on honourable terms. The success of his lieutenant roused the jealousy of Musa, who, having tried in vain to recall him, made an expedition of his own. More cities fell before the onslaught of Tarik, but, when he heard of Musa's arrival, he hastened to his chief and laid the spoils of the Visigoths at his feet. His only reward was to be deprived of his rank and offices and to be cast into prison, from which he was with difficulty delivered. But in two years almost the whole of Spain was conquered, and the peninsula, from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees, obeyed the rule of the khalif of Damascus.

Musa, like Tarik, the victim of jealousy, was recalled, and reluctantly obeyed the command. He set out in triumph from Ceuta to Damascus; thirty waggons and countless camels bore the riches of Africa and Spain, while four hundred Gothic nobles swelled his train; his journey lasted for more than a year. When he reached Damascus, he found the khalif in the throes of death and Soliman ascended the throne. Musa was accused of embezzlement, found guilty, deprived of his property, and condemned to pay an enormous fine. At the age of seventy-eight, he was thrown into prison, scourged, and exposed on a pillory to the burning sun. His children were put to death, that they might not avenge the fate of their father, who died of a broken heart, while travelling as a beggar pilgrim on the road to Mecca.

The despotic rule, the cruelty, avarice, and sensuality of the Ommajjads roused the opposition of righteous Moslems. Civil dissensions ensued, and there came to be three parties in the khalifate,—the Ommajjads, who reigned in Syria and Spain, the Fatimites in Arabia, and the Abbasids (descended from Abbas, the uncle of the prophet), in the Eastern provinces of Asia. At last, the Abbasids rose in rebellion, overthrew the Ommai-

**Conquests  
and Fate of  
Tarik.**

**The Fate  
of Musa.**

jads, and founded the Abbasid khalifate, which reigned first in Damascus and afterwards in Bagdad. In order to secure their power, the Abbasids determined to exterminate the whole race of the Ommajjads. Abdallah, the uncle of the first Abbasid khalif, invited the leader of the Ommajjads to a feast at Damascus, under the pretence of making peace with them, and ninety of them made their appearance. At a given sign, they were all murdered, a large cloth was spread over their bodies, and the feast continued while some of them were still in the agonies of death. Only one, the famous Abderahman, escaped with great difficulty, took refuge in Spain, and founded there the emirate of Cordova, in 756.

In the meantime, the empire of the East was beset by troubles. After the dynasty of Heraclius came to an end, it was succeeded by Leo III., the Isaurian, who reigned from 717 to 741, and fought bravely against the Bulgarians and the Arabs. He made a vigorous campaign against the use of pictures in the churches, which had come into a condition of great abuse. Wonder-working pictures and statues had become common, and were the cause of grievous superstition, which aroused the contempt and abhorrence of the Mussulmans to such an extent that the representation of the human, or indeed any animal, form was entirely forbidden by them. After Leo III. had borne these excesses with patience for nine years, he issued an edict, in 726, with the consent of his senators and bishops, that all pictures should be removed from the altars, and placed in a position where they could not be touched or worshipped. When this half measure only produced worse effects, he ordered, in 728, that all pictures of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, or of the saints and martyrs, should be removed from the churches and holy places, and broken to pieces. The bitter strife between the Iconodules and the Iconoclasts lasted for more than a hundred years, and threatened the throne and the empire with destruction.

Leo was succeeded by Constantine V., who bore the insulting name of Copronymus, given him by the Iconodules, and then by Leo IV. (775-780). As Leo was in weak health, he was persuaded to associate with himself his son Constantine, then four years old, in order to secure the succession. On his death, the Empress Irene, who was fond of pictures and kept them secretly in her bedroom,

**The  
Abbasid  
Khalifate.**

**Leo, the  
Isaurian.**

**The Icono-  
clastic  
Struggle.**

**The Em-  
press Irene.**

became guardian of her son, and succeeded, with some difficulty, in establishing peace between the two parties. A synod, held at Nicaea in the autumn of 787, established, with the consent of the Eastern patriarch and of Pope Hadrian, that pictures might be revered by bending the knee, but not made objects of worship. When Constantine came to manhood, a quarrel arose between him and his mother, who wished to retain her power. She had to yield for a time, and Constantine VI., called Porphyrogenitus—that is, born in the purple chamber—reigned from 792 to 797. Irene, however, thirsted for revenge, and succeeded in casting her son into prison and blinding him, after which she reigned alone till 802. After her overthrow, the throne was occupied by a number of worthless emperors, raised to eminence by the army, and quickly deposed. Islam had **deprived the Byzantine empire of many of its best possessions in Asia and Africa, and had destroyed all traces of literature and learning in Alexandria, in Antioch, and in the other cities which the Moslems had conquered.** But the Byzantine empire and the Eastern church continued to be a bulwark of good government and of religious life against the destruction which threatened both, and their history, entirely neglected, is a worthy object of study.

**Losses of  
the Eastern  
Empire.**

## CHAPTER II.

### CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, 768-928.

CHARLES the Great may be regarded as the Moses or Lycurgus of his age. He was, above everything else, the great lawgiver. The German and French legends do not take the same view of him, the first looking upon him as administrator, judge, and legislator, the other as the type of the churchman, emperor, and crusader. The difference is characteristic of the two nations, as German development required above everything a peaceful administrator, and the French some one to represent in heroic guise their national culture and ambitions.

**Charles the Great.**

Pepin during his reign had to deal with two great political factors, which the Carolingian age had inherited from the Merovingian, the church and the aristocracy. At his accession, the first of these had been overpowered by the second, but he took unwearied pains to raise the church to its former position, to give new order to the finances, to unite the bishops by the creation of synods, and to increase their administrative power. He, however, neglected Boniface, whom he had made archbishop of Mainz, but whom he had not endowed with that primacy over the Frankish church which he earnestly desired. Boniface, in his disappointment, sought and found a martyr's death in Friesland. At the synod of Verneuil (755), the clergy were organised to deal vigorously with the lay aristocracy, whose leading family, the house of Arnulf, had reversed traditional policy by uniting with the church and the papacy. The pope compelled the lay nobility to recognise the new monarchy, but they were not altogether contented with their position.

We have already seen that the division of the empire made by Pepin provided that each of his sons should have an inheritance composed of both Roman and German territories. But the two brothers were of different characters and pursued different policies. Carloman allied with the Lombard court; Bertha,

the widow of Pepin, went herself to Italy and negotiated a marriage between Charles and the daughter of Desiderius, the Lombard king. But Charles was of a different mind, and sent his wife back to Pavia. When Carloman died in 771, his widow and his sons took refuge at the court of Desiderius, who put pressure on the pope to anoint the children of the elder brother and to oppose Charles. Upon this, Charles determined to have nothing to do with Italy for the present, but to devote his attention to Germany. At the age of twenty-six, he placed a great national task in the forefront of his policy, and took a line which was certain to be popular with his warlike aristocracy.

There was no well defined frontier between the territories of the Franks and the Saxons, except forests and mountains, and there had been constant warfare between them. So Charles set out from Worms in the year 772, after holding a Champ de Mai. The war was a war of religion, and the battle-fields of the Saxons are to be found in close proximity to their sanctuaries. Charles, crossing the Rhine, passed into Westphalia, captured the Eresburg, their fortress, destroyed the Irminsul, a sacred pillar or tree, and returned when the Saxons had agreed, upon the banks of the Weser, to deliver up to him twelve hostages. In the Champ de Mai of the year 773, at Geneva,

**Charles  
embarks on  
the Con-  
quest of  
the Saxons.**

it was resolved, at the pope's request, to attack Desiderius. Charles avoided the nearest Alpine passes, which had been entrenched, crossed the Mont Cenis, sending another detachment over the great St. Bernard, and besieged the Lombards in Pavia and Verona. In the spring of 774, both surrendered; Desiderius was taken prisoner, and compelled to enter a Frankish monastery. Charles became king of Lombardy in his place, but, for the present, made no alteration in the constitution of his new kingdom. During the absence of Charles, the Saxons invaded and plundered the frontier of Hesse. Charles invoked the aid of the church against his pagan enemies, and, holding a Mayfield at Düren in 775, invaded Saxony anew. The Eastphalians submitted to him, and at last the Westphalians gave up their

**Settlement  
of Lom-  
bardy.**

opposition to him. Charles then marched straight from his Saxon battle-fields into Italy, in order to put down a rebellion of the Duke of Friuli. He placed Frankish counts in the revolted towns, and transplanted Frankish institutions to Lombard soil. When the Saxons arose

anew, he was able to exhibit such an overwhelming force that they submitted without a battle. These colossal successes could not have been brought about unless the Frankish empire had been consolidated on a firm basis by Pepin and Charles, the national army had been made efficient, and the lay and ecclesiastical elements had been so reconciled as to favour the growth of freedom. Charles was now able to hold the Mayfield of 777 at Paderborn. The Saxon king, Widikind, fled to Denmark. Huge numbers of Saxons came to be baptized, and received an amnesty from Charles on the condition that if they rose again they should lose their freedom and their property. In 778, Charles, now regarded as a great Christian monarch, received an invitation from Soliman, viceroy of Saragossa, to attack the Moors in Spain. He stormed Pampeluna and Saragossa, subdued the country as far as the Ebro, and added it to his kingdom under the name of the **Charles in Spanish March.** On his return over the Pyrenees, he suffered his first defeat, his rearguard, under Roland, being attacked by the Basques in the pass of Roncesvalles, and nearly all slaughtered, including their officers.

During this campaign, the Frankish settlement of Saxony had been entirely destroyed by a new uprising, which may have been stirred up by the return of Widikind from Denmark, but took the form of a great **Saxon Wars renewed.** national revolt. The Saxons laid waste the right bank of the Rhine from Deutz to Ehrenbreitstein with ruthless barbarity, which, considering the manner in which they had been treated, is not surprising. Charles, through his lieutenants, Geilo and Adalgis, succeeded in putting down this movement, and in restoring his organisation. The Saxons were unable to withstand the attack of the Frankish infantry. In 779, they were driven out of their entrenchments at Bocholt, and, in 780, the Franks penetrated to the north of Magdeburg, which made a great impression on the enemy. Many Saxons came into the Frankish camp to be baptized, and Charles had leisure to undertake the reduction of the Slavonic tribes to the east of the Elbe.

It is not exactly known what means were taken by Charles to establish his authority in Saxony on a secure basis, but it is supposed that he deprived the Saxons of the **Settlement of Saxony.** allodial possession of land, making them feudatory to himself, and that he destroyed their guilds, which he knew to be the centres of disaffection. At



the end of 780, Charles went to Italy, where, at Easter 781, Pepin and Louis, his younger sons, were anointed by the pope as kings of Lombardy and Aquitaine, for Charles thought that, as he now held a firm central position between the Loire, the Alps, and the Saxon frontier, he might, without danger, allow a certain independence to Lombardy and Aquitaine.

Charles recognised that the church was the corner stone of his dominions; he therefore entered into close connection with the pope, and made efforts to improve the intellectual condition of his clergy. In Italy, in 781, he met at Pavia the famous Anglo-Saxon scholar, Alcuin, and invited him to his court, and he attached to his service the Lombard Paulus Diaconus, as well as some learned Goths and Bavarians. He emancipated the clergy from the gloom of the cloister schools, and brought them into the cheerful atmosphere of his own court.

In 782, Charles, lulled by a false security, met an attack of the Swabians on the left bank of the Saale with an army chosen from eastern Franconia, and even employed Saxons to assist him against the enemy. But, at this very time, Widikind came back again from Denmark, and organised a new revolt. Theodoric, a count of the lower Rhine, hastened to the Weser, and found the Frankish army in great danger. The commanders of the army, Geilo and Adalgis, parted from Theodoric, and made a separate attack on the main body of the Saxons, which led to their army being destroyed almost to a man. Charles hastened to the scene of danger with a new army, and held the Saxon nobles responsible for the disaster. They laid the blame on Widikind, who again fled to Denmark. They delivered up to Charles 4500 of Widikind's adherents, and it is said that he put them to death in a single day at Verden on the Aller. However, in the following winter, the insurrection spread over the whole country, and Widikind again returned to find himself the chosen leader of the people. In 783, Charles summoned his army to meet at Paderborn. When he heard that the Saxons had concentrated themselves on the other side of the mountains at Detmold, he attacked and routed them, and returned to his former position. He now began the complete devastation of the country, and was so entirely occupied by the Saxon war that he spent the whole winter in the Eresburg. In 785, he passed on to

the basin of the lower Elbe, a country into which no foreign army had penetrated since the days of Tiberius. The Saxons were now reduced to order, but eight years later, in 793, they rose again. Charles adopted a statesmanlike policy towards them, treating them with kindness, and, at the same time, transplanting some of them into Franconia. Widikind and Abbio, another leader of the rebellious Saxons, were baptized at Attigny on the Aisne, Charles himself acting as godfather. Many thousands of the Saxon nobles and common people also became Christians and orderly subjects of the empire.

While the efforts of Charles were concentrated upon the reduction of the Saxons, other discontented interests took the opportunity of asserting themselves. Hartrad of Thuringia rebelled in 785; the inhabitants of Brittany refused tribute in 786; and, in the same year, the Lombard duke, Arichis of Benevento, who had attempted to establish an independent kingdom in southern Italy, was compelled to make his submission to Charles in Campania. In the following year the conduct of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria became so suspicious that Charles was obliged to suppress him, and attacked his dominions from three sides. Tassilo gave way without a contest, and in the following year, being deserted by his own nobles, he was shut up with his son in a monastery. After this, Charles took possession of Bavaria and administered it on the Frankish system. In 789, he crossed the Elbe and subdued the Wilzen and the Serbs, both Slavonic races. The historians tell us that the king undertook no campaign in 790, the first year of the reign in which there had been no war.

Charles the Great is the most illustrious of the family of Arnulf. The whole political work of his predecessors culminated in him. The talents of his family for civil and military rule reached in him an elevation which they had never before attained. Yet there was nothing weak or luxurious in his nature, and he was able to move in complete security in a region where his predecessors, with enormous labour, had created order out of chaos. Charles Martel and Pepin had lived, so to speak, from hand to mouth, but Charles the Great conceived and called into being a well-ordered administration, which, out of raw materials, was welded into a living and effective whole. He accomplished this task by his personality alone. It is true that his inherited political capacity and his own statesmanlike understanding far surpassed

**Troubles in  
Brittany,  
Italy, and  
Bavaria.**

**Adminis-  
tration of  
the Empire.**

the ordinary level of his time, but he knew how to put a proper man in the proper place and to inspire the different sections of his people with enthusiasm for the carrying out of his ideas. He made his court the centre of the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy, the place where all important negotiations were undertaken and all serious decisions were made. In the Merovingian time the palace was already the centre of government, as we have already said, but there had been many changes in the interval. The mayor of the palace had now disappeared; the chamberlains, who were previously under his orders, had become officials of the royal treasury. The seneschal and the butler still held their offices, and the marshal looked after the royal stables. Under these officers there was a whole army of public servants, divided into their proper sections. The sons of the Frankish nobles were willing to perform the services and to familiarise themselves with the views of the court. There were also a door-keeper, *Ostiarium*, and a quarter-master, *Mansionarius*. The business of the kingdom was separated into two great sections. The civil business passed through the hands of the count of the palace, the *comes palatinus*, called in German the *Pfalzgraf*, or count palatine; the ecclesiastical business through the hand of the chaplain. He had charge of the *capella* of the imperial bedchamber, in which the *cappa* or mantle of Saint Martin, which he divided with the beggar, was preserved, and this was the origin of the name.

This complicated court had no fixed residence, but wandered with the king from palace to palace. The Merovingian domain

**The Royal  
Palaces.**

between the Moselle, the Rhine, and the Scheldt had been added to the possessions of the house of Pepin. Among new acquisitions were the crown lands of Lombardy, considerable possessions in Saxony, the property which had belonged to the dukes of Bavaria and Allemannia, and many districts on the frontier. There is no doubt that Charles was the largest landed proprietor of his empire, and on that depended the magnificence of his court and his predominance in his diets. He paid the greatest attention to the management of his property, and his domestic economy was a model for the whole kingdom, especially for the church. His chief palaces were Compiègne and Kiersy on the Oise, Attigny on the Aisne, Heristal on the Meuse, Duren on the Roer; Aachen, Metz, Thionville, and Trier on the Moselle; Nijmegen, Ingelheim, Worms, and Spires on the Rhine. Charles also built a palace at Frankfort on the Main, and he

had many hunting lodges in different forests. All these palaces were centres from which revenue might be derived.

After he had subdued the Bavarians, Charles attempted to secure peace in the south-east of his dominions, and began to attack the Avars. When the Lombards had removed from Pannonia into Italy, the plundering Avars, a race closely related to the Huns, had settled in what is now Hungary, where they formed a barrier to relations between the East and the West. Charles waged against them a war of extermination for eight years, from 791 to 798. In the first campaign he drove them back beyond what was called the Wiener Wald, the wooded country which surrounded Vienna. His son Pepin captured their capital and treasure, conquered their lands between the Danube and the Theiss, even as far as the Raab, and added them to the Frankish empire under the name of the Ostmark, or Eastern March, the future Austria. Whilst he was thus engaged, a new Saxon revolt broke out in 793, which lasted, with some interruptions, till 797, and had to be broken by systematic devastation of the country. In that year, Charles summoned a portion of the Saxon nobles to Aachen, and made with them a new capitulation.

Charles  
attacks the  
Avars.

The empire of Charlemagne now extended from the Eider, the frontier river of Denmark, to the Ofanto, the ancient Aufidus of Italy; and the whole world admired the marvellous ability with which he ordered his mighty kingdom and swayed the conflicting

Extent of  
the Empire.

interests of so many different peoples. He endeavoured to meet the new problems to which the extent of his empire gave rise by new institutions, one of which had its origin in Merovingian times, while the other was due to himself. The *missi dominici*, who were generally counts or bishops, had the duty of travelling about certain districts, in which they could hold courts, receive complaints against the counts, publish the edicts of the diets, examine the condition of the domains, and exercise general control over civil and ecclesiastical matters. The other institution was the creation of *Markgrafen*, margraves, in Latin *marchiones et praecepti limitum*, whose duty it was to preserve the peace of Germany by an active and well regulated defence of the frontiers. The office of the margrave was to prevent sudden inroads of frontier enemies, to command the forces of the neighbouring districts, and summon the population of the march to war. The margrave also had the privilege of reporting

The  
Margraves.

directly to the diet, instead of to the king, which gave him a certain independence. After the conquest of the Avars, Charles founded an Avarian March, in the south-east, which bordered on the Friulian March to the south of the Alps. He created a Spanish March south of the Pyrenees, and established a similar institution on the frontiers of Brittany and in the Slavonic districts of Saxony.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that Charles should have conceived the idea of re-establishing the Roman empire. He

**Education** was unceasingly occupied in bringing about a  
**and** union between the civil and ecclesiastical culture  
**Literature.** of his time; in order to raise his people to a higher standard of education, he revived the palace school and the bishops' schools. He attempted to inspire the higher society with a knowledge of Roman culture, and to give them literary education. The first great history of the empire dates from 788. In 796, Alcuin was made abbot of the monastery of Saint Martin at Tours, and undertook the management of the schools in that place. The degradation of the Latin language was gradually stopped. We find in the literary monuments of the time—the writings of Eginhard, of Peter of Pisa, of Paulus Diaconus—a purer Latinity than before. After long neglect, the old literature came to life again in the circles of the Carolingian court and the Carolingian church.

From the year 797, there was no male representative of the empire at Byzantium. The patriarch of Jerusalem sent the  
**Coronation** keys of the Holy Sepulchre to Charles as the  
**of Charles** representative of Christianity. In 799, Pope  
**at Rome.** Leo III., driven out from his bishopric, applied for assistance to Charles at Paderborn, and Charles soon re-established his authority at Rome. In the following year, he travelled to Italy, and on Christmas Day, 800, a memorable date in the history of the world, was crowned emperor by Leo III. in the church of Saint Peter's. Eginhard tells us that the act of crowning came upon Charles as a surprise. It has been suggested, on various grounds, that several of the king's councillors had conceived the idea of reviving the Western empire, but it is probable that Charles would not have determined upon this step unless he had first come to an arrangement with Byzantium. Negotiations may have begun, but the pope made the coronation an accomplished fact.

In the last years of his life, Charles did his best to perform his religious duties with the greatest zeal. He felt that he

was truly the head not only of his kingdom but also of the Christian church. At the same time, he strove to make the acts of his administration acceptable to his people, and he never aimed at an absolute monarchy. The edicts which he published with regard to criminal and civil law were not only drawn up in accordance with popular rights, but laid before the "hundreds" by the king's messengers, and discussed by them before they were finally adopted. It was natural that a government founded on these lines should develop into a feudal empire, and we find the essential principle of feudalism—that is, the performance of public duties, depending upon and conditioned by the holding of public land—developed in the reign of Charles himself.

**Policy of  
Charles—  
The Feudal  
System.**

In the closing years of his reign, Charles withdrew more and more into Aachen, and his palace in that city naturally became more and more the centre of his government. Eginhard represents him here as in the midst of social and political circles, which he impresses

**Charles at  
Aachen.**

with the stamp of his genius. It is a stimulating spectacle to see how this really good and really great man endeavoured to give his government the security and the permanence and the strength which might be able to inspire his rough and half heathen subjects with new ideas of culture. A popular king of the old German type, ordering the administration of his possessions with the carefulness of a wealthy peasant, on the principles of a simple and natural economy, yet at the same time clothed with the dignity of a Christian monarch, he was the last and best result of a cultivation which was now tending to disappear. In his court, the chiefs of the different tribes which composed his empire found the social life, the natural splendour, and the new-born art of their own civilisation, and the clergy of his wide dominions recognised in the emperor the head of their united church. The union of conflicting tendencies in the focus of a well organised imperial palace, and in a richly endowed personality, produced that brilliant society which, for nearly half a century, held the whole of the civil and ecclesiastical community breathless, and claimed the admiration of the civilised world.

It is strange that Charles, with his inexhaustible political activity, had not too clear a conception of the unity of his empire to arrange for the partition of it after his death. But he may have been led to this decision partly by the custom of the Franks, partly by the feeling that the empire was too large for the strength of a single man.

**The Suc-  
cession to  
the Empire.**

The death of his two sons, Charles and Pepin, made the partition impossible to carry out, and Louis of Aquitaine remained the only heir. The death of these princes was a piece of good fortune for the church. Since the Benedictine rule had been introduced into the monasteries, the quarrels in the church, arising from the differences between the secular and the regular clergy, had begun to disappear. The church had become a powerful uniform organisation. Similarly, the unity of the Frankish empire, and its government by one man, had become an article of faith. When it became certain that Louis would inherit the whole of the empire, Charles saw clearly that a well organised church would be the best support of the inheritance which he placed in the hands of his son. In the year 812, he had the whole of the church property in his empire appraised and valued, and, in the following year, Louis was recognised as his successor, and crowned by Charles himself at Aachen. On January 28, 814, Charles died in that imperial city, where the marble throne upon which his corpse rested may still be seen.

**Death of  
Charles.**

Charles was no great winner of battles like Theodoric. He only fought in two open fields, at Detmold and on the Haase. But he was the greatest mayor of the palace of the house of Pepin. He was one of those natures who, like Napoleon, take a delight in administration, who derive a moral satisfaction from the order, security, and permanence of their economical management. The great difference between him and Theodoric was that the position of the German tribes had entirely altered. Theodoric had regarded his Goths as soldiers, his Romans as workers. But the Goths themselves had now become workers. Military movements stood still, and Charles found himself at the head of a people which was mainly devoted to agriculture.

The greatness of Charles is to be found not so much in the complete organisation of his administration as in the fact that he produced so many new ideas. He leaves the impression of a man who had entirely devoted himself to great duties, and was ever seeking to accomplish new tasks. Even if the immediate results of his government may be regarded as small, he had an enormous moral effect; and the greatest result of all is that he recovered for the German races a fixed form in their articulation, and that he exhibits to the world the ideal of a great statesman. He had reigned for forty-seven years. His embalmed body was buried at Aachen, seated on a marble chair, dressed in the full paraphernalia of an emperor, a











olden book of the Gospels on his knees, and a golden pilgrim's wallet at his side. The tomb was filled with precious spices, and then walled up and sealed.

Just after the defeat of Roncesvalles, Charles the Great heard that his wife Hildegarde had borne him twins. One of them died in his second year: the other, Louis, was destined from his cradle to be king. At the age of three, he was anointed and crowned by Pope Hadrian, in Rome, as king of Aquitaine, and he appeared, four years later, in his father's camp at Paderborn, in Basque dress, surrounded by a train of followers. He was carefully brought up, and promised to be a worthy successor; but he showed, as he grew up, that he was too much given to attend to the advice of others, that he was too strictly devoted to the affairs of religion, and that he wanted the decision and the strength of character to make him a great king. He was absolutely free from vice, but he was deficient in the great virtues. He was called a Bible-reader and a Psalm-singer, and his nephew Bernhard was thought to be better suited for the throne. Pope Leo III. died in June 816, and was succeeded by Stephen IV., whose first act was to pay Louis a visit in France. In October 816, he crowned the king and queen in the cathedral at Reims with crowns which he had brought from Rome. Stephen died soon after his return, and was succeeded, on February 28, 817, by Paschal I., pious, peaceful, prudent, and determined.

**Louis the Pious.**

Louis now decided to divide the kingdom, which he did not feel strong enough to govern for himself, amongst his three sons. He associated his eldest son, Lothar, in the government with himself, confirmed Pepin, the second son, in the government of Aquitaine, and gave Louis, the youngest, the kingdom of Bavaria. The unity of the empire and of the church was to be maintained. His nephew Bernhard, the son of his brother Pepin, to whom Charles had committed the government of Italy, was not pleased with these arrangements, upon which Louis had him condemned to death. He reprieved him, but cast him into prison, and blinded him, so that he died a few days afterwards. Shortly after this, Louis' wife died, and his sorrow for this loss, and remorse for his treatment of Bernhard, made him wish to abdicate and retire into a monastery. But his counsellors persuaded him to marry again, and he took for his second consort Judith, or Jutta, the daughter of Count Welf

**Division of the Empire.**

of Bavaria, a beautiful but ambitious woman. She bore him a son, known afterwards as Charles the Bald. This made a new division of the empire necessary, and Charles, when six years old, was made duke of Allemannia. Also by the influence of Judith, Bernhard of Barcelona was raised to a higher position in the court. The result of this was that, in the year 830, the sons of Louis rose against their father, compelled him to get rid of Judith and Bernhard, and, after the treacherous negotiations which gave its name to the Lügenfeld, in the neighbourhood of Colmar, imprisoned him in 833.

Lothar locked his father up in a prison at Soissons, and compelled him to do penance and even to abdicate the throne; but the younger Louis disapproved of Lothar's conduct, set the emperor free, and placed him once more upon the throne. Pepin died in 838, and a new partition became necessary, and this so diminished the share of Louis that he took up arms to defend his rights. When a battle was imminent, however, he hesitated to attack his father, and retired to Bavaria, but

**Death of  
Louis the  
Pious.**

Louis the Pious, worn out with domestic troubles, retired to an island on the Rhine near Ingelheim, where he died on June 20, 840, aged sixty-two.

He deserves the title of Pious which has always been given to him, but he exhibits all the qualities, and underwent all the miseries, of an incompetent ruler.

Lothar naturally regarded himself as the successor to the imperial power, but this was disputed by his brothers, and

**The Treaty  
of Verdun.**

Louis the German, as he is called, and Charles the Bald defeated him in 841—at Fontenay, in the neighbourhood of Auxerre. The result of this was the treaty of Verdun, in 843, in which a final partition of the empire was made. Lothar took the title of emperor, with Italy, Provence, Burgundy, Trier, and the Riparian country as far as the sea, together with Friesland. This gave him a central position, but a kingdom without cohesion, composed of conflicting elements, which has been a bone of contention and a cause of war in Europe ever since. Louis obtained for his share almost the whole of what is now known as Germany; Charles, what is now known as France, together with the Spanish March. Thus were created France and Germany, to contend against each other as enemies, and a middle kingdom which should be coveted by and alternately belong to both. If Louis the Pious had left two sons in-

stead of three, the destiny of the world might have been different.

With Louis the German, the ablest and most capable of the sons of Louis the Pious, began the line of Carolingian kings of Germany, which lasted till 911. It was their task to protect their possessions against three **Louis the German.** powerful enemies—the Norman Vikings, who, sailing from harbours round the Scandinavian coasts, attacked the shores of France and Germany, and burned many towns, such as Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Cologne, Bern, and even Hamburg; the Slavs, who made continual incursions from the frontier of the Elbe; and the Magyars, the inhabitants of Hungary, who caused a great deal of trouble. Louis, who resided in Regensburg, had also much difficulty with his own sons, Karlmann, Louis, and Charles.

In 855, the Emperor Lothar laid down his crown, and retired to the monastery of Prüm, having divided his empire between his three sons, Louis II., Lothar, and Charles. Charles died in 863, and Lothar without issue in **The Treaty of Mersen.** 869, upon which an arrangement was made at Mersen, not far from Maastricht, in 870, between Louis the German and Charles the Bald, by which the German portion of Lothar's dominions went to Germany, and was strengthened by the addition of Trier, Cologne, Aachen, Utrecht, Metz, and Strasburg. By this, the Rhine became a German river. The Emperor Louis II. died in 875, the last of Lothar's male descendants. Louis the German ought properly to have succeeded to the empire with Italy, but Charles the Bald contrived to outwit him, and, with the assistance of Pope John VIII., got these dominions for himself, and was crowned king of Italy. As Louis was preparing to defend his rights, he died at Frankfort, on August 28, 876, being more than seventy years of age.

Louis the German's three sons, Karlmann, Louis, and Charles known as the Fat, effected a partition among themselves, by which Karlmann received Bavaria, Carinthia, **The Later Carolin-** Bohemia, and Moravia; Louis Franconia, Saxony, **gians.** and Thuringia; Charles Allemannia and Rhaetia. But a succession of unexpected deaths spoilt all these plans. After a famous assembly at Kiersy, Charles the Bald, and his wife Richildis, went with an army over the Alps, carrying with them many treasures. Pope John VIII. hastened from Ravenna to Pavia, where, in August 877, resolutions were passed against the alienation of church property and against

placing it under the feudal system. But, when he heard that Karlmann, the son and heir of Louis the German, had invaded Lombardy with a large army, Charles hastened to Tortona, where Richildis was crowned empress by the pope, after which she returned over the Alps with the treasure. Charles remained behind with the pope, hoping for the arrival of the Frankish nobles whom he had summoned to his assistance, but when they did not appear, fearing what Karlmann might do, he set out to join his wife, while Pope John retired to Rome.

**Death of Charles the Bald.** There he heard that Charles had died on October 13, in a poor peasant's hut, after he had received a powder from a Jewish doctor. He had wished to be buried at Saint Denis, but the escort could not support the smell of his body, and he was hastily put into the earth at a monastery near Lyons.

Karlmann now came into northern Italy. He assumed the crown of Lombardy, and wished to be crowned emperor by the pope in Rome, but the pontiff contrived to keep him at a distance. John, not feeling himself safe in his capital from the attacks of the Saracens, desired to proceed to France and to continue his negotiations with Karlmann in that country. But Louis the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, now advanced against Karlmann, who, being attacked by an infectious illness, retired to Germany. John's rebellious vassals had shut the pope up in the Leonine city, and endeavoured to compel him to crown Karlmann. He, however, escaped, and went to France, and, accompanied by Boso, the brother of the Empress Richildis, came to Compiègne, where, assisted by Hincmar of Reims, he crowned the stammering Louis as king of the French.

John remained in France for a year, attempting to find a sovereign who had sufficient capacity and devotion to the Holy See to deliver the pope from the attacks of the Saracens and the insults of his smaller vassals. He was strongly tempted to crown Boso king of Italy. Boso was nothing loth; indeed, he poisoned his first wife in order to marry Engelberga, the only daughter of Louis the German. But the princes of northern Italy were not prepared to receive an adventurer in the place of Karlmann. Karlmann himself, on his return to Germany, lost his speech, and was incapable of further action—dying in 880. His brother Louis the Young took his place, and Louis the Stammerer died suddenly at Compiègne on April 10, 879, leaving behind him two sons by his first wife, Ansgard, Louis

III. and Karlmann, while a posthumous child was born to him by his second wife, Adelheid, who was afterwards known as Charles the Simple, and lived till 928.

Louis the Young, second son of Louis the German, now claimed the West Frankish throne, but was finally worsted by Louis III., son of Louis the Stammerer, and died early in 882. His youngest brother, Charles the Fat, was crowned king of Italy in 879. Meanwhile Boso made himself king of lower Burgundy. Hugo, bastard son of Lothar II. and Waldrada, seized Lorraine; and the Normans threatened both the Loire and the North Sea coast. Hence in 880, at Gondreville, Charles the Fat met the envoys of Louis the Young and the West Frankish king, and concerted the overthrow of Hugo, which was achieved, and of Boso, which was prevented by the departure of Charles, in the moment of victory, to be crowned emperor by John VIII. at Rome, in 881. Karlmann, Charles' eldest brother, dying the year before, had left a famous bastard son, Arnulf of Carinthia.

In 882—the year of Louis the Young's death—Louis III. died also, suddenly, in consequence of a fall from his horse, and his younger brother, Karlmann, was summoned to succeed him. But death was busy to interrupt the plans of men. Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, who had been driven from his cathedral, and had to take refuge from the Normans in Epernay, died in December 882, followed by public mourning. Pope John VIII. was murdered in the same month by conspirators who found poison too slow to effect their object. He was succeeded first by Marinus, and then by Hadrian III. Then Karlmann perished, from a wound received in a boar hunt, on December 12, 884, at the age of eighteen, and Charles the Fat became king of all the Franks, east and west. Charles the Simple, a child of four years old, although he was the rightful king of the West Franks, was thought too young to hold the sceptre of the tottering kingdom. Charles the Fat was now at the height of his ambition, and he did his best, by craft and diplomacy, to effect what he had not the strength or the determination to do otherwise. He murdered the Viking Gottfried, blinded his rival Hugo, defeated the Normans, to whom he had refused the tribute which they had received from Karlmann, and attempted to secure the succession for his natural son, Bernhard. He was supported in this by Pope Hadrian, but the pontiff died suddenly in June 885,

**Charles the  
Fat, King of  
the whole  
Empire.**



and was succeeded by Stephen V., who was elected without asking the consent of Charles. And as Charles became more weak and impotent, and the whole land was full of trouble, and a strong emperor was eminently necessary, in 888 he was at last deposed, and Arnulf, son of Karlmann, was elected king of the Germans, and reigned till 899.

**Arnulf made King.**

Charles died shortly afterwards, and was buried on the island of Reichenau, in the lake of Constance. Men felt that the rapid succession of those deaths was a sign of divine intervention in human affairs, and those who attended Charles saw the heavens open as he died, and believed that it was meant to show that he passed to a heaven of which he was worthy, from an earth which brought him nothing but trouble and disappointment. Arnulf did not succeed to the German crown without difficulty, because his illegitimate birth stood in his way. He spent the first months of his reign—indeed the greater part of his time—in Regensburg, which was at that time the chief city of Bavaria. He secured the adherence of Henry Welf, belonging to the most distinguished race of southern Germany, to the disappointment of his father Edico II., who had his castles on the Boden See.

In the west, the kingdom of the Carlings began to break up and several princes asserted their independence. The most

**Anarchy in the Western Kingdom.**

prominent of these was Odo of Paris, who, in reward for his exploits against the Normans, had become count of Paris, abbot of Tours, and count of Anjou, and had been crowned king at Compiègne by the archbishop of Sens. Fulco, archbishop of Reims, who was the rival of his brother of Sens, preferred the claims of Guido of Spoleto, and Guido hastened across the Alps to secure the prize, but had to retire to Italy, where he attempted to wrest the iron crown from Berengar of Friuli. Meanwhile, virtual independence was secured by Alan of Brittany, by Ranulf in Aquitaine, by Boso's son Louis in the kingdom of Arles, and by Rudolf I. in Upper Burgundy. In Italy, Guido of Spoleto succeeded in being crowned emperor by Pope Stephen V. in St. Peter's Church at Rome on February 21, 891, taking the title of Augustus. But he had neither power nor prestige. Benevento, in central Italy, set itself up as an independent duchy, reckoning itself as a part of the Lombard kingdom. Meanwhile, Arnulf's determination to make his bastard son Zwentibald king of Lorraine led him to intervene in the civil war in France, where first Charles the Simple, son of Louis

the Stammerer (who was crowned on January 28, 893), and then his rival, Odo, acknowledged himself a vassal of the German king, in order to secure his assistance. Zwentibald obtained Lorraine as an independent kingdom, but his violence and misrule assured his ultimate downfall: otherwise the new realm might have seriously weakened the German monarchy. In France, meanwhile, on January 1, 898, Odo died, and his supporters then transferred their allegiance to Charles the Simple.

Rudolf of Upper Burgundy, however, and Berengar of Friuli still remained undisturbed, and Arnulf was attacked by Svatopluk the Slav, by the Normans in the Netherlands, and by Bernhard, the natural son of Charles the Fat, in Allemannia. Arnulf, however, showed himself a worthy successor of Louis the German, and in the battle of the Dyle, fought on November 1, 891, defeated the Normans and returned triumphant to Ulm.

**Arnulf  
maintains  
himself in  
Germany.**

Four very distinguished men received ecclesiastical preferment at his hands, Hatto of Mainz, Saloman of Constance, Adalbero of Augsburg, and Hermann of Cologne. Also the house of the Conradins, descended from Alpais, daughter of Louis the Pious, and their rivals, the Babenbergers, began to make their appearance.

Arnulf now turned his arms against Svatopluk, with the aid of the Hungarians or Magyars. These newly arrived warriors, armed with bows and arrows, like the ancient Parthians, were the best fighters of their time. They were also assisted by the Chazars, a mixed race, comprising Christians, heathens, and Mohammedans, but formidable in war. Their capital was Itil, at the mouth of the Volga. In 892, Arnulf crossed the Moravian border, and attacked Svatopluk, but without success, but Svatopluk died in 894, and his kingdom fell to pieces. The Magyars, attacked by the Petschengs, who established themselves between the Danube and the Don, now invaded Moravia and Pannonia, and, mastering the country between the Danube and the Theiss, became a menace to Arnulf himself. The Avars and the Slavic nations whom they expelled went into Italy, defeated Bishop Liutbold at Vercelli, and assailed Venice, but were driven back from the Rialto by the Doge Peter. Attacked by Berengar on their retreat, they fought a battle against the Lombards on the Brenta, and devastated their country. They continued their plundering in Germany, and were at last

**Arnulf's  
Wars  
with the  
Slavs.**

brought to order by Arpad, who is regarded as the first king of Hungary. In 895, Arnulf went to Rome and was crowned emperor by the pope, Formosus, in April 896, but fell ill and had to hasten back. Formosus died immediately afterwards. His successor, Boniface VI., only held the tiara for a fortnight, and Stephen VI. had the body of Formosus dug up, formally tried, and condemned to death, upon which it was dragged along the streets and thrown into the Tiber. His remains were afterwards recovered, and buried in St. Peter's. Five popes succeeded each other in two years. At last

**Death of  
Arnulf.**

Arnulf died in 899—it was said, of course, by poison—and was followed by his son, Louis the Child, who was only seven years old, and whose chief supporter was Hatto of Mainz.

The weak hands of this boy could not keep the empire together, and dukes, who were almost independent, began to

**End of the  
Line of  
Louis the  
German.**

make their appearance. Zwentibald in Lorraine was attacked by Gebhard, and slain at the battle of the Meuse in 900, upon which the conqueror married his widow, Ota, and claimed his inheritance. Gebhard was attacked by the Conradins, and this brought their enemies, the Babenbergers, the descendants of Count Poppo of Thuringia, to Gebhard's aid. But the Babenbergers were defeated, and Gebhard was killed by the Hungarians. Louis the Child was strengthened by his death, but he died himself on August 20, 911, without distinction or reputation, and with him the line of Charles the Great passed away from the soil of Germany like a mountain mist, and we enter into a new period by the election of Conrad the Frank as German king in 911.

The names given to the later Carling kings, the Bald, the Fat, the Stammerer, the Simple, are indications of the slight

**Decay of  
the Royal  
Power.**

respect in which they were held, and both their qualities and their power corresponded to their nicknames. After Charles the Bald, the royal power depended upon the joint support of the nobles, the clergy, and the people; the property of the crown had been long in the hands of the great vassals, and feudal investiture had become nothing more than a form. The power of the Carlings fell like that of the Merwings, except that, in one case, it passed to an individual, in another to a number of successors. In the dukedoms, margravates, and counties into which their territories were divided, royal authority was merely a shadow. They

filled up the whole of the Frankish empire, except Burgundy, which had become a kingdom, and the western coast, where the Normans had established themselves, and each lord had his own vassal under him. In these circumstances, Charles the Simple, who reigned from 893 to 929, was not able to perform his duties with vigour or success. At this time, the leader of the Normans was Duke Rollo or Roll, a man of noble **The** family from More in Norway, who, after a wild **Duchy of** life as a Viking, established himself in Rouen. **Normandy.**

Charles determined to make peace with the powerful invader. Accompanied by Robert, Odo's successor in the duchy of Francia, and the bishop of Rouen, he met Rollo at Saint Clair on the Epte, and offered him the country between the Epte and the coast as an hereditary duchy, with suzerainty over Brittany, on the condition that he should acknowledge the king as his lord and assist in protecting the realm. Rollo agreed, took the oath of allegiance, and married the daughter of Charles, Gisela. The people of Brittany, however, resisted this arrangement for thirty years.

The settlement with the Normans removed one danger, but in 923 Robert, duke of Francia, repudiated Charles and declared himself king. This was more than even Charles **End of the** could put up with, and, in June 923, he defeated **Line of** and killed Robert in the battle of Soissons, which **Charles the** would have been a complete victory had not **Bald.** Hugo, the son of Robert, escaped with a number of followers, and, burning for revenge, which he was not able to execute himself, made his brother-in-law Rudolf of Burgundy king. Rudolf got possession of Charles and imprisoned him in Château Thierry, while his son Louis and his wife Edgiva found a refuge in England with his brother-in-law, King Aethelstan. In 928, Charles was allowed to escape, but was recaptured and died in 929. There remained his son Louis, known as d'Outremer, from his residence across the seas, and in 936 he was recognised as king by Hugo, who had succeeded his father Robert as duke of Francia, Louis being then sixteen years of age. But Hugo, now called the Great, was really king of France; the nobles rose against Louis, and, after a number of struggles which our limits will not allow us to narrate, he was killed in 954 by a fall from his horse, in the thirty-third year of his age. Just before his death he saw Laon, Châlons, and Reims plundered by the Hungarians. He was not an unworthy scion of the race of

Charles the Great, but circumstances were far too powerful for him to control.

The disappearance of the Carlings had a disastrous effect upon Italy. The papacy fell into the power of the robber knights of the Campagna, who called themselves **Degradation of the Papacy.** consuls or senators. At the beginning of the tenth century, eight popes were set up and deposed within eight years, until Sergius III. was able to retain the tiara for ten years, from 904 to 914. The lowest depth of the papacy was reached under John X. (914 to 928), who came under the influence of two women of bad character, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, who distributed the honours and wealth of the papacy as they pleased between their favourite sons and grandsons. John himself was not without merit. He obtained the assistance of Alberic, a knight-errant of Lombard race, who married Marozia, and, on June 14, 916, defeated the Moors on the Garigliano and put an end to their incursions into France. However, Marozia, who, after Alberic's death had married Guido of Tuscany, threw John X. into prison and murdered him. She then became mistress of Rome, took the title of Patricia, made her own son Pope, under the title of John XI., and tyrannised over church and state. After Guido's death, she married King Hugo of Italy, who expected to be crowned emperor by his stepson, John XI., but this was prevented by the rise of another stepson, Alberic II., who drove Hugo away and became master of Rome, which he ruled for twenty years—a period of the lowest moral degradation.

## CHAPTER III.

### 1. THE NORSEMEN—THE DANES IN ENGLAND, 835-1042.

WE have often had occasion to mention the Normans, and must now give some account of the country from which they came. We will begin with the year 600, about which time the Ingling Ingjald Ildrada attempted to establish himself as overlord of Sweden, but failed, and fell, with all his race. Ivan the Wild was then elected king, and was succeeded by Harold Hildetand, who reigned over Iceland, Schönen, and Gothland, and was the mightiest king in the North. Old and blind, he was defeated in the battle of Bravalla by his nephew Sigurd Ring, to whom he had already surrendered Sweden. Sigurd Ring became king of Sweden and Denmark, followed by Ragnar Lodbrok, whose sons, Bjorn Ironside and Sigurd Snake-Eye, succeeded to Sweden and Denmark respectively. The race of the Ingling had, in the meantime, established an independent kingdom in Norway. They had their palace in Skiringsa, and thence extended their power over Jutland and Sleswig. We must pass over many years, until we come to Harold Harfagar (861-930), son of Halfdan the Black, who was a powerful king in Norway. Gorm the Old, who died a heathen, extended the kingdom of Denmark, died in 936, and was succeeded by Harold Bluetooth. In Sweden we have Eric, who made Curland, Esthonia, and Finland tributary, and died in 885, and was succeeded by Bjorn, who lived till 935, and was followed by his son, Eric the Victorious, the contemporary of Harold Bluetooth in Norway and Sven Forkbeard in Denmark. The foundation of the three independent kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark marks the passage of Scandinavia from heathendom to Christianity and the beginning, for it, of the Middle Ages.

As the Germans wandered by land, so the Scandinavians sought new homes by sea, and this was the origin of the Vikings, or Wicking, as they are better called. This sea

wandering was essentially an occupation of younger sons, an attempt to find territory by those who had inherited none.

**The Vikings.** The age of the Wickings, so called—it is said—from their habit of attacking small Burgs or Wicks, began with the ninth century and falls into two periods, the first when they returned to their own country for the winter after their expeditions, and the second when they effected permanent settlements. This happened in 835 in Ireland and on the Loire, in 853 in England and on the Seine, but earlier in Friesland. The expeditions of the Wicking

**Extent of their Raids.** extended to the British Isles, the coast of France, Spain, the Mediterranean, and the coasts of Italy, Africa, and Greece. They were known as Danes in England, Easterlings in Ireland, and Normans in France. Their ships were very small, and three or four hundred were required for an expedition. They had a preference for the mouths of rivers, such as the Scheldt, the Loire, and the Thames, where they could barter with the inhabitants. If they met with a merchant ship, they offered the sailors the alternative of leaving the ship in their hands, or being killed. The most famous of the Wicking was Ragnar Lodbrok, the son of King Sigurd Ring, who conquered at Bravalla. He was tall and beautiful, and there are many legends about him and his son Siward.

The Normans attacked France in the time of Charles the Great, but their first serious assault was in the reign of his successor and lasted for thirty years, and, at last, they settled permanently in the country and founded the duchy of Normandy. In 841, Wicking ships sailed up the Seine and the Loire, destroyed Rouen and Amboise and beleaguered Tours. Some ten years later, a more serious attack was made by Bjorn Ironside, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, assisted by his foster father, the terrible Hasting. They conquered Nantes, slew the bishop, plundered Bordeaux, and threatened Toulouse. In the following decade their ravages became more severe, and they had to be bought off. In the Iberian peninsula, they invaded Catalonia, plundered Lisbon, and appeared on the coast of Andalusia. In 844, Bjorn Ironside and Hasting sailed up the Guadalquivir to Seville, and defeated Abderahman in a three days' battle. The rovers pushed on to Africa and the Balearic Islands, and in 859 entered the Gulf of Spezzia and destroyed Luna, doing the same for Pisa and other Italian towns, and sailing as far as Greece. In 873, the Wicking began another attack on France, and

were with difficulty repelled by Charles the Bald, the Danish King Harold being their chief leader. In the time of Charles the Fat and Arnulf, they took possession of Friesland and plundered the district of the Rhine. They were also attracted to Constantinople, which they called Micklegard, and under the name of Varangians formed a body-guard for the Byzantine emperors, although they could not altogether restrain their hereditary instincts. The Byzantine historians call them "Axe-bearing barbarians from Thule." They also went into Russia. The Varangians had a high reputation for bravery and fidelity.

About the same time, in the reign of Egbert (802-839), the Norman pirates began to lay waste the south coast of England. The chronicles of the time tell us that Almighty God sent out swarms of cruel heathen people — Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Swedes, Vandals, Frisians—who for more than two hundred years laid waste guilty England from one coast to the other, killed men and cattle, and did not spare women and children. But this devastation was not continuous, and Egbert was able to establish his authority over the country. England began to consolidate herself just as France began to break up. Egbert

**The Vikings  
in England.**

repulsed the Normans, and enjoyed a short period of peace before his death in 839, during which he was able to summon an assembly in London, to discuss the best means for defending the country and also for subduing Wales. The reign of Egbert's son and successor, Aethelwulf, which lasted twenty-two years, from 839 to

**Egbert  
King of all  
England.**

858, was mainly occupied by fighting against the Danes and the Normans, who succeeded in establishing permanent settlements along the coast, chiefly in islands such as Sheppey, Thanet, and Portland. Aethelwulf was a lover of peace and piety, but, with the help of his son, Aethelstan, who was king of Kent, he gained a victory over the Normans at Ockley in Surrey in 851, when they had landed with three hundred and fifty ships at the mouth of the Thames, and conquered London and Canterbury. But the success was only temporary. Roric, from Friesland, crossed the Channel, and established winter quarters in Sheppey. Aethelwulf had been first intended by his father for a priest, and was a firm supporter of the clergy. He sent his youngest son Aelfred to Rome, where he was crowned and anointed by Pope Leo IV. in 853, and, two years later, undertook himself a pilgrimage to the holy city, where he gave costly presents to the church of St. Peter, of gold, precious stones, and splendid

**Aethelwulf.**



robes, and made himself very popular. He also founded in Rome a Saxon college, and made arrangements by which England should contribute a yearly sum to the Holy See, which was the origin of the payment of "Peter's Pence." Aethelwulf stayed a year in Rome with his son Aelfred, and, on his return, paid a lengthy visit to Charles the Bald, whose daughter, Judith, he married. After the death of his eldest son Aethelstan, Aethelwulf divided the kingdom with two others, Aethelbald and Aethelbert, who both succeeded him. Aethelwulf himself died in 858; Aethelbald, in the flower of his youth, in 860, when Weyland, with a crowd of Danes from the Seine, landed at Southampton, and, marching to Winchester, plundered that town and the church, and murdered the monks. Aethelbert lived till 866, when the fourth brother, Aethelred, succeeded to the throne of Wessex, and reigned till 871. Eight kings and more than twenty earls, among them the two sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, now effected a landing on the coast of East Anglia. They established a fortified camp, acquired a number of horses, conquered York, and became rulers of the country. In 868, they went to Mercia, made themselves masters of Nottingham, and forced the English to make peace. After this they destroyed the rich abbey of Croyland, but the abbot, Theodore, hid his treasures in a well, upon which they slew him at the high altar, and burned the monastery. Peterborough and Ely suffered the same fate. In the winter of 870, Ingvar, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, got possession of Edmund, king of East Anglia, and, when he refused to abjure the Christian faith, tied him to a tree, and exposed him to a lingering death. Edmund the Martyr, ever since revered as a saint in England, died on November 20, 870. A Danish prince, Guthrum, succeeded to his throne.

In the spring of the following year, new swarms of Danes arrived, under two kings and four earls. Aethelred and his brother Aelfred met them at Reading. By the bravery of Aelfred, they were defeated, and one king and five earls were killed, but their repulse was only temporary, and on May 23, 871, Aethelred died of his wounds. Aelfred, the youngest son of Aethelwulf, now ascended the throne of Wessex, having been kept back by his brother, although he had been anointed at Rome eighteen years before. He is one of the greatest kings that England ever possessed, and still commands the devotion of his countrymen, who call him the Great. He

**The Danish  
Invasions.**

**Battle of  
Reading.**

**Aelfred,  
King of  
Wessex.**

was chiefly brought up by his mother, Osburga, and was now twenty-two years of age. He had great doubts of his competence to perform the duty imposed upon him, and began by buying off the Danes, that he might devote his attention to organising a defence. A respite of four years was secured, while the rest of England was ravaged. Then Wessex was attacked again. In 876, after a hard struggle, the Danes were partly forced, partly bribed, to withdraw. But in 878 came the famous winter invasion which drove the West Saxon king to Athelney. Danish annals tell how, in a battle fought in Devonshire, Ubba, the brother of Ingvar, and a thousand of his followers were slain, and the sacred banner was captured on which the three daughters of Ragnar Lodbrok had embroidered the Raven, the bird of Odin, which flapped its wings in victory, but drooped them in defeat. But Aelfred could do nothing against overwhelming numbers; the spirit of his countrymen was broken, and if he had then lost heart or an enemy's spear had slain him, English royalty would have perished from the earth and our island would have become the haunt of sea robbers. Aelfred, however, remained steadfast, and it is to this period that the stories about him which occupy so large a space in English histories belong. **Aelfred makes Peace with Guthrum.** And at last, in 880, he gained a great victory over the Danes at Eddington: they asked for peace, and their king, Guthrum, was baptized, and took the name of Aethelstan, receiving from Aelfred East Anglia as a fief, after which a more peaceful time ensued. Arrangements were made by which the eastern part of England was committed to the Danes, and a frontier established between them and the English.

Ten quiet years followed, and were occupied by Aelfred's wise government of his country, but though they left a permanent effect and an undying memory, belong to the history of England more than a general history of the world; but in the beginning of the nineties, when the victories of Arnulf in the Netherlands and the efforts of the Western Franks had checked the inroads of the Normans on the continent, new invasions took place in our island. The new comers brought their wives and children with them, as if they intended a permanent settlement, and matters were made worse by the death of the Danish prince Aethelstan, whose successor broke the peace with Aelfred. But Aelfred had so organised and established the strength of his country that for three years, with the help of his son Edward,

he was able to withstand their attacks, and matters were improved by the treaties which he had made with some of the Welsh princes, who acknowledged him as their sovereign. So Aelfred spent the remaining years of his life in comparative peace. At last, after a reign of thirty years, at the age of fifty-three, he died, on October 28, 901—one of the best and wisest kings who ever sat upon a throne.

Edward, Aelfred's eldest son, had, as crown prince, defeated the army of the Dane Haeston at Farnham, so that the great council of the Witenagemot had no hesitation in making him king of the West Saxons; but Aethelwold, Aelfred's nephew, thought that he had a stronger claim. He refused his allegiance to Edward, and established himself in Badbury, and was prepared to risk his life on the issue. When Edward attacked him, he took refuge with the Danes, and a civil war broke out. But in 909 the Danes were defeated, and the old alliance was renewed. Edward was a worthy son of his father; he extended his kingdom, strengthened it by the creation of towns and fortresses, and, having rivalled the glories of Egbert and Aelfred, died in 924, after a reign of twenty-four years. His daughter, Edgiva, married Charles the Simple, and, fearing for her safety, fled to England with her son, then three years old, who was afterwards known as Louis "from-beyond-the-Sea." A third heroic king, Aethelstan,

**Aethelstan.** ascended the throne of England in 924, and reigned till 941. It is said that he was the son of a beautiful peasant girl, whom his father found in a solitary hut during the chase and made his queen. We possess more legends with regard to his reign than trustworthy history. He held a high place among the sovereigns of Europe. The Emperor Otto I. married his daughter Edith, and a prince of Aquitaine, his sister. By his influence, Louis d'Outremer became king of the Franks, and in European difficulties recourse was had to his arbitration

**Battle of** and advice. But the great event of his reign was  
**Brunan-** the battle of Brunanburgh in Northumberland, in  
**burgh.** which the discipline and valour of the Saxons showed their superiority over the wild tribes of the North. The battle lasted a whole day, and was the last decisive victory of Germans over Celts, for in Aethelstan's army fought Normans, Wicking, and the Scandinavian brothers Thoralf and Eigil. Five Celtic kings and seven earls were killed, and the battle is celebrated in the poetry of both Saxons and Scandinavians,

Aethelstan died three years after the battle of Brunanburgh, on October 27, 940, loved and mourned by people and clergy for his generosity, his chivalry, his justice, and his good government. As he had no children, he was succeeded by his brother Edmund (941-946). The Danes and the Scotch took advantage of the change to renew their attacks, and Anlaf was summoned from Ireland and recognised as Lord of Northumberland. The Normans living in Mercia and East Anglia joined him, and Archbishop Wulfstan of York supported him. For three years England was desolated by wars which continued till Edmund got possession of the five towns of Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Leicester. Peace was made by the mediation of the archbishop of Canterbury, and Anlaf was recognised as king of York on doing homage to Edmund and being baptized, but rebelled within a year and was slain. Edmund himself was killed at a royal feast on May 26, 946, and, as his sons were too young to succeed, the crown was given to his brother Edred, who reigned for nine years (946-955), occupied mainly with wars against Eric, the son of Harold Bluetooth, king of the Danes. At last Eric was killed by treachery, with his two sons, but a large number of Danes settled in England, which has left their stamp on the country till the present day. Archbishop Wulfstan, who had assisted Eric, was moved from York to the see of Rochester in the south, and Edred was able to restore the monastery of Croyland. When he died without heirs, on November 26, 955, Edwy, the elder son of Edmund, a young man of remarkable beauty, was chosen king, and reigned from 955 to 959. Unfortunately, he was both weak and immoral.

**King Edmund.**

**King Edred.**

The reign of Edwy was distinguished by the life of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, belonging to the Benedictine Order, which had shortly before been reformed by the influence of the abbey of Cluny. Dunstan and Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, set themselves against the king, in consequence of which Dunstan was exiled and fled to Flanders. But Edwy fared no better; a large portion of England soon revolted, and summoned his brother Edgar to the throne. In 957, Dunstan was recalled, made bishop of Worcester and London, and taken by Edgar as his chief adviser. Edwy had to separate from his wife, Aethelgiva, on the ground of consanguinity, but died himself on October 1, 959, after a short and miserable reign.

**Edwy—Rise of Dunstan.**

**King Edgar.**

Edgar was now recognised as king in the south, and governed the kingdom, under the influence of Dunstan. He reigned happily for seventeen years, from 959 to 975, a period always celebrated as an age of gold. On the death of Odo, Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury, and set himself to reform the church of which he was the head. Edgar was of small stature, but true and courageous. He repressed insubordination in Cumberland and Wales. It is said that eight vassal kings rowed his barge on the Dee, himself seated at the rudder. At the age of thirty he was solemnly crowned by Dunstan at Bath, establishing a close union between church and state. After his death, his

**Edward the  
Martyr.**

son Edward, a boy of thirteen, was raised to the throne by the influence of Dunstan, but he reigned only a short time. On March 18, 978, as he was riding in the chase, he stopped before the palace of his step-mother, Aelfrida, to receive a drink which was offered him, was stabbed treacherously in the back, and was dignified, without much reason, with the name of Martyr.

Aelfrida was able to raise her young son Aethelred to the throne, which he held till 1016, but his nickname, the  
**Aethelred** "Unready," which shows his weakness in council,  
**"the Un-"** shows also that he was not worthy of much  
**ready."** honour. For the first ten years he had the assistance of Dunstan, and it was not until the Archbishop's death, in 988, that misfortunes burst over the kingdom. The Wicking renewed their attacks. The most dreaded enemies of the English were Sven Forkbeard and Olaf Tryggveson. In 992 Aethelred attempted to purchase peace by the payment of a tribute of £10,000, which was known as the Danegelt,

**The  
Danegelt.**

and lasted, as a heavy tax upon the people, for many years, ceasing finally only under Henry II. In the year 999, Aethelred was obliged to purchase peace from the Danes at the price of £24,000, and shortly afterwards married Emma, the daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy, who had been a strong supporter of the Cluniac reform. Emma, who was called the jewel and flower of Normandy, took the Saxon name of Aelgiva, and much was expected from the assistance of her

**Massacre of  
the Danes.**

brave and prudent brother, Richard II. But Aethelred, reduced to despair, allowed himself to be guilty of a terrible crime. On November 13, 1002, the night of Saint Brice, an attempt was made to murder the whole of the Danes in England, with their children and

their English wives, so that Saint Brice stands in English history as a pendant to the horrors of St. Bartholomew in the history of France. Vengeance was not long in coming. Among the victims had been Gunhild, the wife of Jarl Pallig and the sister of Sven Forkbeard, who, being now king of Norway, determined to avenge his sister's death. In 1003, he landed in Devonshire, took possession of Exeter, and laid waste Wiltshire and Hampshire. The Danegeld rose to £48,000; the whole country, from Kent to Northumberland, was a scene of murder and violence. A new tax was levied under the name of ship-money, to build a fleet for the protection of the coast. The archbishop of Canterbury was carried off on a Danish ship, and, when he refused to pay the ransom demanded, was foully murdered. In 1013, Sven Forkbeard, now an old man, having committed the government of Denmark to his son Harold, sailed again to England, accompanied by his son Cnut, determined to destroy the Saxon kingdom for ever. He established his camp at Gainsborough. After many bloody fights, in which he earned the name of "England's Devil," he entered London, and Aethelred, having collected his treasure in Winchester, fled with his wife and children to the court of his brother-in-law, Richard, in Normandy. But, hearing that Sven had died on February 2, 1014, he returned, at the request of nobles, clergy, and people.

Aethelred's triumph was of short duration. In 1015, Cnut (generally known as Canute) appeared with a fleet of Wicking ships on the coast of England, to take possession of his father's kingdom. Aethelred hid himself in London, and when he died in the following year the greater part of England fell into Canute's hands. But he left behind him a chivalrous son, Edmund, who, for his bravery, received the name of Ironside. The Danes found it impossible to capture London, and Edmund would have saved England, as Aelfred had saved her before, had he not been overthrown by treachery. The decisive battle was fought at Assandun (Ashdown) in 1016, and Edmund would have won had not the ealdorman Edric fled with his men from the field and given the battle to the Danes. The two leaders met, and determined to divide the country between them, Canute taking the north and Edmund the south, but, on November 30, 1016, Edmund was treacherously slain, probably by the machinations of Edric, and Canute was recognised as king by the Witenagemot and the people.

Edmund's brothers and sons were excluded from the succession, and the best of them, Edwy, was put to death. Two of them found a refuge with St. Stephen, king of Hungary. Edmund's brother-in-law, Uhtred of Northumbria, was slain, and his earldom was given to the Northman Eric. The traitor Eadric was soon executed, and East Anglia was given to Thurkil.

Canute began his reign well, and endeavoured to establish his throne on a secure basis. He married Emma, Aethelred's widow, exiled the irreconcilables, and made peace with the rest. He punished London by exacting a fine of £10,500, besides an enormous Dane-geld. His objects were to establish a united government in England, and to convert Denmark and Norway to Christianity. He traversed England from end to end, and during his seventeen years of reign sent out from his capital, Winchester, laws which are a model of wisdom and justice. He protected himself with a body-guard of house carles. He supported the church, and paid special honours to Dunstan and Edmund, now raised to the rank of saints. In 1026, he made a pilgrimage to Rome. An evidence of the position which he held in Europe was the marriage of his daughter Gunhilde to the son and heir of the Emperor Conrad. She died early, "like a morning-star fading away in the dawn." Canute's government of England was admirable. He cultivated the wasted fields; he built castles and bridges, and made roads; he erected churches and chapels. Some of the Danes were discontented at the favour shown to the English, but he put them down with a strong hand, forced his old friend Thurkil to leave the country, and deposed Eric from the earldom of Northumbria. The manner in which, in 1028, he obtained the crown of Norway by the overthrow of the wise and pious King Olaf is not much to his credit. He died on November 11, 1035, and was buried at Winchester. He was a mighty ruler, but was not free from unregulated ambition and bursts of unrestrained passion. Well-known stories about him tell of his sitting on the sea-shore and bidding the waves not to approach, and rebuking his courtiers for their flattery when the sea came up and wetted his feet; and of his rowing on the flooded fens by Ely, and asking in elegant and humorous verse that he might draw near and hear the hymns in the cathedral.

After the death of Canute, there were three claimants for the

English throne—Harold, his eldest son; Hardicanute, his son by Emma, who was not yet of age; and Edward, the son of Emma and Aethelred. The legitimacy of Harold was doubtful; Hardicanute was in Denmark, weak in health and a hard drinker; and

**Harold and  
Hardi-  
canute.**

Edward, who was staying in Rouen, was foiled in his attempt to land at Southampton with a band of Normans, while his brother Aelfred was seized by Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and blinded. The result was that Harold was elected, and Emma had to take refuge at Bruges. Harold, however, died on March 17, 1040, and Hardicanute was elected king. But he died suddenly at a marriage feast on June 8, 1042, and the ground was left open for Aethelred's son, Edward, known as the Confessor, who reigned from 1042 to 1066.

Edward was a pious and peace-loving monarch, who had been rendered unfit to reign in these stormy times by his monastic training and his retiring character, so that he fell into the hands of Godwin, the father of numerous

**Edward the  
Confessor.**

sons, whom he placed in positions of authority and command. Edward married the gifted, charming, and virtuous daughter of Godwin; but the strictness of his religious observances unfitted him for the pleasures of family life. Denmark and Norway were lost, the one falling to Sven Estrithson, a nephew of Canute, the other to a descendant of St. Olaf. Edward was crowned at the cathedral of Winchester at Easter, 1043. His mother Emma was compelled to surrender the royal treasures which she had appropriated, and to return to Bruges.

## 2. THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND, A.D. 1043-1087.

The people of England greeted Edward with enthusiasm, expecting to find in him a thoroughly English king, but they were disappointed. Long residence in Normandy had convinced him of the superiority of French

**English and  
Normans.**

culture, and indisposed him to submit to the boorishness of the Saxons. He favoured Normans in every way, submitted himself to the see of Rome, for which the Saxons had no great respect, forced Godwin to leave the kingdom, and shut up his wife Edgitha in a convent. Godwin could not put up with this treatment. He took refuge in Flanders, while his son Harold went to Ireland and joined Griffith, king of North Wales, in harrying the west of England.



The general feeling of the English was in favour of Harold and against the intruding Normans; Godwin sailed up the Thames; Robert of Jumièges, the Norman arch-bishop of Canterbury, was obliged to flee to Normandy. Godwin was supported by the Witenagemot, and returned to his possessions. When the Normans were got rid of, the Saxons looked forward to the enjoyment of a national reign, but Archbishop Robert stirred up Duke William of Normandy, the illegitimate son of Robert the Devil, to aim at succeeding the childless Edward. Godwin died in 1053; Harold succeeded him in Wessex; Tostig, his brother, became earl of Northumberland in succession to Siward, who had conquered Macbeth, the murderer of King Duncan, and is famous for meeting death in full armour, with his battle axe in his hand. Edward survived Godwin twelve years, a just, pious and righteous king, whose peaceful virtues were unfitted to obtain success in those times of troubled war. Harold, on the other hand, possessed all the active virtues in the fullest measure, and had won a reputation by his fighting in Wales. The last act of Edward was the completion and dedication of Westminster Abbey at Christmas, 1065. He died on January 5, 1066, and was buried in his own cathedral.

**Exile and Return of Godwin.** Edgar Aetheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, and the only surviving male member of the royal house, was a mere boy, and Harold was immediately chosen king.

**Election of Harold.**

Within a few months the new ruler was obliged to turn his arms against his brother Tostig, who had been driven out of Northumberland by the exasperation of the nobles at his evil government, but had recovered his earldom, by the help of the count of Flanders and of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway. It was necessary for Harold to put him down, and this was done at the battle of Stamford Bridge, where the struggle continued for a whole day, and did not come to an end until the king of Norway had been slain by an arrow and Tostig had received his death-blow. No sooner had Harold gained this victory than he hastened to meet more serious danger.

William of Normandy, born in 1027, was full of the spirit of a Wiking. His father, Robert the Devil, who was charged with having killed his brother, Richard III., died on July 23, 1035, at Nicaea, in Bithynia, on his way to Jerusalem, William being only eight years of age. He secured his position

by marrying Matilda, daughter of Count Baldwin of Flanders, and, on the death of Edward, determined to obtain the throne of England, to which he had no manner of claim whatever. The battle of Hastings was fought on October 29, 1066, perhaps the most notable date in English history. Harold fell, pierced by an arrow in the eye, and the Saxons were defeated. During his reign, which lasted till September 1087, William entirely transformed England, but the events of it are so fully related in histories of England that it is not necessary to recount them here. We must turn to the exploits of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily.

**Battle of  
Hastings.**

### 3. THE NORMANS IN ITALY, A.D. 1016-1187.

Southern Italy, a scene of party strife, embittered by treachery, murder, and crime of every kind, was disputed between Lombards, Greeks, and Arabs, and offered a promising field for any adventurer who could stop the ravages of pirates and establish some form of good government. In 1011, two Apulian nobles of Lombard origin, called Melus and Dattus, after an unsuccessful attempt to rescue Bari from the Greeks, took refuge with the duke of Capua. Pope Benedict VIII., who wished to put an end to the Greek rule in Italy, gave Dattus a strong fortress on the Garigliano, while Melus sought the assistance of the Normans. In 1016, forty Norman knights, on landing at Salerno on their return from Jerusalem, found the city beleaguered by the Saracens, in consequence of the refusal of their customary tribute.

**State of  
Southern  
Italy.**

**The  
Normans  
at Salerno.**

Borrowing arms and horses from the prince of Salerno, they soon put the unbelievers to flight, and, when they returned to their country, they received an embassy from Salerno, asking them to undertake a campaign against the Moslems in southern Italy. The ambassadors brought with them almonds, oranges, sugared walnuts, silken robes, arms and trappings covered with gold—evidences of the richness of the country—and the invitation was accepted. Two hundred and fifty Norman knights crossed the Alps, and met with a warm welcome. They came to Rome, and the pope, seeing their size and prowess, determined to employ them against the Byzantine Greeks, and introduced them to Melus, who was established in Capua.

In May 1017, they defeated the Greeks at Fortore and

acquired all the country as far as Trani. Afterwards they suffered reverses, being defeated by the Greeks at Cannae in 1019; but in 1027, one of their leaders, Ranulf, was able to establish an independent power in Aversa. New swarms of Normans came in, conspicuous among them being the ten valiant sons of Tancred of Hauteville, who—leaving two brothers to look after their aged father and continue the family in France—joined one after another in the Italian enterprise. William “the Iron Arm,” Drogo, Humfrey, Roger, a handsome man of mighty stature, and Robert Guiscard a clever intriguer, were the most famous, and the Greeks determined to make use of them for driving the Saracens out of Sicily. In 1038, accordingly, they went there in the service of the Catapan. The Saracens, led by eunuchs, were defeated; Messina was taken; the emir of Syracuse fell under the lance of Iron Arm; and, in a short time, the whole of the island acknowledged the rule of the Byzantine emperor. But, disgusted by the scurvy treatment which they received from their employers, the Normans returned to Aversa, determined to repay themselves by new conquests. The Catapan, who now opposed them, was defeated at the well-known Cannae, and the Normans gained possession of Melfi, which became a point of departure for future enterprises. Between 1040 and 1043, they made themselves masters of Taranto, Otranto, Brindisi, and Bari; and William, the Iron Arm, took the title of Count of Apulia. Three years later he died, and was succeeded by his brother Drogo.

However, Pope Leo IX. set himself against them, and Argyros, the son of Melus, had Drogo murdered in a church. His place was taken by his brother Humphrey. The Emperor Henry III. crossed the Alps with a small army, and the Normans offered to become vassals of the pope, but Leo insisted on their leaving Italy. They would rather die at the hands of the enemy than return to Normandy disgraced. They succeeded in winning the battle of Civitella in 1053, in which the pope was taken prisoner. Then Leo determined to invest them with the feudal possession of all the lands which they had wrested from the Greeks and Saracens, and—having thus made them his vassals—he returned to Monte Casino, where he died in the following year.

In 1056 Humphrey died, and, as the sons whom he left behind him were of tender age, Robert Guiscard, their uncle, was made count of Apulia. He possessed in the fullest

measure the qualities, both good and bad, which had raised the Normans to power in Italy. He made friends with the church, and showed such respect to Pope Nicholas II., in the synod of Melfi, that he persuaded him to withdraw the ban which had been laid upon him, to renew the feudal possession of his lands, and to make him duke instead of count of Apulia. The Normans did him homage as "Robert, duke by the grace of God and St. Peter." Well did he deserve the name of Robert Wiseacre. He spent four years in conquering his dukedom, in reducing the Lombard princes, in driving the Greeks out of Apulia and Calabria, in getting possession of Taranto, Otranto, Troja, and other places, and he was not master of Bari, the last Byzantine possession, till 1071. In the meantime his brother Roger, the young and beautiful, had been conquering Sicily for himself from the Arabs, the pope assisting him with the present of a consecrated banner. The enterprise, which began in 1062, achieved its first great success two years later in the conquest of Palermo; but Syracuse did not fall till 1085, Girgenti till 1087, or Enna, in the interior of the island, till 1090. Not content with his conquests in Italy, Robert Wiseacre determined to cross the Ionian Sea and to attack the Byzantine emperor in his own country. Alexius Comnenus, with his Norman Varangians, was defeated in the battle of Durazzo in June 1081, and the city of Durazzo was captured, after which Robert penetrated into the heart of Epirus and Thessaly, approached Salonica, and made the emperor tremble in Constantinople. He was, however, recalled by Pope Gregory VII., leaving his son Boemund to continue his work in Thessaly. After many more adventures and exploits, which cannot be recounted here, he died in the island of Kephallenia in July 1085, at the age of seventy, and is buried at Venusia, the birth-place of the poet Horace.

**Robert  
Guiscard.**

**Conquest of  
Sicily.**

**Battle of  
Durazzo.**

The sons of Robert, Boemund and Roger, after some disputes, divided their father's dominions between them, Roger taking Apulia and the title of duke, Boemund Taranto with a portion of Calabria. Boemund took part in the first crusade, became prince of Antioch, but died at Taranto in 1111. The family of Guiscard came to an end with William, son of Roger, but in the island Roger II., son of Guiscard's brother Roger, became king of

**End of the  
Guiscards.**

Sicily and Apulia in 1127, and, on Christmas Day, 1130, the anti-pope, Anacletus II., allowed him to be crowned in Palermo as king of Naples and Sicily, on the condition that he became a vassal of the Holy See, and recognised the right of the pontiff to Benevento. On the other hand, Pope Innocent II. placed the Normans under the ban of the church, and called the German Emperor Lothar into the field against them, but in 1139 Innocent changed his mind and recognised Roger as king of Sicily and duke of Apulia. Not satisfied with this, Robert occupied Malta, acquired Tunis and Tripoli, besieged Corfu, robbed Athens, Thebes, and Corinth of their costly treasures, and even attacked the imperial palace at Constantinople, until he was driven back by the fleet of the Emperor Manuel, who sent his admiral, Palaeologus, to recover southern Italy for his crown, an enterprise which signally failed. When Roger died in 1154, he left the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in a position of prosperity, founded on a peaceful, just, and orderly government which was not equalled by any other state in Italy. Palermo and Amalfi vied with Venice and Pisa in commercial prosperity. Medicine and science were studied at Palermo, and law at Amalfi and Naples, with a success which is not forgotten in our own day.

William, the son and successor of Roger II., spent the eleven years of his reign in the idle sensuality of an Eastern sultan, which earned him the name of the "Wicked," while George Majo, son of a merchant of Bari, acted as his grand vizier. His court became orientalised, with its harem and its eunuchs.

His son, William II., who reigned from 1166 to 1189, revived the power of the crown by his youth, beauty, and innocence. Party strife was suppressed, unjust laws were repealed, and Sicily enjoyed with him a short period of peace and prosperity. The people of Sicily and Apulia long regarded the reign of William III. as a golden age. He left no children, and his dominions passed to the German family of the Hohenstauffens, for, in 1186, Constance, daughter of Roger II., heiress of the Norman possessions in Italy, married in Milan, with great festivities, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, afterwards Henry VI., who was then twenty-one years old, ten years younger than his bride.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE EMPIRE RESTORED—HENRY THE FOWLER,

A.D. 919-936: OTTO I., A.D. 936-973.

THE Emperor Conrad I. (911-918) was a prince with all the knightly virtues, dignified and magnificent, generous, affectionate, and of cheerful manner, but the task which was set before him was more than he could accomplish: **Conrad the Frank.** indeed, his domains did not afford a sufficiently large foundation on which to rest the royal authority. Even Henry of Saxony, the son of the Otto who retired in his favour, would not acknowledge his authority, and resolved to resist him by force. The Danes, Slavs, and Magyars made incursions into his realm from different sides, the worst of all being the Magyars, who penetrated as far as the Saale and the Weser. Conrad died on December 27, 918, and, when he saw his end approaching, he persuaded his brother Eberhard to renounce the succession and to submit to Henry of Saxony, the head of the rival house. He said to his brother: "We have many who are true to us, and a great people who follow us into war: we have castles and arms; in our hands are crowns and sceptres. But we have not the faculty of governing, and we have no luck. Luck and the power of governing belong to Henry: the future of the empire is with the Saxons. Take, then, the royal emblems, with the king's mantle, the sword, and the crown of our ancient monarchs; go to Henry, and make thy peace with him as a friend." Eberhard did as he was advised, and the spot is still shown in Quedlinburg where the momentous interview took place.

The kings and emperors of the Saxon house, also known as the Liudolfings, from Liudolf their founder, reigned in Germany for just on a hundred years, from 919 to 1024. They included two Henrys and three Ottos. **The Saxon Emperors—** Henry I., called the Fowler, because he was fond of going after birds, was acknowledged as king by **Henry the Fowler.** the magnates of the empire at Fritzlar in Hesse in 919. He

was at first received only by the Saxons and the Franks, but in the following year he was recognised by the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia as their feudal superior. He refused to be crowned, and called himself "King by the Grace of God." Lorraine was at first left to Charles the Simple, but in 925 Henry got possession of it, first defeating and capturing its duke, Gisibert, and then making him his son-in-law and friend. Henry used his royal power with great wisdom and moderation. His desire was to be rather the head of a confederation than the despotic ruler of a motley empire. He said: "As the circle of the crown unites in itself the bright jewels, and is thus the most magnificent emblem of earthly power, so the royal authority should include in itself all German lands without destroying their individual life. Let each part preserve its own tradition, and order itself after its own laws and customs. Let a duke guide and lead in war, a duke whom counts and nobles are bound to follow in war and obey; let him hold parliaments to appease strife and quarrels in the country; let the poor and the oppressed find defence and support with him; let him protect the churches, uphold the land's peace, and defend the frontier against the invading foe; as the dukes stand over the several races in the empire, so let the king stand high over all people and all lands of the empire, the supreme judge and general of the whole people, the last resource of the afflicted and the oppressed, the final protector of the church."

In the year 924, when Henry had been five years on the throne, the Hungarians made an invasion, which extended as far as Saxony. Wherever they came the country was laid waste; the monasteries and the churches, the dwellings of the poor peasants, were destroyed by fire—old and young, men and women, were slaughtered. The march of the enemy could be traced by the fire and smoke which accompanied it; men hid themselves in the depths of the woods and in the tops of mountains and in the rocks. Henry, unable to make head against them with his scanty cavalry, took refuge in his castle of Goslar and entered into negotiations with them. On the payment of a yearly tribute, they agreed to leave the country, and for nine years Henry had leisure to strengthen his defences. In those days, the Saxons lived either in large farms or in open villages, according to the custom of their forefathers; the only towns were those the Romans had built on the Rhine and the Danube, and these were mostly in ruins. The centres of population in Saxony were the palaces of the

king, the castles of the nobles, and the "liberties" attached to the dwellings of bishops, priests, and monks. Henry did his best to create towns round all possible centres, and to build fortresses on the frontiers. Quedlinburg, Goslar, and Merseburg owe their origin to his wisdom, the last being a barrier against the Slavs. He ordered that every ninth man should move from the country into the towns; that the third part of all produce should be taken there; and that all trials, assemblies of the people, and commercial transactions should go on inside the walls. Meissen on the Elbe was fortified to spread German culture among the Slavic Serbs in the Lausitz, so that Henry well deserved the name of the town-builder. He also taught the Saxons to fight more on horseback.

**Henry's  
Towns.**

In 928, when four years had been spent in these reforms, he subdued the Havellers, a Slavonic race on the Havel and the Spree, and made their capital Lebus and their whole land tributary. With the help of the Bavarians, he subjected the Bohemians to his authority. It is said that in the battle of Lenzen on the Elbe, fought in 929, he killed 20,000 Wends, and for ever broke their power, which certainly seems an exaggeration. It should be mentioned that Wend is not the appellation of a nation or of a race, but is a name given by Teutons to Slavs, wherever they come into contact, just as Welsh is a name given by Teutons to Kelts. These Wends were generally inoffensive, hard-working people, who had the misfortune to be heathens, and it is distressing to read how they were treated by German conquerors like Charles the Great and Henry. The ill-feeling generated in those days by these cruelties has never died out, and explains the antagonism between the Slavs and the Teutons at the present time.

**Henry and  
the Wends.**

The time had now come for taking vengeance on the Hungarians; the tribute was refused, and when they attempted to enforce it by arms they were entirely defeated on March 15, 934, at Riade, in the Golden Meadow, now represented by Merseburg. Henry also defeated Gorm, king of Denmark, and re-established the mark of Schleswig, which had first been formed by Charles the Great. He was, indeed, the great creator of marks or frontier districts—the Altmark or the Nordmark, the mark of Meissen, and between the two the Ostmark, afterwards known as the Lausitz, which we have already mentioned. Having accomplished all these labours before he was sixty years old, he was struck by

**Defeat of  
the Hun-  
garians.**



paralysis while he was hunting at Botfeld in the Harz, and never thoroughly recovered. He summoned the *grande*es of the kingdom to Erfurt in 936, and there presented to them his son Otto as his heir. He then returned to Memleben on the Unstrut, in the Golden Meadow, where he had another stroke. He knew that his end was near, and said to his wife: "My dear faithful wife, I thank God that I am dying before you. You have often softened my wrath, given me good advice, and induced me to pardon offenders. I thank you, and commend you and our children to Almighty God." She went into the church to pray, and while she was on her knees heard a cry, which told her that the king was dead. Thus, on July 2, 936, passed away the greatest ruler of his time, inferior to none in body or mind. But he left behind him a son greater even than himself. He was buried in the abbey church of Quedlinburg, which he had founded.

Henry left three sons besides Otto—Thankmar, son of Hatheburg, Henry, later duke of Bavaria, and Bruno, later archbishop of Cologne. But Otto seemed the most promising, and his mother, Mathilde, worked for him, so that, when he was recommended by his father for the throne, the Franks and Saxons had no doubt about choosing him, which was done in a very formal manner. He was crowned in the cathedral of Aachen by the archbishop of Mainz, the metropolitan, assisted by the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, these three becoming eventually the three ecclesiastical electors of the emperor. We find also the lay electors performing for the first time their special functions at the ceremony. Duke Giselbert of Lorraine, in whose domain Aachen was situated, acted as chamberlain, and had the general direction of the festival; Eberhard, duke of Franconia, as seneschal, arranged the table; Hermann, duke of Swabia, performed the office of butler; and Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, as marshal, looked after the carriages and superintended the arrangements of the stables. The coronation took place on August 8, 938. Otto was a worthy successor to his father, in whose footsteps he trod. He reduced the proud nobles to obedience, and established the unity of the empire. He conquered his enemies to the east and the north, and preached Christianity to them. He subdued the Hungarians, and brought their invasions to an end. He restored the splendour and prestige of the Holy Roman Empire, and deserved the name which English writers have generally accorded to him of Otto the Great.

At the same time, his elevation to the imperial throne at the age of twenty-one did not pass without jealousy and opposition. Eberhard, the duke of the Franks, raised the standard of revolt, assisted by Thankmar, and civil war broke out in Hesse and Westphalia. But the Eresburg was stormed, and Thankmar was slain at the foot of the altar, where he had taken refuge. Eberhard was punished by a short banishment. In the year before this (937), huge hordes of Hungarians had invaded Saxony by way of Franconia. They were beaten back by Otto, and when he followed them they retreated towards the west and laid waste the northern half of France as far as the Loire. Otto's brother Henry now rose in arms against him, and received large support. He allied himself with the ungrateful Eberhard, who was still thirsting for revenge, and with the ambitious Giselbert of Lorraine, Otto's own brother-in-law, who was anxious to turn his duchy into an independent kingdom. Louis IV., king of France, called also Louis-from-beyond-the-Sea, or Louis d'Outremer, from having been educated in England, also took part in the enterprise. Twice did Henry bring his brother into great straits, but we are told by Nithard, his historian, that the pious emperor took refuge in prayer, and sought assistance from One by whom it was not refused. At the battle of Biethen on the Rhine, not far from Xanten, Otto gained a victory over his opponents; Eberhard and Giselbert fled, and were surprised by Count Udo and Count Conrad Shortpole, after they had been again defeated in the neighbourhood of Andernach. Eberhard died of his wounds, and Giselbert was drowned in an attempt to swim across the Rhine, and his body was never recovered.

**Rebellions  
quelled.**

Henry was now compelled to submit to his victorious brother, who magnanimously pardoned him. But soon afterwards, with great ingratitude, he entered into a conspiracy with Frederick, archbishop of Mainz, and some other discontented nobles. They formed a plot for murdering Otto during the Easter festival at Quedlinburg. The conspiracy was discovered in 941, and the ringleaders were put to death. The archbishop was imprisoned at Fulda, while Henry fled, and disappeared for a time from the sight of men. In this seclusion he seems to have realised his wickedness, and sought pardon of his brother, who promised to do him no injury. He was first brought to Otto's palace at Ingelheim, and placed under arrest. Escaping from this confinement, he went to the cathedral at Frankfort, where Otto was keeping his Christmas festival, and, clad in a hair-cloth

dress, with his feet bare, threw himself at his brother's knees and embraced him. From this time forth, the concord of the brothers was never again disturbed.

But Otto was convinced that it was necessary to concentrate and strengthen the royal power more than his father had done.

Otto's Gov-  
ernment.

He therefore visited the different parts of his dominions, with a view to showing that he was master over the dukes. He established an order of *counts palatine* to keep the dukes and *grafen* in check. He also took care to commit the duchies to persons whom he could trust. He invested Count Conrad the Red with the duchy of Lorraine and gave him his daughter Liutgard to wife. At the same time, he did not hesitate to commit the important duchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had behaved so badly to him. The duchy of Swabia was given to his darling son, Liudolf, who married the daughter of the last duke, while Hermann the Billing, who had fought by Otto's side in his battle against the Slavs, was created duke of Saxony. We are also told that when he invested anyone with a duchy or with a county, or with a bishopric or imperial abbey, Otto gave the first a lance with a banner attached to it, and the second a ring and a staff. He then made them place their hands in his, and take an oath of homage, binding themselves to be true and faithful to him for all time, to follow him whenever he called them, and never to leave him in time of need. Otto was a born ruler, and inspired respect by his majestic appearance and commanding look. He carried out the principle of being magnanimous to the weak and pitiless to the strong. In order to be better able to keep his nobles in obedience, he made a close alliance with the church, bestowing bishoprics and abbeys on relations, so as to keep the empire together. He also reformed the system of imperial finance, not establishing a uniform tax, but taking care that the "*Ehrengeschek*," or Gift of Heaven, which had been contributed according to ancient custom, by both ecclesiastical and lay nobles, should receive a more formal and obligatory character. The taxes paid for the expenses of the court, the burdens of purveyance, the duty of arming and maintaining the army, often became a very heavy burden.

Otto was a great legislator. He treated with respect the capitularies of the Carlings, but gave consideration to the altered circumstances of his time. While his position as king was founded on Carolingian law, he punished treason and the breach of the royal peace according to Frankish law. At the

same time, he paid great attention to unwritten custom, which, in a kingdom composed of such motley elements, was a matter of much importance. He established a system of arbitration and favoured trial by combat. The proceedings in all courts were open; the dukes presided over those in their provinces, the *grafen*, as their deputies, in the *Gauen* or hundreds. The judges were everywhere assisted by assessors or *Schöffen*, who formed a kind of jury. Under Otto the law never became foreign or artificial, but was always popular and easily understood. It was said of him that his laws were not written on parchment but inscribed on men's hearts. The king's law, the people's law, the feudal law, and the law of service, developed themselves, according to the law of custom, in great variety. As among the Merwings and the Carlings, the king was the centre of the empire: wherever he happened to lodge was his government and his court. He decided on public affairs with the help of his counts and bishops, whom he chose to invite as he removed from one palace (called in Germany *Pfalz*) to another. It was said of him, "His house is in all places in the German territory, and he will see everywhere and determine for himself what goes on in his country." He did not stay long in any one place, but his favourite resting places were his castles in the Harz, Goslar, Quedlinburg, as well as Kyffhäuser in the Goldene Aue (the Golden Meadow). His restless life contributed to the unity of his kingdom. His court exhibited especial splendour on great church festivals, when he received the visits of the spiritual and lay dignitaries, the duty of his vassals, the tribute and the presents of his people. In the court of the sovereign there was a cheerful and motley life wherever he stayed. Feast succeeded feast with little cessation, but there was business as well as pleasure, the most important matters being determined on often, according to ancient custom, during the banquet itself. Now were settled questions of war or peace; treaties were made or denounced with foreign kings or peoples; bishops and counts were appointed, and new fiefs and privileges given. The travelling camp of the sovereign took the place of the more formal diet of the Carlings. The times of assembly often coincided with the great church festivals, especially Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when, according to the old English expression, the king "wore his crown."

Otto gave the Lusatian Mark to Gero, a Saxon, of no distinguished birth, but of great daring and cunning. He fought against the Luitizen and other Wendish peoples, who lived

between the Saale and the middle Elbe to the Oder. He once invited thirty of their chiefs to a banquet, and, when they were all well drunken, killed them; and at last he reduced all the Wendish tribes as far as the Oder, and made them tributary, so that even the duke of Poland recognised his suzerainty. Hermann, the Billung, treated in the same way the Wends living between the mouths of the Eider and the Haff. For the conversion of the heathen Otto founded the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the subordinate bishoprics of Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, Brandenburg, and Havelberg. But the Slavs detested Christianity, and also the Germans who had brought it to them, and tried to force it upon them with such cruel atrocities. Harold Bluetooth had driven the Saxons out of the mark of Schleswig, and subdued all the country between the Eider and the Dannewerk. In 947, Otto invaded Denmark and recovered Schleswig for the empire. He pressed on as far as the north of Jutland, and fixed his spear in the waves to mark the limits of his dominions, and the place was called Ottensund. He founded the bishoprics of Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhus, and placed them under the direction first of Hamburg, and then of Bremen. The conversion of the Baltic Wends to Christianity proceeded from the bishopric of Oldenburg, which was afterwards removed to Lübeck. Towns sprang up on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Danube. The Bohemians, who had joined Boleslav, the murderer of his brother Wenzel, in throwing off the German supremacy, were again brought into subjection. In 950, Otto made war against Boleslav and compelled him to submit. His pious son, Boleslav II., not only became a vassal of the Germans, but accepted Christianity as the religion of his kingdom, and established a bishop's see in Prag. By this and similar actions Otto attained such eminence that the ambassadors of France, Italy, and Burgundy met in his camp with the chiefs of the Wends, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Danes, and he exchanged presents with the emperor of Constantinople and the khalif of Cordova.

We must now consider Otto's activity in Italy, a country which had been given up to confusion, lawlessness, and corruption of morals since the extinction of the power of the Carlings. Many Italian nobles had tried to attain the position of king, but none founded a lasting dominion. The longest to reign was Hugo of Lower Burgundy, who made himself detested by his severity, and was the husband of Marozia, whom we have

Otto in  
Italy.

already mentioned. He was driven out of his position, first by Alberic II. and then by Berengar, marquis of Ivrea, who obtained the sovereignty, but shared it with Hugo's son, Lothar. At first Berengar ruled with mildness, and won the affection of all; but, after Hugo had died in Burgundy in 947, and Lothar at Turin in 950, he became cruel and tyrannical. The interference of Otto in Italy is due to a romantic incident. When Berengar heard of Lothar's untimely death, he summoned the grandees of Italy to a meeting at Pavia, and persuaded them to choose himself and his son Adalbert as kings, and they both received the crown of Lombardy in December 15, 950. After this, Berengar grew yet harsher, and became unpopular, so that a report arose that Lothar had died of poison. Lothar had left behind him a widow, Adelheid, daughter of Rudolf II. of Burgundy, who laid claim to the throne of Italy. She was beautiful and of high character, and in every way suited to be a ruler. Berengar and his wife Villa conceived a deadly hatred for Adelheid; they persecuted her, deprived her of her jewels, and threw her into prison at Garda, where she remained four months.

Adelheid contrived to escape in a wonderful manner with the assistance of a priest, and, passing over the mountains, reached first Camerina, where she found protection, and then Reggio. The ill-treatment of Adelheid came to the ears of her brother, Conrad of Burgundy, who was protected by Otto, and her mother Bertha. Adelheid had always distinguished herself by the kindness which she had shown to pilgrims who were travelling to Rome, and it is said that even Gero had been her guest. The grandees of the kingdom gave their consent, but Liudolf, duke of Swabia, Otto's son, whose wife Ida was the half-sister of Adelheid's mother, impatiently anticipated his father and invaded Italy first. He had hoped that Italy would rise in his favour, and that he would meet his father crowned with laurels, but, instead of this, he suffered from hunger and sickness, and had to return with shame and to meet his father with his wasted host, as he approached the Brenner, and entered into the valley of the Adige, in September 951. Otto reached Pavia on September 23, and sent his brother Henry of Bavaria to bring Adelheid into the camp. He then married her with great pomp, and invested her with large possessions, so that she became one of the richest women in the world. This marriage gave Otto a claim to the Carling succession of Italy,

and the Burgundians joined him. He reduced the whole country without opposition from Berengar, called himself "King of the Franks and Lombards and King of Italy," and invested his followers with fiefs. Bishop Manasseh, who opened to him the gates of Verona, was made archbishop of Milan. In the beginning of the following year he was recalled to Germany, leaving his son-in-law Conrad as his representative. Conrad, however, gave Italy back to Berengar, on the condition that he should submit to Otto and recognise him as his overlord. Berengar went to Magdeburg, accompanied by Conrad, and was afterwards, at the diet of Augsburg in 952, invested by Otto with the fief of Italy. But the mark of Friuli and the territory of Verona were given to Henry of Bavaria—an act of evil omen for Italian unity in the future.

Liudolf of Swabia and Conrad of Lorraine were very angry at the favour thus shown to Henry, and they divided the royal house against itself. They soon had other support; Lorraine, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria wavered in their allegiance. Frederick, archbishop of Mainz, joined them, and they had adherents even in Saxony. They took possession of Mainz and Regensburg, and Otto besieged them in vain. Civil war raged on the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Danube, and the rebel sons even entered into relations with Hungary. But Otto pursued a steadfast and successful policy. Lorraine returned to its allegiance, chiefly by the help of his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, and the archbishop of Mainz surrendered before his death. Conrad and Liudolf begged for pardon. Their castles and their property were restored to them, but their dukedoms were taken away. Swabia was given to the aged Burchard, who had married the youthful daughter of Henry. The archbishopric of Mainz was conferred on Otto's natural son, William. Bruno, who had been entrusted with the government of Lorraine, divided it into two parts, each of which was placed under a duke.

The Hungarians had long recovered from the defeats which they had suffered in the reign of King Henry, and had resumed their raids into the south of Germany. The disturbances of that country in the civil war, and the condition of Italy, where there was no emperor to control its government, invited them to new enterprises. They extended their forays as far as the Adriatic and the Po in the south, and as far as the Danube in the west. A hundred thousand strong, they invaded Bavaria, passed into

**Further  
Revolts.**

**Renewed  
Hungarian  
Invasions.**

Swabia, and encamped in the plain of the Lech, while some of them pushed on to the Black Forest. They were met by Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, who did his best to defend his town. Otto now attacked them at the head of a larger army than their own. He was joined by the Bavarians and the Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, and the population of the Rhine. On August 10, 955, the day of St. Lawrence, the royal army advanced against the enemy in eight divisions, the king in their midst. Before him was borne the lance of the Archangel Michael, and when that appeared victory never failed. The leader of the first division was Conrad, ex-duke of Lorraine, the hero of the day. The battle of the Lechfeld, as it was called, was, at first, unfavourable to the Christians, as they were attacked in the rear, but Conrad charged the enemy with his Franks and drove them to flight. The king followed, and in a short time the Hungarians were routed, but, in the midst of the battle, Conrad the Red, as he was called, the husband of Liutgard, the daughter of Otto, was killed by an arrow in the throat. Otto pursued the routed army to Regensburg, but the time was yet to come when the wild Hungarians were converted to Christianity by their sainted king, Stephen I., who civilised them, so that they gave up their nomad life and settled in the plains of the Danube.

**Battle of the  
Lechfeld.**

The last important act of Otto's life was to revive the "Holy Roman Empire" of Charles the Great. In 961, he held a diet at Worms, where his son Otto, born of Adelheid, now seven years old, was chosen as his successor and crowned at Aachen. He then prepared to cross the Alps a second time. Berengar had not fulfilled his duties as vassal, and after the death of Liudolf, September 9, 957, recovered virtual independence. Pope John XII. asked Otto to restore peace in Italy, and offered him the imperial crown. In the autumn of 961, accompanied by Adelheid, he descended into the valley of the Adige. All the towns opened their gates to him, and he kept his Christmas in Pavia. In February of the following year, he advanced to Rome, and in the church of St. Peter received the imperial crown and the sword from the pope's hand. Adelheid was also anointed and crowned as partner in the empire. Thus, on February 2, 963, was founded the "Heiliges Römisches Reich der Deutschen Nation." Thus began the connection between Italy and Germany, which

**Revival of  
Charles-  
magne's  
Empire.**

**Otto  
crowned  
at Rome.**



was of great advantage to Germany, but also the cause of great trouble. Otto confirmed John XII. in the possession of Rome, but claimed the right of a feudal superior over the whole of Italy. On February 19, he issued an edict by which he gave to John everything which the papacy had gained since the donation of Pepin—Rome with its duchy, the exarchate of Ravenna,<sup>7</sup> and the Pentapolis, the Sabina, some towns in Tuscany and Campania, and property in Benevento, Naples, Calabria, and Sicily, whenever he should conquer them, as well as Gaeta and Fondi. But all these possessions were conferred with the reservation of the imperial rights, as they had been laid down in 854 in the constitutions of Lothar. Otto also retained a suzerainty over the civil government of the pope, especially in questions of law. The state of things was restored which had existed in Carling times. Before Otto left Rome on February 14, the Romans took the oath of fidelity to him, and the pope swore upon the grave of St. Peter that he would never take the side of his enemies.

Scarcely had Otto left the "Eternal City" when the pope regretted what he had done. He joined Berengar, and attempted to rouse the Hungarians and Turks against the emperor. Otto returned to Rome, and deposed Pope John XII. This pope was Octavius, the son of Alberic and Marozia, who ascended the papal throne at the age of sixteen, and spent a cheerful life in the Lateran, with his young friends, playing, making love, and drinking. He was now solemnly dethroned on December 4, and on the following day, contrary to all law and custom, Leo, a respected papal official, was elected to his place, taking the name of Leo VIII. Otto took hostages from the Romans, and made them swear that they would never in future choose or consecrate a pope without the formal consent and confirmation of the emperor. Berengar was banished to Bamberg. On Otto's departure, John, who had taken refuge in the mountains, returned again. He drove Leo out of the city, but died of a stroke of apoplexy. The Romans, to show their independence, elected a pope of their own, who assumed the title of Benedict V. Otto, however, succeeded in restoring Leo, while the anti-pope, Benedict, died in Capua. Otto made a third expedition to Rome in 966, when, Leo being dead, he caused John XIII. of Capua to be elected pope.

Otto was now at the height of his power. As regent of the holy church and head of the European state system, he

ordered everything, civil and ecclesiastical, internal and external. He endeavoured to unite the Christian powers in a common struggle against Islam and heathendom, and to prepare his son to continue the work by having him crowned in Rome and marrying him to Theophano, daughter of the Byzantine emperor, so as to effect a union between East and West. In 967, the young Otto crossed the Alps, and was crowned in the cathedral of St. Peter's, but the marriage with Theophano was not carried out for some time. He did not reach Italy again till 972, when he was crowned with great pomp on April 14. Otto died on May 7, 973, in the castle of Memleben, where his father had died before him. He was buried in the church of St. Maurice at Magdeburg, by the side of his wife Edith. Otto presents the aspect of a born ruler, to whom age gave fresh dignity and majesty. His form was strong and vigorous, and he had great charm of manner. Even in his later years he was a vigorous hunter and an excellent rider, and in his bronzed face shone clear and sparkling eyes. His head was covered with sparse grey hair, and his beard hung long and thick down his breast. He wore the national German dress with no foreign ornaments, and only spoke the Saxon dialect, although he understood the Romance and Slavonic tongues. He divided his day between work and prayer, business and church services. He took but little sleep.

Generous, merciful, and affable, he drew the hearts of all to himself, but he was more feared than loved. His wrath was hard to bear, and even the young emperor trembled before the growl of the lion, as he called his father. He exhibited an iron will from youth to age, and was full of energy even to the close of his life. He was always true to his friends, and magnanimous to his enemies, and, when he had once forgiven, he forgave for ever. No emperor had ever a higher standard, both of his kingly and of his imperial duties. He considered that he held his crown from God alone, and that anyone who offended his majesty was an offender against the commands of heaven.

## CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE, A.D. 973-1106—THE CRUSADES, A.D. 1096 AND 1146.

OTTO II., who reigned for ten years, from 973 to 983, had fine qualities, a good education, and a chivalrous temper, but he had

**Otto II.** not the wisdom or the capacity for ruling possessed by his father and grandfather. At first his mother, Adelheid, possessed great influence over the young emperor, but this was afterwards transferred to his Greek wife, Theophano, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, Romanus II., and his Spartan consort. She brought into the Saxon court new magnificence and unwonted luxury, and was more admired than beloved. In the early years of his reign, Otto kept the example of his great father before his eyes, and, like him, had to crush rebellion on the part of his own kinsmen. The reigning duke of Bavaria was Henry the Quarrelsome, son of the Henry who had been such a faithless brother to Otto I. Henry's sister, Hedwig, had married Burchard of Swabia, and on her husband's death it was supposed that she could continue to rule his duchy, but Otto took it away from her and gave it to his nephew Otto, the son of Liudolf, whom he loved dearly. This deeply offended his cousin Henry, who had a strong dislike to Liudolf and his house. Otto also made the eastern part of Bavaria into an independent margraviate, under the name of the Ostmark, afterwards Austria, and gave it as a fief to the Frankish family of Babenberg. Henry, aggrieved by these proceedings, took part in a conspiracy to drive his cousin from the throne, and was confined in the castle of Ingelheim. Soon after this, the Danes and Norwegians made an incursion into Germany, but Otto drove them back and gained possession of the Dannewerk, which had been originally built by the Saxons. In the meantime, Henry had escaped from prison and raised the standard of rebellion in Bavaria. The lands on the upper Danube and the Isar were wasted by civil war, but Otto was victorious. Henry took refuge in Bohemia, and twenty-eight of his adherents were

placed under the ban of the empire. The territory of Bavaria was again diminished by making Carinthia and Verona into a single mark, and by extending the dominions of the Babenbergers and of the bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau. Finally, Bavaria, thus diminished, was united to Swabia. These measures did not please Adelheid, so she left the court and retired to Burgundy. The property taken away from the rebels was given mainly to the church.

These disturbances gave an opportunity to Lothar of France, the last Carling but one, son of Louis d'Outremer, to take possession of Lorraine. He advanced even to the imperial city of Aachen, and, finding the eagle at the summit of the palace looking towards the east, turned it towards the west, as a sign that the city belonged henceforth not to Austrasia, but to Neustria. In revenge, Otto invaded France, crossed the Seine, and reached the heights of Montmartre, but was not able to conquer Paris. Otto suffered some losses on his retreat, and, at a meeting held at Chiers, peace was made, and Lothar renounced his conquest. Otto also imposed his authority on Poland and Bohemia, and did his best to Christianise these eastern lands. He now followed his father's example, by making an expedition to Italy, his design being to unite the countries on both sides of the Alps into one kingdom. He was accompanied by his wife, Theophano, his little son, and a crowd of young knights, eager for illustrious deeds. Before his departure, he became reconciled with his mother Adelheid, and he reached Rome by way of Ravenna.

**War  
between  
France and  
Germany.**

In Rome matters were in a terrible condition. Boniface VI., the successor of John XIII., had been driven from his throne by the popular party and strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. He was succeeded by Boniface VII., who ran off to Constantinople laden with papal property. Benedict VII., bishop of Sutri, was elected in his place, a good man who endeavoured to do his best. The Saracens were infesting southern Italy under Abulkasem, but were kept in check by Pandolfo, the Ironhead, whom Otto I. had made prince of Capua and Beneventum, and duke of Spoleto and Camerino and Salerno. The throne of Byzantium was held by weak emperors, who were ill-disposed to Otto, and, to make matters worse, Pandolfo died just before his arrival, leaving his power in weak hands. Rome was really governed by Crescentius, a rich Sabine nobleman, son of Theodora, who, as duke,

**Affairs at  
Rome.**

ruled pope and people with an iron hand. Otto restored the power of the pope, and Crescentius retired to the convent of St. Boniface on the Aventine, where he spent the rest of his life in attempting to make amends for his evil deeds.

Otto pitched his camp in the Leonine City, not far from St.

**Otto in  
Italy.**

Peter's, and soon found that it was necessary to expel the Saracens from southern Italy and the Byzantines from Apulia and Calabria. He entered the territory of Amalfi, and spent his Christmas at Salerno. He also got possession of Bari and Taranto. But he suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the Saracens on July 13, 982. The Saracens were concealed in the heights of Squillace, south of Cotrona, where the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas nearly meet. As Otto was attacking a division of the enemy on the sea-shore, he was surprised and surrounded by a force lying in ambush on the hills. All resistance was in vain. Otto's army was entirely defeated, many of his knights, both German and Italian, were slain. Otto sprang into the sea and swam to a ship, which took him to Theophano at Rossano; when in sight of the town, he sprang again into the water and reached the friendly shores. Thence he retired first to Salerno and Capua, and then to Rome. Apulia and Calabria were again overrun, and the disorder extended even to the north of Italy.

**Diet at  
Verona.**

In 983, Otto held a diet at Verona, attended by German and Italian nobles, where he made another attempt to unite Germany and Italy into a single kingdom. His son Otto, then four years old, was chosen, without opposition, as his successor. His mother, Adelheid, was made regent of Italy, and the duchies of Swabia and Bavaria were placed in trustworthy hands. He now planned a new expedition to southern Italy to avenge the defeat of Squillace, and, in October 983, hastened to Rome, where Pope Benedict VII. lay dying. He established as his successor John XIV., bishop of Pavia and arch-chancellor of the empire, who was known to be friendly to the empire. But bad news came from Germany. The Danes had again stormed the Dannewerk and gained possession of the Eider; the Wends in Brandenburg had resumed their heathen rites; and the Obo tribes from Mecklenburg had plundered Hamburg. Sorrow at these misfortunes produced a violent fever, so that Otto II. died on December 7, 983, at the age of twenty-eight.

The princes of the empire were employed in crowning Otto, a child of four years old, in the cathedral of Aachen

when the news of his father's death arrived and aroused them to the importance of providing for the fateful future. Henry the Quarrelsome, of Bavaria, released from prison, made a claim to the regency during Otto's minority, taking no account of Theophano. He obtained possession of the young king's person, was recognised by some of the most important men in the kingdom, and made schemes for assuming the crown. The Carling Lothar of France joined him on the promise of the cession of Lorraine, and the duke of Bohemia was attracted by the promise of Meissen. But the young Otto found a mighty protector in Willigis, a man of humble birth, who had been made archbishop of Mainz. He summoned both Adelheid and Theophano from Italy, brought the Frankish and Swabian dukes over to his side, secured the powerful aid of Adalbero, archbishop of Reims, and the learned Gerbert, who, having been made by Otto II. count-abbot of Bobbio, had come to visit his friend Adalbero in France. Gerbert was one of the most remarkable men of the age, equally at home in philosophical speculation and in affairs of state. Henry was obliged to surrender his charge, to renounce the royal title, and to release from their oaths all the vassals who had sworn allegiance to him. Theophano was recognised as guardian and regent, and went with Adelheid and the young king to Saxony. In the following year, 985, Henry made ample submission, and received back his duchy of Bavaria.

Theophano proved to be a good ruler, and it is interesting to note that her brother was at the same time seated on the throne of Constantinople, so that the two empires of West and East were governed by members of the same family. Meissen was now recovered from the Slavs by the Markgraf Eckhard of Thüringen, who carried the war into Wendish territory, and took measures for the permanent defence of the Teutonic frontier. In Scandinavia, German authority suffered a reverse when Harold Bluetooth was murdered in 985 by his son, Sven Forkbeard. The bishoprics founded by Otto I. were destroyed, and the heathen religion again raised its head. But a few years afterwards Sven himself was again converted to Christianity. In the midst of these troubles, Theophano died. Eagerly anxious to uphold the honour and unity of the empire, she celebrated the Easter festival of 991 with great splendour at Quedlinburg with her son, but died suddenly at Nijmegen,

**Otto III.**

**Regency of  
Theophano.**

on the lower Rhine, on June 15. A tender plant, with refined education and great beauty, she was transplanted among the rough and simple Saxons, but bore herself with dignity and distinction. She died at the age of thirty, when her son Otto was eleven.

The regency was now assumed by Adelheid, who was assisted by a council of civil and ecclesiastical notables, amongst whom Willigis of Mainz, as imperial chancellor, **Early Training of Otto.** took the principal place. Every precaution was taken in the education of the youthful sovereign for his important duties. His physical training was undertaken by Count Hoiko of Saxony. John of Calabria, a learned man, whom Theophano had made bishop of Vicenza, taught him Greek. Bernward, later bishop of Hildesheim, known as a man of letters and an artist, directed his general education, which was carried further by the mighty Gerbert, the marvel of the age, who afterwards became Pope Silvester II. No one could ever boast of more distinguished tutors. The consequence was that Otto III., like Edward VI., was full of precocious learning, and anticipated the Emperor Frederick II. in receiving the title of the "Wonder of the World." Indeed, his brain and character were hardly strong enough to bear this forcing. He became conceited, and was especially puffed up by uniting in his person the blood of the Eastern and Western empires. He was the prey of flatterers, and was too often led away by passing fancies. At the age of fifteen he took the reins of government into his own hands, Adelheid retiring to Alsace, where she founded the nunnery of Selz.

Otto now undertook an expedition into Italy, where matters were no better than before. Rome was governed by the younger Crescentius, named John, and Capua **Otto in Italy.** was in a state of disorder. Otto, the first down appearing on his cheeks, collected his followers at Regensburg and crossed the Brenner, the Holy Lance carried before him, his retinue singing hymns. After a short stay at Verona, where he settled a dispute between the Doge of Venice and the bishop of Belluno, he kept his Easter at Pavia. Here he received news of the death of Pope John XV., and, being asked to nominate his successor, chose his own kinsman Bruno, son of Otto of Carinthia, a young ecclesiastic of excellent qualities, but stern and somewhat pessimistic. Bruno went to Rome accompanied by

Willigis and Hildebald, bishop of Worms, and, on May 3, 996, he was elected pope with the title of Gregory V., the first German occupant of the Holy See. It is said that his election marks the liberation of the papacy from the narrow limits of the town and aristocracy of Rome, and brings it into connection with the whole world. Otto reached Rome soon afterwards, and, on May 20, was crowned emperor in St. Peter's. It must have been strange to witness these two youths in the great basilica, one twenty-three, the other fifteen years of age, one the grandson, the other a great-grandson, of Otto the Great, respectively at the heads of the ecclesiastical and civil worlds. Crescentius could not stand against their united power; liberated from banishment, he tendered his submission.

But no sooner had Otto left Rome than Crescentius violated his oath of allegiance, deposed Gregory V., who had made many enemies by his reforming severity, and raised John of Calabria, Otto's former tutor, to the papacy, under the title of John XVI. Crescentius assumed the titles of Patricius and Count, and entered into relations with the court of Constantinople. Otto, who was engaged in a war with the Wends, and in learned disputations at Magdeburg, again crossed the Alps, accompanied by Otto of Carinthia, the pope's father. He went by way of Ravenna, and kept his Christmas of 997 at Pavia. Crescentius shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, and Pope John fled into the Campagna and took refuge in a tower, but, on the arrival of the emperor, he was torn from his hiding-place, his eyes were burnt out, his tongue, nose, and ears were cut off, and, in this guise, he was set upon a donkey and led through the streets of Rome. He was then publicly stripped of his bishop's robes and thrown into prison, where it is supposed that he died. The castle of St. Angelo was stormed by Eckhard of Meissen on April 26; Crescentius was beheaded on the summit of the edifice, and his body was exposed on the gallows on the heights of Monte Mario. He was, at length, buried in the church of San Pancrazio in the Trastevere, on which the inscription commemorating him long remained. The nobles who had joined his party also perished.

In the following year, February 18, 999, Pope Gregory V. died suddenly, in the flower of his age, as many thought, by poison. Otto now raised his friend Gerbert to the Holy See, having first made him archbishop of Ravenna. He took the title

Otto  
crowned  
at Rome.

Revolt of  
Crescentius.



of Silvester II. Otto's dream was to restore the ancient glories of Rome, to make it the capital of the empire, and to surround

**Gerbert  
Pope—  
Imperial  
Dreams of  
Otto.**

it with the pomp of Byzantium. He went far beyond the ideas of Charles the Great. The fancies in which he lived were as vague and shadowy as they were magnificent. The Senate of ancient Rome, with its wisdom and government, the conquests and triumphs of a Trajan, the spiritual elevation of a Marcus Aurelius, the court of Constantinople with its united splendour of West and East, formed the magic circle in which his imagination moved, and he prepared himself for his mighty task by strict penances and many pilgrimages. He united in his character many inconsistencies—the glory and the renunciation of the world, princely pride, and the self-abasement of an anchorite. He assumed at the same time the titles of *Italicus*, *Saxonicus*, and *Romanus* to mark his triumphs, and of the “Slave of Jesus Christ and His Apostles” to denote his spiritual victories. He lived for a fortnight in the vaults of San Clemente, fasting and praying, visited the graves of the martyrs, and dwelt in the cave of St. Benedict at Subiaco. He is said to have expected that the end of the world would come in 1000 A.D. Unfortunately Gerbert favoured the eccentricities of the young emperor, although he was a worldly man himself. It is to be feared that he played the part of a flatterer. He wrote to him that it was by divine providence that he was by birth a Greek, by dominion a Roman, and that he had inherited the treasures of Greek and Roman wisdom. He reminded him that as a monarch he was obeyed by Germany, France, Italy, and the Slavs, and that he wore the greatest crown in the world.

Otto despised his native Saxony, and looked longingly to the East. He and Gerbert contemplated the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. He also, like his grandfather, desired the welding of Germany and Italy into one dominion. He even appointed an admiral for the Roman fleet, and revived the dignity of *Patricius* and *Praefectus Urbi*. He also tried to re-establish the privileges of Roman citizenship. He was recalled to Germany by his own failing health, undermined by his religious excesses, and by the death of his aunt Matilda in Quedlinburg and his grandmother in Selz. During his stay he paid solemn visits to the graves of two men whom he held in special honour as types of religious spirituality and imperial greatness—Saint Adalbert of Prague and Charles the Great. Adalbert was a

Bohemian nobleman who had exchanged the bishopric of Prague for a monkish cell on the Aventine. In 991, he had gone to the Baltic to convert the heathen Prussians, and he had been killed on the Amber Coast, where a cross still marks the spot of his martyrdom. The Polish duke Boleslav embalmed the body, and buried it in Gnesen in Poland in the year 1000. Otto, accompanied by the duke, made a pilgrimage to the grave of the martyr, and founded there the first archbishopric and mother church of Poland. He then went to Aachen, and founded a second church of St. Adalbert. With his first sword-bearer, Count Otto of Lomello, he visited the grave of the Great Charles. Otto tells us that the emperor's body was not laid in a grave, but sat upright upon a throne like a man alive. The hands were dressed in gloves, through which the nails had grown: the grave was covered with marble slabs and chalk. The two visitors threw themselves on their knees before the emperor, and prayed. Otto carefully observed the body, placed new white robes upon it, had the nails cut, and supplied deficiencies. The features were all perfect except the tip of the nose, which Otto restored with gold. He took a tooth of the emperor with him, and had the grave walled up again.

Soon after this, Otto heard that Capua had revolted and had recalled her Lombard masters; that Salerno, Naples, and Gaeta had thrown off the imperial yoke. Leaving Aachen at the Whitsuntide of 1000, he crossed the Alps from Chur, and spent some time in Lombardy to recover his health. He reached Rome in October. He was, however, compelled to leave by the rising of the citizens, and retired to Ravenna. He soon returned with a large force, and fixed his summer camp at Paterno, at the foot of Soracte. From this place he directed his expedition, sometimes appearing before the walls of Rome, sometimes laying waste the Campagna with fire and sword, and sometimes reaching even to Beneventum and Salerno. The winter he passed at Ravenna with the hermit Romuald. He was further embittered by the quarrel about the precedence between his two friends Willigis of Mainz and Bernward of Hildesheim, which he did his best to settle by a general council held at Todi on December 27, 1001. Then he returned to his camp at Paterno, where he slowly wasted away from fever. On January 23, 1002, he received the holy elements for the last time from the hands of Pope Sylvester, and died with his eyes fixed on

Otto's Last  
Visit to  
Italy.

the walls of the Holy City which he was not permitted to enter. Gerbert followed him to the grave on May 12, 1003.

Thus perished the last of the Ottos, for Otto III. was never married. His body, carried hastily over the Alps, was buried in the cathedral of Aachen. His life was a **Decay of Royal Power in Germany.** failure, with shattered hopes and unfulfilled designs. Whilst he was pursuing the ideal of the Roman commonwealth, making pilgrimages to dead men's graves, or engaging in subtle disputations at Magdeburg or Rome, the country between the Havel and the Elbe remained in the hands of the heathen, the bishoprics founded amongst the Wends fell into abeyance, the empire was diminished in the north and east, and independent kingdoms, founded on a national basis, arose in Poland and Hungary. The land princes of Germany asserted their pretensions, and the imperial feudatories attained more and more an hereditary character. If Charles the Great could have awakened from his death slumber, he would have rated his successor soundly for neglecting his duties. Otto was pursued by the hopeless passion for the possession of Italy, which so often proved the bane of Germany. He remains the Phaethon of German history, who perished on the banks of the Tiber because he could not guide the sun. His memory is kept green rather by poetry and legend than by the surer verdict of history.

On the death of Otto III. the German throne was disputed by three claimants—Henry of Bavaria, son of Henry the Quarrelsome; Eckhard, margrave of Meissen; and Hermann, duke of Swabia. **Henry II. of Bavaria.** Henry was recognised as king by the nobles of Franconia, Bavaria, and Upper Lorraine: he was crowned by Willigis at Mainz, and acknowledged as supreme ruler by the magnates at Merseburg, so that before the end of the year his position was undisputed. He had to defend his crown by constant wars against Germans, Italians, and Slavs. He first subdued the Lombards, then the Bohemians, and then the Poles, under their duke, Boleslav. He joined the king of France and the duke of Normandy in an expedition against Baldwin of Flanders, who had taken Valenciennes; and he received a promise from Rudolph III. of Burgundy that, after his death, his kingdom should be added to the empire; so that he not only preserved but expanded the dominions to which he had succeeded. Perhaps his most conspicuous work was building the cathedral of Bamberg, which was dedicated on May 6, 1012. In the following year

he marched a second time into Italy, and was crowned in Rome with his queen, Cunigunda, on February 14, 1014, when he persuaded Pope Benedict VIII. to cross the Alps and bless his darling Dome at Bamberg. A third expedition to Italy was undertaken in 1023, directed against the Greeks of the south, and was carried out with the help of the Normans, who, as we have seen, had established themselves in those parts. Shortly after his return he died, on July 13, 1024, in his castle at Grone, near Göttingen.

Henry II. was the last of the Saxon emperors, and the crown passed to the Franks in the person of Conrad II., generally known as the Salian. He was crowned king of Germany by Archbishop Aribon at Mainz, **Conrad II.** receiving the insignia from Cunigunda, the widow of Henry. Conrad reigned from 1024 to 1039. In 1026, he went into Italy, received the iron crown in Milan and the imperial crown in Rome, in the presence of Canute, king of England and Denmark, and of Rudolph of Burgundy. Rudolph died in 1032, and eventually the Romance and the Carinthian portions of Burgundy were separated, the lands of the Rhône Saône, Isère, and the Durance going to France, while Franche Comté and Switzerland fell to Germany. Conrad died at Utrecht on his return from his second visit to Italy in 1039, and was buried in the cathedral of Spire, which he had founded. He was succeeded by his son Henry

**Henry III.** III., who increased the power of the empire by depriving the duchies of their hereditary character. He made two expeditions into Italy, and married Agnes of Poitou, heiress of Aquitaine, in 1045. On his death in 1056, the crown passed to his son Henry IV., a child of six years old. At the age of twelve he held festival

**Henry IV.** with his mother, who was acting as regent, at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, and invited Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, to pay him a visit. The boy was induced to examine the archbishop's galley, when, at a signal, the rowers bent to their oars, and the young king was carried off to Cologne. In order to escape, he jumped into the stream, and was saved from drowning by Eckhard, who was in the conspiracy. Thus Hanno became guardian to the king, instead of Agnes. Three years later, at the age of fifteen, he was girded with the sword at Worms, and took the government into his own hands. He was a victim of the contest between ecclesiastical and civil powers, which reached its greatest intensity at this time. In the

following year, 1066, the year of the Norman invasion of England, Henry married Beatrice of Turin, whom he gradually learned to love, and who made him a good wife.

The most important episode of Henry's career was his struggle with Hildebrand, who, as Gregory VII., held the papacy from 1073 to 1085. On January 1, 1076, Henry, in his palace of Goslar, received a message from the pope bidding him give up his life of sin, and atone for his offences by public penance.

A diet, held at Worms on January 24, replied that the pope must leave the chair of Peter, which he had acquired by unjust means, and be no longer recognised as head of the church. Henry directed this missive in the following terms: "Henry, not by favour, but by God's holy appointment, king, to Hildebrand, not the pope, but a false monk." This message was carried to Rome by two German and Italian bishops, who, when they delivered it, cried out before the cardinals and bishops present: "The king and our bishops order you to come down from the chair of Saint Peter, which you have obtained not by right, but by robbery." Gregory, not less proud and stubborn, deprived all the German bishops who had signed the letter of their sees, laid his ban on Henry, deposed him from his office, and absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Unfortunately, Henry was not supported by his nobles. They met at Tribur on October 16, and declared that they would no longer recognise Henry as their lord and king, if he did not reconcile himself with the pope. The result was that Henry had to do penance before Hilde-

brand in the castle of Canossa, situated on a peak of the Apennines, in the neighbourhood of Modena. For three days he stood before the castle gate in the shirt of penitence, though it was the middle of winter, before the stubborn pontiff would admit him to his presence. Having promised with an oath to forgive his rebellious nobles, he fell at the pope's feet in a flood of tears, and received the papal blessing. Mass was celebrated in the castle church, and the ban was removed. Henry received his imperial crown again, but its glory had passed away to the pontifical tiara. The struggle as to "investitures," in which the church and the crown counter-claimed the right of investing prelates with the insignia of office, was ended by the Concordat of Worms in 1122—a compromise in favour of the pope—under Henry's son, Henry V. Henry died at Liège in August 1106, and was buried in the cathedral of Spire.

## THE CRUSADES, A.D. 1096 AND 1146.

If we study the map of Europe as it was in the beginning of the twelfth century, we shall find its appearance very different from what it was at the fall of the Roman empire. It is beginning to show something of the main features which distinguish it in our own day. Passing from west to east, we find Spain mainly in the hands of the Moors. A very large France is bounded by the Rhône, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, and this includes not only France but Belgium. Between France and Germany lie the two duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine, of large extent, Alsace being a small strip to the east of the upper duchy. Modern Holland is represented by Friesland. To the south of Lorraine lies the kingdom of Burgundy, or of Arles, as it is sometimes called, shortly to be divided between France and Germany. Germany is occupied by the three great duchies of Swabia, Frankland, and Saxony. Swabia contains Würtemberg and Switzerland—Frankland, the upper Rhine provinces, and what is now called Franconia—Saxony lying to the west of the modern country of that name, bounded on the east by the Elbe and watered by the Weser—Germany extending northwards over Holstein to where the Schlei separates it from Denmark. To the south of Swabia is the kingdom of Italy, to the east of which lie the marquisate of Verona and the duchy of Carinthia. North of this we find the great duchy of Bavaria, including the whole of what is now called Austria, but then the East March or Ostmark. We next come to the Slavic countries to the east of the Teutons, Bohemia and Moravia, watered by the upper Elbe and the Moldau, the march of Meissen, the march of the Lausitz, and another eastern march or Ostmark (not to be confounded with that of Bavaria), the North March, and Berlin, the kernel of modern but not of medieval Prussia, which lies far away to the north-east. North again of this, in the countries of Mecklenburg and Oldenburg, is seated the powerful race of the Billings, who gave their name to Billingsgate. A further eastern strip is formed by Pomerania and Hungary. These divisions have only been given roughly; to state them more accurately would occupy too much space, while the boundaries and designations of the countries are subject to perpetual change.

It was from a Europe constituted something in this manner that the Crusades were undertaken. The states of modern Europe had begun to make their appearance, and the stirring of the national spirit had begun to be felt. **Causes of the Crusades.** Europe was ready for a collective enterprise. There was none that was so likely to appeal to the imagination or the reason of her rulers as the attempt to recover from the hands of the infidel the holy places where the Founder of our religion had lived and suffered. The church was now a predominant factor in civilised Europe. Progress and enlightenment owed more to the bishop than it did to the prince. The state would not be likely to undertake any enterprise in which the church did not feel an absorbing interest. The Crusades may therefore be regarded as a great international effort made by the United States of Europe, which had just begun to realise their solidarity and power, at the bidding of a church which had too much authority to be lightly disobeyed.

As early as the fourth century after Christ, it had become the custom to undertake pilgrimages to Palestine for the health of the soul, or to do penance for the sins of a guilty life, and to pray at the sepulchre of Christ, the holiest place in the world for Christians, which the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena had covered with a stately dome and consecrated as a church. **Pilgrimages to Palestine.** The idea that ascetic self-denial in this world was one of the surest methods of securing happiness beyond the grave gave prominence to the merits of a long and perilous journey to the East; the inclination to make such a pilgrimage would naturally acquire a greater strength when the belief began to spread that the world would come to an end soon, perhaps in the year 1000; and the impulse thus given did not sensibly slacken throughout the eleventh century. The safety of the pilgrims began to be a matter of national concern. In the year 1064, a large company of 7000 persons of all nations, laymen and clerics, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Syria, with Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, at their head, of whom only about two thousand returned, the rest finding a grave either in Palestine itself or on the journey. So long as the holy places were under the domination of the Arabs, safety might be purchased by the payment of a ransom, but when Palestine was conquered by the Seljukian Turks, Christians, whether pilgrims or residents, were treated with great severity. The great pontiff Hildebrand, the mighty Pope

Gregory VII., was not likely to turn a deaf ear to their complaints, yet his quarrel with the Emperor Henry made action difficult. But Urban II., in answer to appeals from the emperor at Constantinople, took advantage of a lull in the strife to stir up western Europe to wage the First Crusade. The famous pilgrim Peter the Hermit aided the Pope, travelling far and wide to preach the crusade and rouse the pity of western Christendom for the sufferings of pilgrims and the desecration of the holy places. Clad in a simple robe, girt with a cord, his face worn by ascetic self-denial, he told his piteous tale, and his success was marvellous. Meanwhile Urban, in the year 1095, summoned a meeting at Clermont in France, which was attended by bishops, nobles, and a countless host of common people. The Pope himself closed an eloquent speech by an appeal that every one should deny himself and take up his cross that he might win Christ. A great shout arose: "God wills it!" and thousands knelt down and devoted themselves to the service; and the name of Crusader, the wearer of the cross, which marked those who bore it as members of a sacred army marching for the recovery of the sepulchre of their Lord and God, came for the first time into existence.

**Peter the  
Hermit.**

It had been arranged at Clermont that the expedition should start on August 15, 1096, in order to give those that took part in it time for preparation, but the delay was too tedious for the excited crowd. In the spring of that year motley and undisciplined throngs, led by Peter and by a French knight called Walter the Penniless, marched through Germany and Hungary to Constantinople. They stormed Semlin and threatened the walls of Belgrade, and many thousands were slain. A remnant reached Constantinople, and were sent across the straits into Asia Minor, where they perished at the hands of the Turks. Walter fell, after a short resistance, surrounded by his brothers and his bravest companions. A hundred thousand men had perished in this manner, when Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin, and a host of knights and nobles from the lower Rhine, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Scheldt, began the march through Hungary towards Constantinople. At the same time other bodies of crusaders started from northern and southern France and from southern Italy—some by land, through Lombardy and Dalmatia, others by sea, from south Italian ports—led by Robert of Normandy, son of

**The First  
Crusade.**



William the Conqueror,—by Stephen of Blois, who was said to have as many towns in his possession as there are days in the year,—by the rich and powerful Count Raymond of St. Giles and Toulouse, who is reported to have had under him a hundred thousand men, and with whom marched Adhemar de Puy, the papal legate, and many bishops,—and by Boemund of Taranto and his nephew Tancred, sung by poets as the flower of knightly virtue, who brought the Normans of Sicily and Naples.

Arriving at Constantinople, they found Alexius Comnenus on the throne. He was much frightened at their approach, but he compelled their leaders, as they successively arrived, to promise that any conquests they might make should be held as fiefs of the Byzantine

**Successes of Godfrey de Bouillon.** They then crossed to Asia Minor and held a review in the plain of Nicaea, in which, we are told, were mustered 100,000 heavy-armed knights, 300,000 armed footmen, besides women and children, monks, priests, and camp-followers. Nicaea surrendered after a siege, but to Alexius. In July 1097, the battle of Dorylaeum was won by the bravery and skill of Godfrey of Bouillon, and in the following year his brother Baldwin became prince of Edessa. The important city of Antioch, on the Orontes, was captured on June 3, 1098, and was saved from recapture by the discovery, real or supposed, of the Holy Lance by which the side of Christ was pierced at the crucifixion. In Whitsuntide of the following year the crusaders obtained their first sight of Jerusalem. They fell upon their

**Jerusalem Taken.** knees in prayer, and tears flowed from their eyes. The siege was conducted with great difficulty, but in July 1099, the Holy City was conquered. It was determined to form the new conquest into a kingdom, and the crown was offered to Godfrey, but he refused it, saying that it would be sacrilege to wear an earthly crown where his Master had worn a crown of thorns.

Godfrey contented himself with the title of "Protector of the Holy Sepulchre," and justified this appellation by the victory

**The Kingdom of Jerusalem.** of Ascalon, on August 12, over the Egyptian host, which gave the crusaders much booty and secured the existence of the new kingdom. This pure and noble character died from the effect of the exertion and the climate on July 18, 1100. His sword and sword-belt are still preserved in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, bearing the arms of Jerusalem, four cross crosslets or on a field argent, the only arms in which metal is borne on metal, representing

the dove with silver wings and her feathers of gold. Baldwin, prince of Edessa, had not the scruples of his brother, but hastened to Jerusalem and assumed the title of king, which, after following various fortunes till the end of the thirteenth century, was finally claimed and probably is still borne by the houses of Savoy, Anjou, Lorraine, and Austria. Baldwin held the crown of Jerusalem from 1100 to 1118, constantly engaged in wars, not without success. The Norman Boemund died in 1111, and Tancred secured for himself the principality of Antioch, which long remained in his family. The first crusade was followed by the rise of the great Orders of Christian chivalry, the Knights of St. John and the Knights Templar, the first of which are better known as the Knights of Malta and still exist under their old name, while the fate of the second forms one of the saddest and most discreditable pages of medieval history. In 1144 Edessa, the bulwark of the Christian empire of the East, fell into the power of the Saracens, and the vain hope of recovering it was the leading motive of the Second Crusade. But, with the exception of Ascalon, no important addition was ever made to the kingdom of Jerusalem as it stood at the death of its third ruler, Baldwin II., in 1130.

Between the first crusade and the second, which was first preached in 1146, great vicissitudes had befallen the empire. Lothar of Saxony, who succeeded Henry V., had as son-in-law Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, of the family of Guelph, Welf, or Wolf. Lothar invested him also with the duchy of Saxony, so that he united in his possession two great German duchies, enclosing Swabia and Frankenland between them and threatening them with extinction. When Lothar died on December 3, 1137, he gave his insignia of the empire to Henry, but the German nobles would not acknowledge a prince of such overwhelming power and of such imperious disposition. So, with the archbishop of Trier at their head, they met at Coblenz, and on March 7, 1138, chose as emperor Conrad, brother of the duke of Swabia, of the house of Hohenstauffen. Conrad took a strong line. He deprived Henry of his duchies, placing him under the ban of the empire, and giving one to Albert the Bear, the founder of the Ascanian house, and the other to his own half brother, Leopold of Austria. The Hohenstauffen came originally from the castle of Waibling in the Remsthal, in what is now the kingdom of Württemberg, and they were

called by that name. And when the double election produced a serious feud between the two houses of Welf and Waibling, it spread to Italy and raged there for three hundred years under the name of Guelf and Ghibellines. In Italy the Ghibellines were generally the supporters of the emperor and the Guelfs of the pope, but in many Italian cities the titles had lost all significance, and meant little else but a feud between two rival families.

**Guelfs and  
Ghibellines.**

When Henry the Proud died in 1139, Conrad restored the duchy of Saxony to his son, Henry the Lion, giving Albert the Bear the mark of Brandenburg, in exchange, as an independent principality. Further, after Conrad's death Bavaria was given back again to the Welf family, and in compensation the Babenberg margraves of Austria were made into independent dukes, who fixed their capital at Vienna. Thus the quarrel between Welf and Waibling was the indirect cause of the rise of the two powers, Austria and Prussia, whose rivalry fills the whole of modern European history, and is hardly yet finally concluded. The empire, however, did not gain in strength by this dispute; the Slavs, the Burgundians, and the Italians began to assert their independence, while Pope Innocent II. acknowledged Roger, duke of the Normans, as king of the Sicilies, which he took as a fief from the pope himself.

The capture of Edessa in 1144, and the consolidation of the Moslem power in northern Syria, gave occasion for a new crusade, which was preached by St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux in Burgundy. Conrad III. of Germany and Louis VII. of France assumed the cross. Conrad marched through Hungary to Constantinople, and reached the coast of Asia Minor; but on the way to Iconium he was misled by false guides, and the whole of his magnificent army gradually wasted away. Warned by this, Louis chose the route along the sea-coast, by Smyrna and Ephesus, but met with nearly the same fate. The two monarchs came together at Jerusalem, and foolishly attacked Damascus, whose emir had been an ally of the fourth ruler of Jerusalem, King Fulk. But the enterprise ended in nothing, and the monarchs returned home. Conrad died on February 15, 1152, a man of talent and virtue, but with wasted gifts. He left the empire in need of a strong head, and such a one was found in Frederick Barbarossa, one of the greatest of German emperors.

**The Second  
Crusade.**





# EUROPE

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## CHAPTER VI.

### FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, A.D 1152-1190—THE THIRD CRUSADE.

AFTER the death of Conrad III. on February 15, 1152, the princes of the empire, passing over Conrad's son, a child of seven years, chose, on March 4, his nephew, **Frederick of** Frederick of Hohenstauffen and of Waibling, in **Hohen-** Frankfort as German king, and five days after- **stauffen.** wards he was consecrated and crowned in the church of St. Mary at Aachen, by Arnold, archbishop of Cologne. Many circumstances contributed to bring about this quick decision. Not only did his personal qualities justify the warmest hopes, but, by his connection with the rival house of Welf, he seemed to be the true corner-stone by which the contentions between the houses might be ended. By his mother, Judith, the sister of Henry the Proud, Frederick was a cousin of Henry the Lion, and the nephew of Welf VI., for whom he had already performed many services. Besides this, the German nation was anxious to preserve the same princely family, and to put a limit to freedom of choice, without expressly recognising the right of inheritance, and also to give some weight to the wishes of the departed king. A happier choice could not have been made. Frederick was now thirty-one years old, of middle size and well grown: his light hair and reddish beard, which he had in common with many of his family, won for him the name of Barbarossa from the darker Italians. His courteous manners, his blue sparkling eyes, and his cheerful countenance attracted everybody; and through these external advantages he was a prominent personality amongst all the princes of the time. He was inferior to none in knightly exercises, in hunting, or in any form of bodily exertion. His contemporaries said that he was master of his passions, a friend of justice, bold and undismayed, full of warlike courage, generous but not extravagant; that he had a penetrating intellect, and a gift of deliberative wisdom. His memory was never at fault; he was very eloquent in his own language; Latin he



understood better than he could speak it; he was full of kindness for his friends, but terrible against his enemies; he had sympathies with science and art; he was a deep student of history, and spent much of his time in antiquarian studies.

The first occupation of his reign was to bring about peace in Germany; but, before he had accomplished this, he determined to undertake a journey to Italy, in order to obtain the imperial crown, and to make the empire more respected in that country. In the

**Frederick  
in Italy.**

first days of October 1154, a large army was collected in the Lechfeld, close by Augsburg, to accompany Frederick in his first journey to Italy by way of Brixen and Trent. The march was conducted with great order and discipline. After a rest on the lake of Garda, the army encamped on the Roncalian Plain, in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, where from time immemorial the German kings had been accustomed to hold their reviews and courts of justice. The shield of the emperor was exhibited on a staff, which was a sign to the vassals that they should come to him in arms, and that they should perform the honourable duty of guarding his tent. All that did not obey his summons, especially the ecclesiastical princes of Bremen and Halberstadt, were deprived of the fiefs which they held of the emperor. Many were the signs of the disturbed condition of Italy. The marquis of Montferrat, almost the only noble of upper Italy who had not bent before the power of the communes, complained of the increasing pride of the towns, especially of Chieri and Asti. Como and Lodi, supported by Pavia and Cremona, renewed the complaints which they had already made at Constance against Milan. In vain did the Milanese send two eloquent men into the camp, and offer the king 4000 marks to confirm their lordship over the two towns. Frederick refused to hear them, saying that he would make an inquiry on their own territory, and discover what was right. The army now marched forward. It was the duty of the Milanese to supply its material wants, but they led the way through those districts which had been entirely laid waste in the war between Milan and Pavia. Want of food, heavy rain, and snow-storms caused discouragement and disgust, and at last the king lost his temper. He rased the town of Rosate, and also Chieri and Asti. The citizens took refuge in the mountains. Whilst the king was encamped before Asti, ambassadors arrived from Pavia, and complained that their

fields had been wasted by the inhabitants of Tortona, which was in league with Milan. Frederick took their side and marched against the town, which was built on a high rock. It stood a long siege, but was at last taken. The town was given up to plunder, and the citadel destroyed. Frederick was determined to break the republican pride of the Lombards, which threatened to destroy his rights in Italy, and to restore the legal position of his authority. But, for the moment, he contented himself with being crowned at Pavia, on the 15th of April 1155.

After three days' sojourn, he proceeded to Rome. The pope at this time was Hadrian IV. He went as far as Viterbo to meet the emperor, and sent an embassy to welcome him to that place. Hadrian was an Englishman named Breakspear. He had been driven from the monastery of St. Alban's as a boy,—had wandered along the roads as a beggar,—at last, by hunger, shame, and a desire for knowledge, had been led to France,—and after many adventures had been received in a monastery near Avignon, where after a time he was chosen prior. Sent to Rome to conduct the business of his monastery, he attracted the attention of the Pope, Eugenius III., by his education, eloquence, and striking appearance. He was made cardinal-bishop of Albano, and was sent on a mission to Denmark and Norway, where he organised the church with equal wisdom and power.

After his return, Nicholas Breakspear was chosen unanimously to be head of the church. Times were stormy; he said himself that the apostolic chair was covered with thorns, and the papal mantle was pierced by swords. He would not recognise the Senate, and was therefore forbidden to enter the city, and had to take up his residence behind the church of St. Peter, which was intrenched. He determined to upset the republican constitution which existed at that time, and to demand the surrender of Arnold of Brescia, who was at the head of it. The Senate was reluctant to banish that influential preacher, who was revered by the people as a divinely-inspired prophet. A disturbance arose, in which it happened that a cardinal, while on his way to visit the pope in the Leonine city, was mortally wounded. The pope avenged himself by pronouncing an interdict against the city, the effect of which was to stop all divine service; no bell was rung, no mass was said, no sacrament was consecrated, and baptism and extreme unction were performed with rites of

Pope  
Hadrian IV.

The Pope  
and Arnold  
of Brescia.

terror. The dead were not buried in consecrated earth, and marriages were celebrated in the churchyards. The Romans endured the punishment from Palm Sunday to Maundy Thursday, but as the festival of Easter approached their spirits were disturbed by sorrow and unrest. It seemed as if Christ would not rise for the Romans, as He was wont. Then the people bestirred themselves, and the senators threw themselves before the knees of the pope, praying for his pardon. Hadrian demanded the banishment of the reformers, and would not take his curse from the town until this condition had been fulfilled. He had conquered in the strife. Arnold, betrayed and deserted, wandered from fortress to fortress under the ban of the church. The Holy Father, surrounded by bishops and cardinals, proceeded, amid the acclamations of the people, from St. Peter's to the Lateran. It was just at this time that he heard that Frederick was on his way to Rome.

Frederick secured the goodwill of Hadrian by delivering up the person of Arnold, but their harmony was nearly broken by the refusal of the emperor to hold the stirrup of the pope as he descended from his horse. This, however, was got over by the persuasion of his nobles. Frederick held the stirrup of the vagabond beggar boy, and as a reward received the kiss of peace, which had at first been refused.

When he approached Rome, Frederick encamped with his army at Monte Mario, and in the dawn of the following day he accompanied the pope to the Leonine city, which was garrisoned with a thousand armed men, and received in the church of St. Peter the sword, sceptre, and crown of the empire from the hands of the pope. This took place on June 18, 1155. The Romans in the capital heard with horror that a foreign king had received the imperial crown from a foreign pope without the consent of the Roman people, and without swearing to obey the laws of the city. In a hot summer noon a crowd of men passed over the bridge of St. Angelo towards St. Peter's. The Germans hastened to repulse them; a terrible fight took place; at least a thousand citizens were killed by German swords or drowned in the waters of the Tiber; the rest, attacked by Henry the Lion in the rear, ran away, and fled either to the castle of St. Angelo or to the town. Two hundred were taken prisoners, and many were wounded. Arnold of Brescia had not long to wait for the fulfilment of his fate; he was given up to the praelect of the

**Frederick  
in Rome.**

**Frederick  
and the  
Pope.**

city, a nobleman from the neighbourhood of Viterbo who had long been at variance with the Roman republic. Arnold saw the preparations for his execution, and when the halter was just being laid around his neck, he was asked whether he would renounce his errors and confess his sins. He answered, undismayed and full of confidence, that he considered his teaching wholesome, and would not be afraid to die for what he had taught. He then knelt, lifted his eyes and hands to heaven, and sighed, and committed his soul to God without a word. Then he gave his body to the executioners, who performed their duty not without tears. When he had been strangled, his corpse was thrown into the fire and his ashes scattered over the Tiber, because it was feared that even his ashes might become an object of reverence.

**Arnold  
executed.**

Frederick's second expedition to Italy took place in the Whitsuntide of the year 1158. A large army collected in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, drawn from more than twelve German nations. The bishops and vassals of the empire hastened to show their devotion to the imperial cause. The Greek ambassadors, who had tried to bring the towns of

**Second  
Visit to  
Italy—The  
Lombards  
subdued.**

the coast under the dominion of Byzantium, were sent away with threatening words, and their Italian partisans were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor. The army descended into the plains of Italy in five divisions. Some crossed the eastern passes of Friuli, some the western passage of the Splugen to Chiavenna and Como. The emperor himself, with the most important princes and bishops, passed through the Tyrol to the lake of Garda, followed by Henry the Lion with his Saxon warriors. The Italian vassals met them at Brescia, and the forces of the towns favourable to the empire—such as Pavia, Parma, and Cremona—joined the army, which now numbered 100,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry. The first object of the emperor was the punishment of Milan, and siege was laid to the capital of Lombardy at the beginning of August. The blockade continued for several weeks, with much brave fighting on either side, until peace was made by the intervention of Count Guido of Biandrate, who was loved and honoured by the people, yet was the head of the German party in Milan. The Milanese made a treaty by which they bound themselves to recognise the independence of Lodi and Como, to give up all imperial property and all

rights of supremacy, to take the oath of allegiance to the German sovereign, to pay a fine of 9000 marks in silver, to give up 300 citizens as hostages, and to build a fortress. Upon this the emperor withdrew his ban, and promised to lead his army away, and to abstain from any further punishment. It was arranged that the city should be governed by consuls, chosen by itself, but that their appointment should be confirmed by the emperor. The submission of the town was consummated on September 8. The whole body of the citizens came out of the gates, in humble clothing with bare feet—first the clergy, with crosses in their hands; then, the consuls and the knights, each carrying a bare sword on his back, and last of all, the citizens, with halters around their necks. When they reached the camp, passing through the line of German warriors, they threw themselves down before Frederick, who was seated upon his throne, acknowledged their fault, and prayed for pardon. Frederick answered them with courteous words, advised them to be obedient for the future, and then set all the prisoners free. Even the Germans wept when they saw the meeting between the prisoners and their friends. Frederick then went to Monza, where he wore the iron crown of Italy, and was able to send a large part of the army home, including the Bohemians and Hungarians. The imperial banner now waved on the highest towers of Milan, and Lombardy seemed to be at peace.

After this, in November 1158, a diet was held on the Roncalian Plain, to settle once for all the rights of the emperor and the different classes of the empire in Italy. For this purpose, two deputies were sent from fourteen Lombard towns, who were to discuss these questions with four of the most famous jurists of the university of Bologna. It was useless, however, to argue with the master of so many legions, or to recall the fact that many of the powers previously held by the Lombards, Carolingians, and Germans who had borne rule in Italy had passed into other hands—into those of bishops or of communes. The Italians had no alternative but to acknowledge that those rights now belonged to the emperor. In the most solemn manner, all the clerical and civil princes who were present, as well as the consuls of the towns, gave back their rights to the emperor. There is no doubt that this created a different state of things from what had actually existed up to this time, and reduced Italy to the state of a vassal kingdom. Since the

**Diet at  
Roncaglia.**

time of Otto the Great, no ruler had appeared in Italy with such power as Frederick possessed, after the diet of Roncaglia. Yet it was clear that, although an outward peace had been secured, passions still glowed under the ashes. Frederick had not realised the strength of the new form of public life which had grown up out of the ruins of the past, setting up popular officers in rivalry to those deputed by the emperor. But the spiritual power of the church, and the love of freedom in the towns, were antagonists which, though for the moment bent, could not be entirely subdued. He found evidence of this in the resistance of Genoa, which he only punished by the imposition of a fine. He found it also in the policy of Pope Hadrian IV., who refused to submit himself, and claimed as his own independent dominion not only the country surrounding Rome, but some districts in the north, as well as the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

The strongest resistance, however, came from Milan itself. When, in the spring of 1159, the commissioners came to Milan to nominate consuls on the basis of the decisions of Roncaglia, and a *podestà* to represent the emperor, the citizens objected that they had the right of choosing their own masters. The dispute grew warm, and a popular rising was the result; stones were thrown at the palace where the imperial commissioners were lodged, and they had some difficulty in saving themselves. They went to Frederick's camp, which was in the neighbourhood of Turin, and represented matters in their worst light. The result was that Milan was again placed under the imperial ban; the property of the citizens might be plundered with impunity, their persons enslaved, and their town destroyed. Milan was so little affected by these threats that on the same day it undertook an expedition against the castle of Trezzo, which still stands, surrounded by the rushing Adda, and compelled the imperial garrison to submit. But the vengeance of the emperor was not long delayed. First turning his arms against the little city of Crema, which had risen in revolt, and rasing it to the ground, he marched on Milan, which was the centre of the opposition. The struggle lasted for two years, but the city yielded at last in March 1162.

Resistance  
of Milan.

The whole of that month was spent in inflicting indignities upon the conquered rebels. On March 1, the great waggon called the Caroccio, with its white banner, was given up. The flags were laid at the emperor's feet, and the keys of the town

given to him. On March 6 appeared the citizens themselves, high and low, with cords around their necks and ashes on their heads. They fell on their knees and cried loud for pardon, holding crosses in their outstretched hands. Frederick chose from the consuls, the knights, and the most important citizens 400 hostages, and compelled the whole people to take the oath of unconditional obedience. On March 26, orders were issued that all the inhabitants should leave the town with their property, and should betake themselves to four open fields ten miles distant from each other. We may imagine the misery and despair of the wretched people, as they left their beloved town, the scene of their happiness, their freedom, their prosperity, and their memories, to seek a refuge at a distance. But the worst was yet to come. Milan, which was the centre of all the disturbance, the seat of republican freedom, which had espoused the side of the banished Pope Alexander, was to drink the cup of degradation to the dregs. Orders were given to Pavia, Como, Lodi, Cremona, and Novara to sweep all traces of Milan from the surface of the earth. The haughty town, the flower of Italy, was to fall in dust and ashes. A legend says that the emperor himself drove a plough over the place where Milan had stood, and sowed salt in the furrows, that it might be desolate for ever. The emigrants saw the pillars of smoke and fire, which marked the ruin of their houses and public buildings. The churches and the palaces of the nobles alone resisted the power of the flames; the wall and towers, and everything which could assist the strength of the town, were torn down, and the ditches were filled up. In this way did the Lombard cities who favoured the emperor fulfil their vengeance and their hatred.

The traveller on the railway between Milan and Lecco sees on the left-hand side a slender bell tower which marks the monastery of Pontida. Here, five years later, in 1167, the representatives of several Lombard towns, some already belonging to the league of Verona, promised by oaths and other symbols to remain faithful to each other, and to drive out injustice and violence. This was the beginning of the Lombard League. They had no desire to break their allegiance to the emperor, but merely to set limits to his power. One of their chief objects was the restoration of Milan, and the calling back into their ancient home its inhabitants, who were still living in the open fields. Among the most important members of the league were—

**Milan**  
**Destroyed.**

**The**  
**Lombard**  
**League.**

Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Treviso, Brescia, Bergamo, Piacenza, and Mantua. Above all, Cremona, hitherto most faithful to the emperor, led the movement. Lodi resisted until it was compelled to join by force. Frederick appeared again in Pavia to put down the cities, but his army was decimated by a terrible plague, and he was compelled to retire in the next year. The Lombard League took advantage of this to organise and strengthen itself, and it was joined by the towns of Parma, Modena, and Bologna, which lay in the Aemilian Plain. The league was further strengthened by an alliance with the pope, and the town of Alessandria, in the neighbourhood of the battle-field of Marengo, remains at the present day a memorial of this alliance, bearing the name of its founder, Pope Alexander III. It was built where the Bormida flows into the Tanaro, close to the frontiers of Pavia and Montferrat. Its position was very strong, and it was protected by earthworks. It formed a bulwark of liberty, and a protection against the Germans. Migration to it became so popular that only a year after its foundation it could send 15,000 armed citizens into the field. In this way almost all the cities in Lombardy and Venetia, and some in the Romagna, became members of the league, either freely or by compulsion, and some of the feudal nobility were forced to join it. All the members bound themselves to be true to each other, and never to make a separate peace with the Hohenstauffens or their allies. Milan, which had been again surrounded with walls and gates, and had received new vigour from its misfortunes, stood at the head of the patriotic movement.

Frederick bided his time, and in the autumn of 1174 he crossed the Alps for the fifth time, passing into Lombardy by the way of Susa and Turin. He had hoped to surprise his adversaries; but the bad weather and difficulties about food, and the bravery of the enemy, caused much delay. The imperial army lay before Alessandria for four winter months. Floods had turned the country into a broad marsh, and the Germans were on the point of retiring without having effected their object, when reinforcements arrived from Germany. Philip of Cologne, the count of Flanders, and the archbishop of Magdeburg came to Frederick's assistance; but all was in vain, and the mighty emperor had to retire towards Como. The great battle of Legnano took place on May 29, 1176. At first the Germans were victorious; the emperor, dressed in shining armour, was

**Return of  
Frederick—  
Battle of  
Legnano.**



visible to all, with his banner-bearer by his side; he broke through one of the enemy's wings, and compelled it to yield, but the centre was composed of Milanese, who, under the name of "The Company of Death," had sworn to conquer or to die. They resisted in a solid square, and with the "Sacred Company," who protected the Caroccio, stood firm as a wall, immovable, not to be pierced. For some time the brave citizens withstood the shock of the armour-plated knights; then they took the offensive, and pressed with such violence upon the foe that they broke through the ranks of the imperial army, supported by an attack of the Brescians upon the flank. Frederick's banner-bearer fell, pierced by an arrow, and in the tumult of the battle Frederick himself fell from his horse and disappeared from view. A cry was raised, "The emperor has fallen!" and terror broke the resistance of the Germans. Soon the flight was general, and the defeat complete. The allies who had come to help Frederick from Como were killed, almost to a man; a rich booty fell into the hands of the conquerors, including the shield and lance of the emperor. But in vain did they seek the corpse of their enemy among the fallen; they learned, to their great disappointment, that he had escaped by cross-roads to Pavia.

After the battle of Legnano, peace was made between the emperor and the pope at Venice, where a congress sat from May to August 1177. But the final peace

**The Diet of  
Constance.**

between the Lombard cities and the emperor was only concluded on June 29, 1183, in the diet of Constance. It resulted in a complete victory for the towns. The emperor renounced all the "Regalien" or regal privileges which he had hitherto claimed; he acknowledged the right of the confederated cities to levy armies, to fortify themselves, and to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction. The consuls were to be chosen by the citizens, and were then to be invested with the privileges of imperial vicars, which were to be renewed every five years. The confederacy was allowed to extend itself for the purpose of maintaining these rights. On the other hand, the cities agreed to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, to recognise his suzerainty, and to pay him the sum of 15,000 imperial ducats which he demanded as due to him.

Whilst Frederick was occupied with the affairs of Italy, Henry the Lion, the great Guelph, the rival of the Hohenstauffens, was extending his dominions in Germany, by the addition to them of Pomerania and Mecklenburg and other Slavic territories, so that his power extended from the Baltic

to the Alps, from the lower Rhine to the Oder. He treated the princes and bishops who were his neighbours in a manner which necessitated the interference of the Emperor **Frederick and Henry the Lion**. This produced a bad feeling between them, which was intensified by the refusal of the duke to assent to the election of Frederick's son Henry, then five years old, as German king. Another cause of difference came between them. The head of the Guelph family (Welf VI.) was very extravagant, and offered to sell his hereditary possessions to Henry for a considerable sum of money. The duke, however, refused, expecting that these lands would eventually come to him by inheritance. Welf then offered them to the emperor, who, to the great disgust of Henry, purchased them. The consequence of this was that Henry did not give the emperor efficient assistance in the campaign of Legnano. When Frederick returned to Germany after his defeat, his first occupation was to settle matters with Henry the Lion, whose overbearing conduct had raised many enemies against him. He summoned him four times to appear before the diet to give an account of his proceedings, and four times he refused to come. The imperial ban was therefore issued against him, and his possessions were divided amongst other princes. Part of Saxony was given to Bernhard of Anhalt, son of Albert the Bear, but Westphalia was divided from it, and added as a dukedom to the archbishopric of Cologne. Styria and the Tyrol were separated from Bavaria, and the remaining provinces were given to Otto of Wittelsbach, so that the house of Wittelsbach now reigns in Bavaria. Otto had materially assisted Frederick in his Italian campaigns. In the first he had rescued him from serious danger in the pass of Rivoli, when the Veronese endeavoured to intercept him on his return, and in the second he contributed largely to the conquest of Crema. The sturdy old Lion had eventually to submit to the superior power of the emperor; the ban was removed at Erfurt in 1181, and Henry was left in possession of Brunswick and Lüneburg, but he was ordered to absent himself from Germany for three years. He spent these at the court of his father-in-law, Henry II. of England. In this country a third son, William, was born to him, who became the progenitor of the Guelphic house of Hanover and Brunswick, from which the royal house of England is descended. After the conclusion of the treaty of Constance, Frederick made in 1183 a sixth expedition into Italy, and received a brilliant

reception from the Milanese, whom he had treated so badly. In 1186 his son Henry was married to Constance, the daughter of Roger II., and heir to her nephew, William the Good, king of Naples and Sicily. Having arranged his family affairs, and reduced his empire to a condition of comparative peace, he was able, at the age of sixty-seven, to take part in the third crusade, which was now beginning.

In 1183 the famous Saladin, having suppressed the khali-fate of Cairo, had become the sole Moslem ruler in Egypt and

**Saladin in  
Palestine.**

Syria alike. The crusading kingdom, itself torn by faction, and now threatened for the first time by a united and aggressive foe, was saved for a moment by the victory of Ramleh in 1184. But its power was finally broken at Hittin, on Lake Gennesareth, on July 5, 1187, and Jerusalem fell into Moslem hands. The crosses were pulled down, but the population was kindly treated

**Capture of  
Jerusalem.**

by the magnanimous Saladin. The news of the capture of Jerusalem was received by Western Europe with a thrill of horror. Crowds of warriors streamed towards the Holy Land, from the fiords of Scandinavia to the Gulf of Naples. In England and France, those who stayed at home had to pay a tax known as the Saladin tithe. Frederick Barbarossa, who had taken part as a young man in the second crusade, now determined to gild the declining years of his illustrious life by a great act of duty and self-sacrifice.

The crusaders reached Constantinople in good order and discipline, and cowed into submission the weak Byzantine

**The Third  
Crusade,  
1190.**

emperor, Isaac Angelus. They then defeated the sultan of Iconium, and punished him for his treachery. But at this point the great emperor died, being drowned in the mountain torrent Selef, the ancient Calycadnus, either when crossing it on horseback or when

**Death of  
Frederick  
Barbarossa.**

bathing in it, as accounts differ. His second son, Frederick of Swabia, succeeded to the command of the German troops, and led them by the way of Antioch to meet Guy of Lusignan, who was at this time king of Jerusalem. Frederick died at the siege of Acre in 1191, just after he had founded the Order of Teutonic Knights. The German army was wasting away when the kings of England and France, Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus, came to Syria by sea, and captured Acre on July 12, 1191. Richard performed prodigies of valour, and

showed himself a worthy antagonist to Saladin, but Jerusalem was not recovered. Eventually a treaty was made with Saladin, by which the sea-coast between Joppa and Tyre was made accessible to Christians, and they were allowed to visit the holy sepulchre. On his way to Palestine, Richard had conquered the island of Cyprus from the Byzantine emperor. He now gave it to Guy of Lusignan as a compensation for the loss of Jerusalem, and it remained in his family for three centuries. Saladin himself died on March 3, 1193, leaving an immortal name in history.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE EMPIRE, A.D. 1190-1250—THE FOURTH CRUSADE, A.D. 1204.

FREDERICK was succeeded as emperor by his son Henry VI., who reigned for seven years, and had many difficulties with

**Henry VI.** Henry the Lion. He made two expeditions into Italy, in the first of which he was crowned by Pope Celestine at Rome, while in the second he set his wife Constance free from imprisonment at Salerno—where, after being deprived of her duchy, she had been locked up by the Norman Tancred, an illegitimate scion of the royal line—and established his own power as king in Naples and Sicily. He treated Tancred's family with such cruelty that he incurred the censure of the pope. On his return to Germany he indulged in far-reaching but impracticable plans for extending the empire and making it hereditary in his family. He desired to include in it Apulia and Sicily, which his wife had brought him as a dowry, and to unite the two empires of West and East; for which purpose he prepared to undertake a crusade, but died suddenly at Messina on September 28, 1197, at the age of thirty-two. As he left a son too young to be chosen emperor, the Ghibellines elected Philip of Swabia, the third son of Barbarossa, while the Guelfs put forward Otto IV., the second son of Henry the Lion, as king, which led to a ten years' civil war (1198-1208).

In the meantime, the fourth crusade, which was preached by Fulk of Neuilly, was undertaken at the instigation of the great

**The Fourth Crusade.**

pope, Innocent III., in 1204—the principal leaders being Baldwin of Flanders and the marquis of Montferrat. The event, however, turned out quite differently from what was expected. The French crusaders found themselves unable to pay Venice the amount promised for the transport of their forces, so the doge, Dandolo, determined to commute the balance for assistance in the conquest of Zara on the Dalmatian coast, which had been wrested from Venice by the king of Hungary. This achieved, the crusaders were next urged to undertake an expedition against Constantinople, where a palace revolution was in progress. The Emperor Isaac Angelus had been dethroned and blinded by his brother

Alexius III., and the victim had sent his son Alexius to ask help of the Venetians, with tempting offers of assistance in the crusade in return. Accordingly, in spite of papal interdict and excommunication, Constantinople was besieged, and the blind Isaac replaced on his throne. But the people detested the foreign intruders, and rose under Alexius Ducas, so that Isaac died of terror and his son was strangled. Thereupon the

crusaders resolved to conquer Constantinople for themselves, which they accomplished, storming the city and destroying many buildings and precious manuscripts. Alexius Ducas was killed,

**The Latin  
Conquest of  
Constanti-  
nople.**

and Baldwin became the first Latin emperor of the East; but his direct authority was limited to the capital (outside the Venetian quarter), Adrianople, most of Thrace, and islands in the eastern Aegean. The marquis of Montferrat—as king of Thessalonica—ruled Macedonia and part of Thessaly. Principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and lordships were allotted to other crusaders. Above all, Venice secured full sovereignty over many islands and coast settlements of great commercial value, the Doge thus becoming “lord of a quarter and half a quarter of the empire.” Innocent III., though condemning the sack, sanctioned the secular arrangements, and himself appointed a Latin patriarch, in the vain hope that the schism of East and West would now be healed.

We left Germany disturbed by civil war between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, Otto IV. representing the one and Philip of Swabia the other. Otto was at first successful, but the party of Philip was gradually strengthened by the adhesion of Otto's elder brother, the Pals-

**Otto IV. and  
Philip of  
Swabia.**

grave Henry, the archbishop of Cologne, and the king of Bohemia, so that he was himself elected a second time, and was crowned by the archbishop in his cathedral. There was a prospect of peace being restored because Innocent III. was prepared to recognise him, but in 1208 he was murdered in Bamberg for reasons of private vengeance. Otto did his best to arrange the quarrel by betrothing himself to Beatrice, the daughter of Philip, who was only ten years old, and marrying her four years after. Innocent III. was perhaps the greatest of the medieval popes; certainly the commanding position that the papacy obtained at that time was due to his energy and ability, and to that of his predecessor Hildebrand. He strove to place the spiritual power of the tiara before all earthly crowns, to make himself master over all kings and princes, and he succeeded

in making the kingdoms of England and Aragon tributary to the Holy See. He now ordered Otto to submit himself to a new election, and acknowledged him as king of Lombardy and emperor. But a new force was arising in Europe in the person of the Hohenstauffen Frederick II., the gifted son of Henry VI., to whose career we must now devote our attention.

Just at the time when the power of Henry VI. was at its height, having been strengthened by the destruction of his

**Norman enemies at Salerno,** he heard that his  
**Birth of** wife Constance, after eight years of childless  
**Frederick II.** union, had borne him a son at Jesi, in the mark

of Ancona, on St. Stephen's Day, 1194, an event that seemed to promise him the peaceful possession of Apulia and Sicily. It had been intended at first to call him Constantine, but the name was afterwards changed to Frederick. The child was elected king of Germany in 1196, and he was to be crowned shortly afterwards; but on September 28 in the following year, Henry died in Sicily and was buried in Palermo, at the age of thirty-two, leaving behind him the child of three. Philip, of whom we have already spoken—a noble character, well worthy of his father—became guardian of his nephew, but could not refuse the crown himself, as it would be unsafe to leave Germany in the hands of an infant. In May 1198, Constance brought her son from Foligno to Palermo, and had him crowned king of Sicily.

The same year Pope Celestine died, aged ninety, and on the day of his funeral the cardinal-deacon Lothar, of the wealthy  
**Innocent III.** house of Conti, was unanimously elected pope, and took the title of Innocent III. We have

already mentioned him; he had been carefully educated, had studied theology and philosophy in the schools of Rome, Paris, and Bologna, and had been created cardinal at the age of twenty-nine by Pope Clement III., but was kept in the background by Celestine III., perhaps to his great advantage, because he was able to mature his mind and character in solitude and reflection. Thus, at the age of thirty-seven, he assumed the tiara,—a man of pure morals, of simple life, of strict piety,—a powerful preacher, a learned lawyer, a statesman, and a born ruler,—to govern a world that was in dire need of a strong hand to control it. His objects were to free the papacy from imperial control, and Italy from foreigners and feudal dissension, to base the power of the papacy on a territorial foundation, to form a great confederacy of the Christian world with the pope at its head, and thus to follow the example of Gregory VII. in

making the papacy at once the national champion of Italy and the greatest power in the world. On January 22, after being crowned in St. Peter's, he made his solemn progress to the Lateran, and on the following day received an oath of allegiance from the praelect of the city, who had been before regarded as a vassal of the empire. He also put an end to the power of the republican commune which sat in the Capitol, by taking into his own hands the nomination of the senators, while he made all the princes of the sea-coast and the Sabine mountains acknowledge him as their master. Further, he confirmed his authority over the heritage of Countess Matilda of Tuscany, over the march of Ancona, the Romagna, and the duchy of Ravenna. He stretched out his hand to seize all the attributes of sovereignty, both ecclesiastical or lay, which the weakness of pope or emperor had left in the dust. He did more than Alexander III. had done; he placed himself at the head of a Tuscan League, more powerful than the league of Lombardy, to which he also extended his protection, and received the homage of Perugia, Spoleto, Assisi, Foligno, and other towns, Pisa alone remaining devoted to the emperor. The child Frederick also received Sicily and southern Italy from his hands, having to pay a tribute of a thousand pieces of gold. Constance died on November 27, 1198, leaving her infant son to the guardianship of the pope, the archbishop of Palermo, and the ambitious chancellor, Walter of Troja, an arrangement which was deeply resented by the Normans of Sicily and Apulia. The pope first intended to marry the child Frederick to the daughter of the king of Aragon, but the scheme was delayed. He provided his ward with a broad and generous education, and did his best to give effect to his remarkable natural gifts.

In August 1209, Frederick, who was now fourteen, was declared of age, and was married to the sister of Peter of Aragon, not to the younger sister, Sanchia, who had at first been intended for him, but the elder, Constance, the widowed queen of Hungary, who was ten years older than her husband. When Frederick began to reign in his own name few cities obeyed him, his barons retained their independence, and swarms of Saracens infested the mountains. But the boy was equal to the occasion. He now heard that he had been elected king in Germany, and determined to accept the offer. He sailed from Messina in March 1212, leaving his wife as regent for his little child



Henry, who had been crowned king of Sicily. Reaching Rome, he sailed from Ostia to Genoa, and, passing by Verona and Trent, crossed the Alps to Chur, and reached Constance, the gates of which were opened him by the bishop. Every one was charmed by the refined and handsome youth of seventeen summers, by his generosity and the splendid memories of his race. He was solemnly elected German king at Frankfort, on December 9, and was crowned two years afterwards in the cathedral of Mainz, where his uncle Philip had been married fifteen years before.

The struggle between Otto IV. and Frederick, the Guelf and the Ghibelline, was one of European importance. Otto had

**Struggle  
between  
Frederick  
and  
Otto IV.**

increased his power by marrying the daughter of the duke of Brabant, and he now showed that his courage and energy were unbroken. He seized and imprisoned the archbishop of Magdeburg, and laid waste the land of Thuringia, Saxony, and the Netherlands. An apparently small event brought about a European war. The duke of Brabant had attacked the bishop of Liège, who belonged to the Hohenstauffen party, and the altar of St. Lambert had been stained with blood. The bishop laid his ban upon the duke, and summoned counts and other feudal lords to his assistance. The kings of France and England took part in the conflict, and Frederick naturally helped his French ally. Otto commanded an army of 100,000 men, mainly English and Netherlanders, and burned to avenge himself on the French king, Philip Augustus, the rival of his uncles Richard and John of England. The struggle was

**Battle of  
Bouvines.**

decided on July 27, 1214, at the bridge of Bouvines, situated between Tournay and Lille, by one of the decisive battles of the world, in which the French chivalry and the banner of the oriflamme gained a signal victory. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne and the earl of Salisbury were taken prisoners. Otto fled to Cologne, where he was supported by the alms of England, his power being henceforth restricted to his paternal inheritance of Brunswick. Frederick extended his conquests over the lower Rhine and the Netherlands, and even as far as Denmark, and on July 24, 1215, just a year after the battle, was crowned at Aachen by the archbishop of Mainz, acting as legate to the pope. Otto passed the remaining three years of his life at Brunswick, dying on May 10, 1218, and a year later his brother, the count palatine, purchased security for his own possessions by surrendering the insignia

of the empire to Frederick, so that the Hohenstauffen was now without a rival.

In 1216, Pope Innocent III. died, and was succeeded by Honorius III., of the house of Savelli. Before his death he recognised the mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which were further established by his successor, and to which were afterwards

**Last Years  
of Innocent  
III.**

added the Carmelites and the Augustinians. Innocent continued in his passionate zeal for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre to the end of his life, and he persuaded not only the youthful Frederick but the kings of Hungary and England to take the cross. Nor was he deterred by the terrible example of the Children's Crusade, which discredited the enterprise by a catastrophe of indescribable horror. About the year 1212, thousands of children, boys and girls, young men and young women, left France and Germany for the Holy Land, led by a few priests and monks. They took ship in the south of France, but came to a terrible end,—some dying of starvation and exhaustion, many more being taken prisoners by sea or land and sold as slaves, very few surviving to reach their home. What is known as the fifth crusade took place in 1217, but produced no result. It was led by King Andrew II. of Hungary and Leopold VII. of Austria, and other German princes. John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and the legate Pelagius stormed Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile, in 1219, but soon had to surrender it.

The coronation of Frederick in St. Peter's took place in November 23, 1220, amidst a large crowd of princes from both Germany and Italy. He received the cross from the bishop of Asti, as a sign that he was still true to the vow of crusade which he had taken at Aachen. The catastrophe of Damietta followed next year. The news produced a feeling of dismay in Europe, such lofty hopes being followed by such a terrible disaster. Honorius was more anxious than ever for a crusade, and in March 1223 a congress was held at Florentino. Frederick solemnly promised in the presence of the pope, the king and patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Masters of the three great military orders, to sail for Syria on or before St. John's Day, 1225. He had lost his wife, Constance, in 1222, and it was now arranged that he should marry Iolanthe, the eldest daughter of John of Brienne, who had married Iolanthe of Montferrat, the heiress of Jerusalem. Frederick spent these two years in ordering the affairs of Apulia

**Frederick  
crowned  
at Rome.**

and Sicily. He got rid of various nobles, exiling and confiscating the property of the counts of Aquila, Caserta, and San Severino. He pursued a similar policy in Sicily, making war against the Saracens in the mountains, hanging Ibn Abed and his sons, and transplanting his prisoners to Lucera in Apulia, where he founded a military colony, which became in time devoted to his interests, and furnished for him a bodyguard of 20,000 warriors, who remained faithful to the house of Hohenstauffen until its extinction. But the pope did not approve of the Moslem cry of prayer being proclaimed in the mosques of Lucera or of the Koran being read in them.

Meanwhile the preparations for the crusade went on. John of Brienne travelled through France and England, but could find no support: Philip Augustus and his successor, Louis VIII., were occupied with the suppression of the Albigenes, and Henry III. was a minor. Nor was he more successful in Castile. Frederick himself was full of zeal, but asked leave to defer the expedition, promising at San Germano that he would go to the Holy Land in August 1227, and remain there for two years, subject to a fine for failure of contract. If he did not fulfil these conditions he was to be excommunicated. He was now married to Iolanthe in Brindisi. He assumed the title of king of Jerusalem, which Iolanthe's father did not approve of, and bad feeling arose between the two families. Frederick spent the interval in confirming his authority in Sicily, assisted by his faithful adviser, Pietro delle Vigne, whose political success did not save him from being put into hell by Dante. But the increase of the emperor's power and authority, and his excellent government, only stimulated the jealousy of the pope. The Lombard League began to raise its head, and favoured the power of John of Brienne in Italy at the expense of Frederick.

The virtuous Honorius III. died in March 1227, and was succeeded by Cardinal Ugolino Conti, of the family of Innocent III., who took the title of Gregory IX. He had been a staunch supporter of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and, notwithstanding his advanced years, promised a vigorous reign. His first care was to exact from Frederick the fulfilment of the bond given at San Germano to prepare for the crusade, which was to set out from Brindisi in August. A large number of crusaders were collected there, and Frederick exhibited great energy. But a terrible fever broke out in the heat of a Calabrian autumn. The sons

**Prepara-  
tions for  
a new  
Crusade.**

**Accession of  
Gregory IX.**

of the north melted like snow under the rays of the southern sun. Frederick did indeed despatch 40,000 pilgrims by sea, and followed himself on September 8, accompanied by the landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of the sainted Elizabeth; but an attack of fever compelled them both to return, and three days after his landing the landgrave was a corpse. The doctor insisted upon Frederick's renouncing the expedition, and going to be cured in the baths of Pozzuoli. This broke up the expedition. The fleet returned, and the crusaders dispersed.

The pope was beside himself with wrath. Without waiting for explanations, he pronounced at Anagni a decree of excommunication against the emperor. This was the beginning of a new policy for the papacy, which set itself to uproot the authority of the Hohenstauffens. Gregory issued a circular to the bishops defending his action. Frederick's explanations were not listened to, although he promised to sail for the Holy Land in May. The ban was renewed on November 17, and it was declared that the landgrave had died of poison. Frederick replied to the attack with characteristic nobility. In a manifesto to the king of England, he described the dangers to be apprehended from the increasing power of the hierarchy and the restless policy of the pope. He cited the examples of the count of Toulouse and of King John of England, drawing a moving picture of the demoralisation of the church, and contrasting it with the purity and simplicity of the early Christians. Gregory put all the places in which Frederick might reside under an interdict, so that divine service could not be performed in them, and few of the clergy dared to disobey. But Frederick had supporters in Rome, of whom the Frangipani were the leaders, and the Ghibellines were in fact so strong that, when Gregory renewed the ban on Maundy Thursday, the citizens rose against him and compelled him to withdraw to Viterbo.

Frederick continued his preparations for the crusade without troubling himself about the action of the pope, who could hardly prevent an enterprise which the papacy had always declared to be of the greatest importance to Christianity. While keeping his Easter at Barletta, he heard of the death of Almuazzam of Damascus, who had been the bitterest enemy of the Christians. A postponement was caused by the death of the Empress Iolanthe

in giving birth to her son Conrad, but Frederick started on June 28, under the ban of the Holy Father, so that a Mohammedan said that he sailed for Jerusalem not as a crusader but as a pirate. After a visit to Cyprus, he reached Ascalon on September 7, and was well received by the Knights Templars and the Knights of Saint John. But they refused to give him the kiss of peace or to dine with him, because he was excommunicated; indeed, the action of the pope soon began to produce its effect. The clergy denounced him, the military orders refused their obedience. The Venetians wavered, and the sultan of Egypt hesitated to confirm the treaty for the surrender of the holy places, which he had already agreed to.

Frederick was preparing to march to Joppa when two Franciscan friars came to Ptolemais, telling the patriarch and the heads of the religious orders that they were **Frederick in Palestine.** to give Frederick no assistance. Frederick had, on his arrival, sent a message to the pope that

he would not return until he had won Jerusalem back for Christianity, but the pope was more anxious for the destruction of the Hohenstauffen than he was for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The consequence was that the patriarch and the heads of the orders refused to assist him unless he left his own name out of the expedition, to which he magnanimously assented. Sultan Al Kamil, who was in camp a day's journey from Joppa, had conceived a great admiration for Frederick's splendid qualities and a corresponding contempt for those who were endeavouring to destroy him. Therefore in February 18, 1221,

**Treaty with the Sultan.**

he made an agreement with him by which the mosque of Omar should remain in the possession of the Moslems, while the rest of Jerusalem, with Bethlehem and Nazareth, and the coast from Joppa to Sidon, should be surrendered to the Christians. The patriarch bitterly opposed this statesman-like arrangement, which had been made, he said, without his knowledge. He wrote to the pope that Frederick was at heart a heathen and a Mohammedan, that he led an unchristian life with singing and dancing women, whom he had received from the unbelievers, and that his bodyguard was formed of Saracens. Frederick paid no attention to this; he entered Jerusalem with the acclamation of the Christian population, visited the Holy Sepulchre as catholic emperor on March 18, 1229, dressed in the imperial robes, and, taking the crown

of Jerusalem from the altar, placed it on his head. The patriarch answered this by laying Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre under an interdict, so that no religious service could be held there so long as Frederick remained; therefore, after two days, he left the Holy City and withdrew to Joppa and Acre.

The quarrel now assumed the character of a civil war. The pope wished to obtain the consent of the king of France to raise an army for recovering the Holy Land, which would have broken the treaty between Frederick and Al Kamil. Frederick ordered the

**Return of  
Frederick.**

crusaders to leave the Holy Land, as the object of the expedition was now fully accomplished, and on Palm Sunday went so far as to pull down some of the friars from the pulpit and flog them through the streets. On May 1, 1229, after entrusting the kingdom to the care of the bailiff of Sidon, he went quietly on board ship, and sailed for Italy by way of Cyprus. He found that, in his absence, Gregory had released his Apulian subjects from their allegiance, and had excommunicated his friends. He had also used the money collected for the recovery of Jerusalem to conduct a crusade against Frederick, and had enlisted crusaders for this purpose. He had stirred up Frederick's enemies, Thomas of Celano, Roger of Aquila, John of Brienne, Cardinal Colonna, and the papal chaplain, Pandulf of Anagni, to attack Rainald of Spoleto, whom the emperor had left behind as viceroy. The villages of the plain were devastated by civil war, and Benevento was conquered. The "Army of the Keys," as it was called, marched into the Romagna, and stirred up strife between the Guelfs and Ghibelines in northern Italy. Florence, Ravenna, and Imola fought against Modena, Parma, and Cremona. The Milanese attacked the count of Savoy; Rainald with difficulty protected Sulmona; John of Brienne blockaded the coast, hoping to destroy Frederick and to recover the crown of Jerusalem for himself. It was reported that Frederick was a prisoner or dead when suddenly, to the consternation of his enemies, he arrived at Brindisi. The pope soon found that his army melted away from him, but he would hear nothing of peace, and met Frederick's offers by a fresh ban. Frederick, however, was too strong for him, and advanced from victory to victory. Louis IX. of France remained neutral, and by the autumn he had recovered all his possessions with the exception of Gaeta, and the way to

**The Army of  
the Keys.**

Rome lay open to him. On July 23, 1230, a peace between the emperor and the pope was concluded at San Germano, by which the pope should keep his temporal possessions and Frederick should be released from the ban. The two enemies signed the treaty at Anagni, and Gregory called the emperor his beloved son.

After the treaty of San Germano, Frederick set to work to organise his kingdom. In Sicily, he changed the feudal state into a centralised bureaucratic government. In Germany, he exalted the royal power over the freedom of the towns, but left much authority in the hands of the nobles. In northern Italy, he pursued a similar policy, and increased everywhere the power of the local laws over the democratic government of the cities. The emperor was the head over everything. But the church was opposed to him, and became, from this time, the assertor of freedom. The connection of Frederick with Germany was fatal to his plans. If he could have been king of Italy without being king of Germany, the unity of the peninsula might have been consummated six hundred years before it was eventually brought about.

The treaty of San Germano was followed by five years of peaceful government, and was a great benefit for Christianity.

Gregory ratified the treaty which Frederick had made with Al Kamil, and the kingdom of Jerusalem was left in peace, Christians having free access to the holy places. With the help of Pietro delle Vigne, Frederick elaborated a fresh constitution for Sicily; and gave it the character of a modern state. He committed justice to four great judges, with a Grand Justiciar at their head. He did away with ordeal and judicial combat, and brought order into harmony with ideas of progress. For administration he created an enlightened bureaucracy. He favoured the development of agriculture, of commerce, and of the army and fleet. He applied the soundest principles to the collection of taxes, although the circumstances of the times did not favour the introduction of free trade or the prohibition of monopolies. The huge revenue which he derived from Germany and Italy enabled him to maintain a brilliant court which would vie with any contemporary court in splendour. His palaces were full of beautiful women, and he gave much attention to poetry, encouraging troubadours and minnesingers. The universities

which he established in Naples and Palermo vied in reputation with the schools of Paris and Bologna, Damascus, Bagdad, and Cairo. No emperor had had such large possessions in gold and silver since the days of Charles the Great. But in his later years he became extravagant, and his government became oppressive to the people. Revolts arose and were sternly suppressed, not without shedding of blood. But long after Frederick's death Pope Clement IV. held up the government of the great Hohenstauffen as a model to Charles of Anjou. The country over which he ruled is still full of his works—his cathedrals, his castles, and his palaces, original in style, unrivalled in beauty, deserving far greater study and attention than they have received. They raise Italian Gothic to a worthy rivalry with her northern sister. Nothing can be more beautiful than the churches of Aquila and Tagliacozzo, with their twisted columns inlaid with mosaics and their bright and cheery interior. The castle of Alba is a masterpiece of strength and majesty; his palaces both in Italy and Sicily join to the exuberance of Eastern decoration the refinement of Italian taste.

Universities.

Architecture.

Even if Frederick had desired to separate Germany and Italy, he could not have done so, and he kept before his eyes the ideal of an empire extending from the Baltic to the sea of Sicily, to hold the world in peace and obedience. He cultivated good relations with the Curia, and tried with its help to destroy the rebellious Lombards, who had not only renewed their league but had extended it by the addition of Mantua, Brescia, Ferrara, Vicenza, Padua, and Verona. In March 1232, he met his son Henry (VII.) at Aquila, and did his best to establish an enduring system of peace with his dominions on either side of the Alps. Henry was not an obedient son, and bore with impatience the subjection which his father naturally laid upon him. With the help of his brother-in-law, Duke Frederick of Austria, he endeavoured to strengthen his power by violent means, threatened Otto the Illustrious of Bavaria with war, and took his son Louis, a child of five years, as hostage. He destroyed the castles of recalcitrant vassals, who complained to the emperor, and attacked the margrave of Baden, whom he suspected of being too much devoted to his father. When Frederick heard of this, he was very wroth, and insisted on the hostages being restored. Henry was forced to submit, because

The Lombard League.

Frederick and his Son.



Frederick was at this time on better terms than ever with the pope. In this manner Frederick secured the adhesion of the German princes to help him against the towns, and, pursuing a similar policy, he made an alliance with Ezzelino da Romano, a blood-thirsty and cruel tyrant, who might help him against the Lombard League. In 1224, a popular outbreak took place in Rome which compelled the pope and the cardinals to take refuge in Rieti, from which Gregory fulminated his ecclesiastical curses. The Romans plundered the palaces of the fugitives, and under their municipal banner attacked Velletri and Viterbo and threatened the patrimony of Saint Peter. There seemed a danger lest the work of Innocent III. should be undone. But the emperor assisted the pope in his time of need, and in May 1235 compelled the rebels to make peace.

The unfilial conduct of Henry (VII.) led his father to consider the advisability of recognising his son Conrad as heir to the German crown, and Henry in his turn determined to revolt. It cannot be denied that Frederick paid less attention to Germany than to Italy, and there was much to be said for the separation of the two countries, as we have before remarked; but it was not in Frederick's nature to consent to this partition, and Henry, with his weak and sensual character, was not the man to bring it about. Henry found himself deserted by those that he expected to assist him, and in 1235 Frederick made an expedition into Germany, accompanied by his son Conrad, who bore the title of King of Jerusalem, and by his faithful councillor Hermann of Salza. Henry saw the uselessness of resistance, and submitted to his father. A diet was held at Worms on July 4, and Henry hoped that he might be forgiven, but when he knew that his father was determined to put his half-brother in his place he took refuge in his castle of Trifels, where he had possession of the royal insignia, and claimed the assistance of his friends in Germany and of the Lombard League. His plot was discovered, and he was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Worms, which bore the picturesque name of Luginsland, from which he was removed to Heidelberg and placed in the custody of his bitter enemy, Otto of Bavaria. As he refused to submit, and his presence in Germany was thought dangerous, he was carried in the following year across the Alps. Frederick of Austria and the Lombards attempted to set him free, but without success. He was brought first to Aquila, and then to different fortresses in southern Italy, where he was kept in strict confinement, and, after seven years of captivity, died without sub-

mission and without repentance. Frederick heard of his death with great sorrow. His wife Margaret returned to Germany, and went into a nunnery at Würzburg, dying in 1267. The fate of his two sons need not detain us.

In the same year 1235 Frederick was married to his third wife, Isabella, a sister of Henry III. of England. The negotiations for the marriage were conducted by Pietro delle Vigne, and the archbishop of Cologne and the duke of Brabant conducted the bride from England. She made her last prayer in her own country at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. She was received at Cologne with great splendour, and stayed there six weeks, until the emperor was ready to receive her. At the marriage, which was celebrated at Worms, there were present four kings, eleven dukes, thirty counts and marquises, and the ceremony was continued for four days. The bride and bridegroom then went to Mainz to attend the diet that was held there on August 15, to provide for the permanent settlement of the empire. Peace was made between the houses of Waibling and Guelph, Otto of Lüneburg being made duke of Brunswick. Those that had supported Henry in his rebellion were forgiven, and the Diet of Mainz was perhaps the culminating point of Frederick's career. It was, however, necessary to settle matters with the Lombards, and, before he began this work, Frederick took care to have his son Conrad chosen king of Germany and crowned. On November 27, 1237, with the assistance of Ezzelino, he defeated the Lombards at Cortenuova, winning a complete victory, and capturing the sacred Caroccio. The dead and the prisoners amounted to 10,000, and among the last was Vieri Tiepolo, podestà of Milan, son of the doge of Venice. He decorated the triumph of the emperor, being tied to the mast of the Caroccio, which was drawn by a white elephant. Even the pope sent his congratulations to the emperor.

On Epiphany Day of 1238, Frederick entered the imperial city of Pavia in triumph, having the young counts Albert and Rudolf of Hapsburg in his train, and a few weeks later the Empress Isabella bore him a son. But the Lombards were not yet subdued. The siege of Brescia lasted from August to October 1238, and failed—a prelude to further misfortunes. The ancient sympathy of the pope for the Lombards began to revive. Indeed, he became jealous of Frederick's success, and feared lest he should lose his authority over central Italy and Sicily.

**Frederick's  
third  
Marriage.**

**Battle of  
Corte-  
nuova.**

**Renewed  
Disputes  
with the  
Pope.**

The quarrel came to a head about Sardinia, the suzerainty of which the pope claimed for himself. After the death of Ubaldo Visconti, the lordship of the Sardinian districts of Torre and Gallura came to his widow, who chose for her second husband Enzo, the handsome son of Frederick, now eighteen years of age, his father's living image, and dearer to him than his legitimate children. The pope strongly opposed this marriage, but the emperor insisted upon it, and invested his son, in feudal fashion, as vassal king of Sardinia under the imperial suzerainty. Gregory, therefore, encouraged by Frederick's failure at Brescia, made an alliance with Genoa and Venice to assist the Milanese in their struggle, and if possible to rouse the whole of Italy against the dreaded emperor.

On Palm Sunday, 1239, the aged pope pronounced for a second time his ban against Frederick, "giving his body to Satan that his soul might be saved." His sons were released again from their allegiance, and any place where he Excommunicated might reside was held accursed. On the very day on which this curse was pronounced, his faithful companion and friend, Hermann of Salza, who had spent his life in efforts to maintain peace between the pope and the emperor, died. He sought the aid of the doctors of Salerno in vain—they were unable to save him. The cause of the quarrel with the pope was not religious, but political. The pope was possessed by the principles of papal government which had first been set forth by Hildebrand and afterwards extended and developed by Innocent III. The papacy was to possess spiritual authority over the whole Christian world and temporal authority over Italy. Of this hegemony the temporal possessions of the church were to form the solid basis: southern Italy and Sicily were to recognise the pope as their suzerain, Umbria and Tuscany were to acknowledge his supremacy, and the republican communes of the north were to be united with him by ties of friendship, so that Italy was to become a federated nation under the headship of the pope. The principles held by Frederick, and the action that he took in consequence of them, were entirely opposed to these ideas. He had founded an independent kingdom of Sicily; he was in constant intercourse with the Ghibellines of Rome; he was opposed to the independence of Lombardy; and he was endeavouring to extend his influence over Tuscany and Umbria, so that even the inheritance of Countess Matilda did not seem to be safe. These differences were brought into strong light by the creation of the kingdom of Sardinia.

The action of the pope led to a bitter civil war. The excommunication did not at first have any effect in Germany, but means were soon found to rouse feelings against Frederick. Frederick of Austria seized the opportunity of making himself independent; Otto the Illustrious, duke of Bavaria, and the Count Palatine, hitherto a firm supporter of the Hohenstauffens, were won over to the side of the pope. King Wenzel of Bohemia took the same line, but his people remained faithful to the emperor, and for the moment Germany stood firm in her national feeling against Italy. Matters went differently in Italy. In the north, Azzo of Este was the first to renounce his allegiance, but he was followed by many others. A bitter party war raged from the outskirts of Messina, carried on not only by the sword but by speech and writing. Yet the pope did not succeed in raising a rival to Frederick, nor was Frederick capable of making an antipope. On the Guelf side were the important cities of Milan and Bologna, supported by Venice and Genoa, by Azzo of Este, by Alberic of Romano, who had quarrelled with his brother Ezzelino, and by most of the Umbrian and Tuscan towns. On the side of the Ghibellines were Mantua, Parma, Modena, Cremona, and Reggio, with Ezzelino of Romano, Salinguerra of Ferrara, the marquis of Montferrat, and above all the bastard Enzo, who was made viceroy of Italy. Sicily was retained in her allegiance by the force of an iron hand.

**Renewal of  
the War.**

In the autumn Frederick invaded the Milanese with a motley force of Italians and Saracens, but could not do much, and had to retire to Cremona. At the end of the year he crossed the Apennines, kept his Christmas in the friendly Pisa, and marched into the states of the church; the Frangipani, the leaders of the Ghibellines, cried: "The emperor has come to take possession of his capital!" The pope replied to this by organising a large procession which passed from the Lateran to St. Peter's, bearing the holy relics of the Passion and the heads of the two apostles; he placed the relics on the high altar of the basilica, and, taking the tiara from his head, crowned them with it with the words, "May the saints protect the city which the Romans are willing to destroy!" The populace was seized with enthusiasm, and assumed the cross, as crusaders against the enemies of the church. The emperor was prevented from attacking Rome by want of money, and after spending some time at Viterbo he went to Foggia, where he hoped to obtain supplies from his

**Frederick  
threatens  
Rome.**

parliament. In the summer of 1240 he occupied the march of Ancona, but left the Campagna alone. He now heard of the defection of Ferrara, where Salinguerra, Ezzelino's brother-in-law, who had been favourable to him, was attacked by Azzo of Este and carried off to Venice. The brutal Ezzelino exacted terrible vengeance from the Guelfs. In August, Frederick attacked Faenza, which fell in April 1241. Gregory had summoned a general council to Rome to decide the emperor's fate, and in April a large number of prelates from France, Spain, England, and northern Italy met in Genoa, with the intention of sailing to Astura. Twenty-seven galleys full of ecclesiastics set sail on April 25, but they were intercepted by the imperial fleet, led by

**Battle of  
Meloria.**

King Enzo, which, on May 11, fought the battle of Meloria, and entirely destroyed the Genoese fleet. All but four of the galleys were either sunk or captured; two thousand men were drowned, amongst whom was the archbishop of Besançon; and over a hundred prelates, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, three papal legates, the representatives of the Lombard League, and 4000 citizens of Genoa were taken first to Pisa, and then by a three weeks' voyage to Naples and Melfi, suffering meanwhile from heat, hunger, and thirst, and the insults of the sailors. A rich booty fell into the hands of the conquerors. Thus the projected council came to an end, but the spirit of Gregory was not broken.

Frederick was determined to march upon Rome, where Cardinal John Colonna was head of the Ghibelline party, and reached Spoleto in June. Here he received bad news from Germany, King Bela of Hungary begging for his assistance against the invading

**Frederick  
offers Peace.**

Tartars. Frederick endeavoured to make peace with the pope, and sent his brother-in-law, Richard of Cornwall, to Rome for that purpose. But Gregory would be content with nothing short of unconditional surrender. Frederick hesitated no longer: he marched by way of Terni and Narni to Tivoli, and in August 1241 encamped at Grotta Ferrata in sight of Rome. He stormed the monastery of Farfa, and laid waste the country with fire and sword. In Rome a civil war was raging between the Orsini, who favoured the pope,

**Death of  
Gregory IX.**

and the Colonna, who supported the emperor, Cardinal John Colonna having joined Frederick's army. Just at this time, on August 21, 1241, Gregory IX. died in the Lateran, nearly a hundred years old, but full of vigour.

The cardinals met to choose a new pope in the Septizonium, two of Frederick's prisoners being allowed to come to Rome for the conclave, and after a long discussion they chose as pontiff the Milanese Godfrey, bishop of Sabina, a man of learning and character, who took the name of Celestine IV., but died before he could be consecrated. The civil war in Rome between the Orsini and Colonna now raged more violently than ever. Frederick wandered about the country to the south of Rome, wasting the lands of his enemies with his Saracen troops. He had both private and public anxieties. His beautiful wife Isabella died on December 1, 1241, and on February 2, 1242, his son Henry (VII.), whom he had always loved, also met his end, and he mourned for him as David mourned for Absalom. The emperor did his best to hasten the election, but a new pope was not chosen till June 24, 1243—Sinibaldi Fieschi, a Genoese, who took the title of Innocent IV., an ominous name. Frederick said when he heard of the election that he was afraid that he had lost an old friend as cardinal and acquired a new enemy as pope, for no pope could love a Ghibelline.

The emperor suffered a heavy blow by the loss of Viterbo, which went over to the side of the Guelfs, and this calamity was followed by others. Vercelli shut her gates to King Enzo; Alessandria, Novara, Montferrat, and Malaspina passed to the side of the pope. The Romans supported him, and attacked the Ghibelline castles in the states of the church; but at the same time negotiations went on because Innocent was anxious to throw the blame of the rupture on Frederick. Preliminaries of peace were signed on March 31, 1244, containing hard conditions to which the pope expected that Frederick would object. But the emperor accepted them, and Innocent was forced to adopt some other pretext for the continuation of the war. At last, in order to secure complete freedom of action, he fled to his relations in Genoa. The world now considered him as a persecuted martyr, and the emperor as an overbearing tyrant. The pope summoned a council at Lyons, and on April 13, 1245, issued a new bull of excommunication against the emperor and King Enzo. The patriarch of Antioch offered his mediation, which was neither refused nor accepted, and negotiations went on. Frederick, accompanied by his son Conrad and a few south German bishops and princes, went to Turin to be near the scene of action. Innocent saw that no time was to be lost, and, without waiting for the emperor's ambassadors, in the

**Policy of  
Innocent IV.**

**Third Bull  
of Excom-  
munication.**

third meeting of the council, on July 17, issued a decree accusing the emperor of perjury, of heresy, and of intercourse with Mohammedans, depriving him of his crown and kingdom, releasing all his subjects from their allegiance, taking Sicily to himself, and calling upon the German princes to elect a new emperor. Thaddeus of Suessa, the emperor's representative, when he heard the decree, cried, "This is the day of wrath, of mourning and desolation, over which the enemies of Christ will rejoice." The pope replied, "I have done what I was obliged to do: may God complete it according to His will!" The prelates then solemnly extinguished their burning torches.

In this manner, an Italian pope, with 150 French and German prelates, had deprived of his crown and empire the most powerful sovereign of the West, an action that filled all Christendom with astonishment and dismay. When Frederick heard of it, he said: "Has the pope robbed me of my crown? Bring me my crown that I may see if it is really lost!" He then placed it on his head and cried, "Now I have my crown, and no pope or council shall rob me of it without a struggle!" A bitter contest took place between Guelfs and Ghibellines. A conspiracy was formed against Frederick's life, which he put down, exacting vengeance with great cruelty. In Germany, in accordance with

<b>Election</b>	the order of the pope, on May 22, 1246, Henry
<b>of Rival</b>	Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, was elected German
<b>Emperors.</b>	king, and a battle took place between him and

Conrad, in which the Hohenstauffen was defeated by treachery; but Raspe died on February 27, 1247, and the male line of his race became extinct. William of Holland, a chivalrous young man of twenty, was elected in his place, Pope Innocent assisting him with money and support. In Italy the important city of Parma joined the pope's side, on which Frederick built, close by, a city of wooden houses with streets, market-place and gates, mills and places of worship, where his troops might winter until the rebellious city was captured. Sure of success, he named the new city Vittoria, and coined in it money called Vittorini. But on February 18, 1248, while the emperor was out hunting, the people of Parma attacked it, tore down the palisades, burned the wooden houses, and killed Thaddeus of Suessa. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and three thousand were taken prisoners. The emperor, on his return from the chase, found the city of Vittoria destroyed, his army routed, his seal of state, his jewelled crown, and the imperial treasure carried off, and the whole of his court captured, including his harem.

He himself mounted his fleetest horse called the Dragon, and so escaped.

After this catastrophe disaster followed upon disaster. His prime minister, Pietro delle Vigne, being accused of treachery and conspiracy against the emperor's life, was blinded and exiled. Shortly after this his darling son Enzo was taken prisoner in a skirmish at Fossato, near Modena, by the Milanese, who obstinately refused to set him at liberty. After this, fortune seemed to be more favourable to him, and in the last month of 1250 he made preparations for attacking the states of the church with his accustomed energy; but death seized him suddenly at Fiorentino, close by Lucera. Clad in the robe of a Cistercian monk, and absolved by the archbishop of Palermo, he died in the arms of his son Manfred, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

**Frederick's  
Last Years.**

He was so great in life that no one would believe that he had really gone for ever.



## CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN, A.D. 1250-1268—NAPLES  
AND SICILY, A.D. 1268-1301—END OF THE CRUSADES.

THE news of Frederick's death was received with great joy by the papal court. Innocent IV. expressed his delight in no measured language, and looked forward to the entire destruction of the race of Hohenstauffen. **Continued War between Guelphs and Ghibellines.** The enemies of the imperial house were urged on by the mendicant orders. In Germany, Conrad was denounced as a son of Herod; in Italy, the Frangipani now put themselves at the head of the papal party; quarrels between Guelphs and Ghibellines were rife in every city. Civil war raged from the Rhine and the Danube to the southernmost promontory of Sicily. After acknowledging William of Holland as king of Germany, and giving him hopes of the imperial crown, Innocent left Germany a prey to destruction, and returned to Rome in a triumphal procession. But it was easy to see from the strength of the opposition that it was hopeless for him to attempt to revive the authority of Innocent III. He hoped to recover his power over the kingdom of the two Sicilies, but here he was met by Manfred, a natural son of Frederick, who was acting as the viceroy of his half-brother, Conrad IV. Manfred, now eighteen years old, and one of the most picturesque figures in history, immortalised by Dante, beautiful, brave, and chivalrous, clever, cultivated, and generous, drew the hearts of all to his allegiance.

The pope reached Rome by way of Bologna, where Enzo was imprisoned, and ordered Manfred to surrender all the castles in his possession, offering him Taranto as a papal fief. **Conrad and Manfred.** Manfred refused, and called Conrad to his counsels. Conrad crossed the Alps and reached Verona, where he met the faithful ally of the empire, Ezzelino da Romano, a monster of cruelty, whose excesses offended even the seared consciences of that blood-stained age. Conrad, sailing from Pola, landed at Siponto, afterwards called Manfredonia,

where he was met by Manfred, whom he treated with great honour. But, under the influence of Pietro Ruffo, a minister of humble birth, the emperor of twenty-four gradually became jealous of the viceroy of eighteen, who surpassed him in brilliancy and popularity. Yet the generous and open-hearted Manfred assisted him in all his enterprises, reduced the towns of Apulia, and helped him to conquer Naples, which he entered in triumph on October 1, 1253.

Innocent intended to oppose to Conrad, as king of the two Sicilies, Henry, the son of Isabella of England, then seventeen years old, to whom his brother Manfred had already committed the government of Sicily. But he died suddenly in December 1253, and was

**Policy of  
Innocent IV.**

soon after followed to the grave by Frederick, the son of the unhappy Henry (VII.), so that the only legitimate heirs of the great Frederick were his son Conrad and his grandson Conradin, whom the Bavarian Elizabeth had borne to Conrad during his absence in Italy. During the siege of Naples, Innocent had offered the Neapolitan crown to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., and to Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., both of whom refused. But in 1255 Henry accepted it for his younger son Edmund, the chief result

**Death of  
Conrad.**

being to give the Pope an excuse for demanding large sums from England, and to increase Henry's embarrassments. Meanwhile, on May 21, 1254, Conrad died suddenly at Ravello, near Melfi, leaving as his heir a baby of two years old in the mountains of Bavaria. The fate of the rival king, William of Holland, need not detain us. He had no real power, and under his weak rule the disruptive forces which always existed in Germany had full play. On January 28, 1256, mounted on a heavy horse and clad in full armour, though more accustomed to walk barefooted to church in a woollen robe, he rode across the ice to attack the Frisians. His horse broke through the ice, and he was killed by the peasants, and buried under the doorstep of a house in Hoogwoude; but in 1282 his bones were removed by his son Frederick to a monastery in Middelburg.

Innocent was not less delighted at the death of Conrad than he had been when Frederick perished. After the emperor had been buried in the cathedral of Meassina, Manfred went with an embassy to the pope at Anagni, to ask for the recognition of the child Conradin as successor to his father. Instead of taking the opportunity of securing the power of the

church by accepting the guardianship of the infant whom his father had left to his care, Innocent excommunicated Manfred

**Manfred and Conradin.** and all the most powerful Hohenstauffens, and sent his nephew, Cardinal William Fieschi, as legate to Sicily, with orders to seize it for the

Holy See. The Ghibellines were driven to resistance, and had no alternative but to place Manfred at their head. Once more Manfred offered peace, but the pope met him with duplicity, proposing to make him prince of Taranto and count of Andria, and to recognise Conradin as duke of Swabia and king of Jerusalem, when he had already given Taranto to the Frangipani, and Sicily to the English Edmund. The pope now left Anagni with a crowd of fugitive Guelphs and entered Apulia at Ceprano. Manfred held his stirrup as he crossed the bridge over the Garigliano, and on October 27, 1254, he entered Naples. Nobles came to take the oath of allegiance, but there was no mention of the rights of Conradin. Manfred saw that he was surrounded by treachery and intrigue, and fled for his life through the mountains to Lucera, where he found the protection of his faithful Saracens, and an abundant treasure. He attacked the papal troops, and drove Cardinal

**Death of Innocent IV.** William back to Naples, where he heard that his master, Innocent, was dead. The pope, with his heart broken by the defeats of Foggia and Troja,

died on December 7, 1254, in the palace of Pietro delle Vigne. He was a man of ability, energy, and ambition, but was devoid of piety and of elevation of character. He was a bitter partisan, and deserves neither our respect nor our admiration.

After nine days, a new pope was elected, the bishop of Ostia and Velletri, of the house of Conti, a nephew of Gregory IX.,

**Alexander IV.** and in three weeks he was consecrated under the title of Alexander IV. He continued the old policy, but not with the same success. The

growth of Manfred's power compelled him to leave Naples, and to retire first to Anagni and then to Rome. There the rising of the Roman people, who were anxious to recall their hero, Brancalione, the avenger of wrong, the friend of the law, the protector of the people, from Bologna, drove him to seek refuge in Viterbo, where he remained for the rest of his life. Manfred occupied first Naples and then Sicily. The pope was obliged to give up his political plans, as the English would not allow Henry III. to incur the expense of making his son Edmund king of Sicily or his brother Richard emperor

of Germany. The year 1259, which we have now reached, saw the end of the monster Ezzelino da Romano. Age only stimulated his evil qualities: the ban of two popes hardened his resolution. We can only suppose that he was mad, and it was a sign of the times that a madman should be allowed to rage unfettered. Every one who aroused his jealousy, stirred his anger, stimulated his passions, or stood in the way of his ambition, was so treated that the living envied the dead, and whole families of nobles were put to death. Race, riches, genius, and virtue were punished as crimes, and the streets of his dominions resounded with the groans of those who were being tortured with the rack. Padua and the Marches were as if stricken with the plague; fugitives, if caught, were deprived of their arms and feet. At last he was defeated by his enemies at the bridge of Cassano, and imprisoned in the castle of Soncino. He sat there brooding over his misfortunes, refusing the ministration of religion, regretting only that he had not exacted a fuller vengeance from his enemies, till, at last, on December 7, 1259, he tore the bandages from his wounds and died. His brother Alberic suffered a worse fate. He was captured by his former friend, the marquis of Este, together with his wife Margaret, their six sons, and two lovely daughters. After seeing his family strangled before his eyes, he was torn to pieces by wild horses and his limbs were buried. The all-powerful house of Romano thus came to an end.

In the following year, Manfred, hearing a false report that Conradin was dead, was crowned king of Sicily and Apulia in the cathedral of Palermo, on August 11, 1258.

Elizabeth sent to tell him that Conradin was still alive, and to order him to lay aside his crown and acknowledge his nephew; but Manfred replied that the southern nobles would never accept a northern sovereign, that Conradin should succeed him after his death, but that in the meantime the boy had better come to him and learn how to rule a southern population. Manfred governed with wisdom and success, and established a court in Palermo equal to that of his father in splendour and in the encouragement of art, literature, and science. He even thought of extending his rule over Epirus and Aetolia. But the pope insisted on Sicily being held as a papal fief and on the Saracens being sent back to Africa, and, when Manfred proudly refused to surrender his independence and summoned more Saracens

**Death of  
Ezzelino da  
Romano.**

**Manfred  
King of  
Sicily and  
Apulia.**

to help him, excommunicated the recalcitrant sovereign as his predecessor had excommunicated his father. But the weapon had become blunt by indiscriminate usage, and the ban only stimulated Manfred to make himself sovereign of an independent and united Italy. Happily for him, Ezzelino was dead, and he made Palavicini, the bitter enemy of the monster, his lieutenant in Lombardy. He made treaties with Venice and Genoa, and appointed a Doria of Venice his viceroy in Spoleto and the March. The Ghibelline Farinata degli Uberti had been driven out of Florence by the Guelfs and took refuge in Siena, from which the Florentines advanced to expel him. Manfred sent his German mercenaries to assist him, and on September 4, 1260, the Guelfs were entirely defeated in the battle of Montaperti on the Arbia, a conflict celebrated in the verse of Dante, who was born five years after it. The Guelf *caroccio* was captured, the exiled Ghibellines returned, and their enemies took refuge in Lucca. Florence and nearly the whole of Tuscany acknowledged Manfred as their lord. The Guelfs sent to Conradin for assistance, begging him to come to Italy, upon which he declared war against Manfred; but Alexander IV. died at Viterbo on March 28, 1261; Florence, Siena, and Pisa formed themselves into a Ghibelline league with Manfred as their protector; and Perugia and Umbria alone remained faithful to the Holy See.

The Cardinals in Viterbo elected James Pantaleone, a French prelate of humble extraction, now patriarch of Jerusalem, to the Papal throne. He took the name of Urban IV., and pursued the "viper brood" of the Hohenstauffen with as much passion as his predecessors. But Manfred stood at the height of his power. The excommunicated king reigned in splendour at Palermo; his voice was more powerful than that of the Pope on the Tiber, the Arno, and the Po; and Peter of Aragon was not prevented

**Urban IV.** by pious scruples from marrying Constance, the daughter of Manfred by his first marriage. Urban, **and Charles of Anjou.** in despair, turned to his countryman, Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, the husband of Beatrice of Provence, whose three sisters had married sovereigns, and a treaty was signed between them in 1263. But Urban's satisfaction was diminished by Charles being elected by the Roman Guelfs as senator of Rome for life. In the midst of these troubles, Urban IV., who had never set foot in Rome, died at Perugia on October 2, 1264.

In the conclave opinions were divided, but the French party finally won the day, and Guido le Gros, of St. Gilles in Languedoc, a Provençal by birth, was consecrated pope in the cathedral of Perugia on February 22, 1265, with the title of Clement IV. He had lived long as a layman, but, on the death of his wife, had become a **Clement IV.** Carthusian, then bishop of Puy, archbishop of Narbonne, and cardinal of Santa Sabina. He was reluctant to receive the throne at his advanced age, but, being a personal friend of Charles and being promised the assistance of Louis IX., he consented, and inaugurated a crusade against Manfred "the usurper and the sultan." In April 1265, the year of Dante's birth, Charles sailed from the coast of Provence first to Pisa and then to Ostia, where, owing **Charles in Rome.** to the stormy weather, he landed in a small boat, and entered the Holy City on Whitsunday, May 23. The Romans of all classes—nobles, clergy, and people—received him with acclamation; he was invested as senator in the Capitol on June 21, and seven days later was crowned in the Lateran as king of Sicily, receiving the kingdom as feudatory of the pope. On October 14, he founded a university in Rome as a memorial of his new reign. He had, however, come to Rome without money and without troops, to take the crown from the head of a rival who was well provided with both. He was forty-six years of age,—strong, tall, and dignified,—stern, dark, and terrifying. He never smiled, and slept but little. He was a hard man, stubborn, cruel, and ambitious. He was pitted against the paragon of chivalrous manhood, generous, affable, and cultured, an enemy to craft and passion. But when Clement IV. publicly announced that the Church had found in the count of Provence a champion against the poisonous brood of a dragon of poisonous race, and gave absolution to all those who should take the cross or assist the Church with money—when swarms of friars spread over the country, declaring it to be a Christian duty to attack the condemned heretic king of the Mohammedans—many answered to the summons.

The French crusaders who crossed the Alps numbered 30,000 men. Those who had fought on the side of the church against the Albigenses now turned their swords against **The Crusade against Manfred.** In December 1265, the Provençals **Manfred.** reached Rome. On Epiphany Day, 1266, Charles and his wife, Beatrice, were crowned in St. Peter's as king and

queen of Sicily. Manfred desired a reconciliation, but the pope answered, "Tell Manfred that the day of mercy is passed, the armed hero is at the door, the axe is laid at the root of the tree." The decisive battle took place on February 26, 1266, on the Field

**Battle of Benevento.** of Roses, north-west of Benevento. The battle was one between French and Germans. The German knights, amongst whom was Rudolf of Hapsburg, fought bravely, but the French killed their horses with their short swords, and, when the riders fell, knocked them on the head with their clubs. When the Apulians saw the Germans defeated, they ran away. The silver eagle fell from Manfred's helmet; he recognised the token of disaster, and, saying, "All is lost," rode with Theobald Asinibaldi into the thick of the mêlée, and met the death he sought. His naked body, covered with wounds, a great gash on his forehead, was found two days later, and was buried at the head of the bridge of Benevento. As each French soldier passed by his grave with reverence, he cast a stone upon it, and raised a cairn, but the bishop of Consenza, Manfred's bitter foe, at the bidding of the pope, dug the body up, and threw it across the border, out of the dominions of the church, where it lay exposed to rain and wind. Even to-day the peasants of that solitary valley think of the young king, beautiful, gifted and unfortunate, dying at the age of thirty-three, heroic in his death as in his life.

At this time, the crown of Germany was disputed between Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., and Alfonso X. of Castile, known as the Wise. Money was the decisive factor in the choice. On January 13, 1257, Richard was elected king at Frankfort, and on April 1 Alfonso was elected to the same office at Trier. Richard was crowned at Cologne on May 17. This begins the period of the German Interregnum. Alfonso never visited his kingdom, Richard confined himself to spending money, and the English objected to the extravagance of the prince whom they called King of the Romans. Richard was German king for fifteen years, but exercised no influence over the country. After being imprisoned at home by the discontented barons, he visited Germany for the last time, and held a diet at Worms in March 1269. In June 1267 he had married, at the age of fifty-eight, the youthful Beatrice of Folkenstein, but died in 1271, mourned chiefly by those who had fattened on his bounty. Whilst Germany was in this state of weakness and confusion, Ottokar of Bohemia was consolidating his dominions and

endeavouring to extend them. He first attacked Bavaria, but was defeated in the battle of Mühldorf on August 25, 1257, and then turned his attention to Salzburg and Styria, and also fought against Hungary. He **Ottokar of Bohemia.** gained the battle of the Marchfeld in 1260, which greatly increased his power. The struggle between Richard and Alfonso gave him hopes of obtaining the German throne, but, for the moment, he attached himself to Richard, and, on August 9, 1262, appeared before him at Aachen, and asked to be invested with his Austrian dominions. He further strengthened his position by divorcing his wife, from whom he could expect no heir, and marrying a Hungarian princess in October 1261. He also made another war against Bavaria, and acquired Carinthia and Carniola in 1268 and 1269, so that at the beginning of the seventies he was the most powerful sovereign in Germany, and there was great likelihood that the crown of the Teutons would be placed on the head of a Slav when the death of Richard of Cornwall made a new election imminent. The peace of Pressburg, signed in July 1271, recognised Ottokar as lord of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Wendish mark, upon which Duke Henry of Bavaria deserted his Hungarian friends and made an alliance against all the world with Ottokar. In Hungary, after the untimely death of Stephen V., the crown was disputed between his young son Ladislaus, the Kuman, and Bela, brother-in-law of Ottokar. This produced a civil war, which made Ottokar more powerful than ever. He ruled over a well organised and well governed kingdom, while the rest of Germany was a prey to weakness and disunion. The commanding position held by the Bohemian sovereign before the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, although it is recognised by Dante, is too much neglected by historians.

Pope Clement IV. heard of the victory of Benevento with mixed feelings. Although a Frenchman, he could not look with satisfaction on the position which his friend Charles **Fate of Manfred's Party.** had now attained, nor could he approve of the immorality and cruelty which the French exhibited in the country which they had conquered. When Manfred's wife, Helena, heard in Lucera of her husband's death, she determined to retire with her children to her relations in Epirus. But she was seized at Trani and imprisoned at Nocera, where she died, after five years' miserable existence, at the age of twenty-nine. Her daughter Beatrice languished for eighteen years in the Castello dell' Uovo at Naples, till she was set



at liberty by the Aragonese. Manfred's three young sons—Henry, Frederick, and Enzo—innocent boys, grew up in prison, fettered and half starved. The two younger soon died, but the eldest, now blind, prolonged his miserable life for many years. Meanwhile, Charles entered Naples in triumph. Romans had triumphed over Teutons: the church had vanquished the Hohenstauffens. Frederick of Antioch and his son Conrad submitted to Charles, and retired into obscurity. Enzo languished in prison; the scaffold disposed of the rest of Manfred's party who were not in prison or in banishment; the French continued an unrestrained career of robbery and lust. The condition of Sicily was as bad as that of Italy.

The Ghibellines, in their distress, looked to Conradin, the youthful grandson of the great Frederick. Since the marriage of his mother in 1259 with Meinhard of Görz, **Conradin and the Ghibellines.** who also possessed the Tyrol and Carinthia, he had lived quietly, either with his uncle, Duke Louis of Bavaria, at Donauwörth, or with his tutor, Bishop Eberhard, at Constance, nourishing his gifted soul on the songs of minnesingers, legends of Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and the Nibelungen, and stories of the greatness of his house. When ambassadors came to ask his assistance from Apulia and Sicily, calling on the king of Sicily, Apulia, and Jerusalem, and duke of Swabia to help them, he rose to the cry of woe, in spite of his mother's warning, like a young eagle, scarcely old enough to imp his wings.

Charles and Clement met at Viterbo to concert measures against the common foe. In the autumn of 1267, Conradin set out from Augsburg with his cousin, Frederick of Austria, his stepfather, Meinhard of Tyrol, and his uncle Louis of Bavaria, and left Swabia, never to return. **He enters Italy.** He took leave of his mother and youthful wife at Hohenschwangau,—that spot of unearthly beauty, consecrated by the memory of another Bavarian Louis,—crossed the Brenner, and descended the valley of the Adige. But in Verona, where they found that his money was exhausted, most of his followers left him, even his uncle Louis, and his stepfather, Meinhard. Only 3000 knights remained faithful to the gallant lad. In Italy things were better; Galvano Lancia was received at Rome with honour as his representative; he was welcomed by embassies from Pisa, Siena, and the Tuscan Ghibellines. Henry of Castile, knight and troubadour, wrote verses in his honour, which urged him to take possession of the beautiful garden of

Sicily, and to grasp with a firm hand the crown of the Roman empire. The pope excommunicated him, and laid his interdict on all cities that were favourable to him. Charles and Clement met again at Viterbo in April 1268. The king wished to engage Conradin in the valley of the Po, but the pope persuaded him to remove the struggle to Apulia.

At the beginning of May 1268, Conradin and Frederick of Austria united their forces at Pisa. They were received with enthusiasm in Tuscany, and on July 24 Conradin looked down upon Rome from the heights of Monte Mario. In the city itself he was awaited

**Conradin  
in Rome.**

by a host of armed soldiers, with crowns on their helmets, while the people accompanied him with songs, bearing flowers and olive branches in their hands. The houses were decorated with costly carpets. Conradin mounted to the Capitol, where he received the homage of his subjects. On August 10, he marched into the mountains by way of Tivoli in order to effect a junction with his faithful Saracens, whom Charles was besieging in Lucera. The two armies met on August 23, at Scurcola, between Tagliacozzo and Alba, Charles marching northwards, to intercept the march of Conradin towards Solmona.

In the shock of the onslaught the troops of Charles were driven back, and it was reported that the king was dead. But, by the advice of Aymer de St. Valery, he had posted a band of 800 chosen knights in ambush behind a hill. Whilst the German troops, secure of victory, were plundering the Provençal camp, this reserve came steadily on, threw the disorderly mass into confusion, and gained a complete victory. Conradin and Frederick escaped the slaughter, and rode away by Vicovaro to Rome, which they reached on August 28, five days after the battle. Finding the capital unsafe, they rode down the Via Appia to the sea-coast, hoping that some friendly ship would carry them to Pisa or to Sicily. They found one in Astura and set sail, but were captured by John Frangipani, whom the pope had invested with the fief of Taranto. Influenced partly by fear and partly by a large sum of money which was offered him, Frangipani, deaf to all sense of honour, delivered his prisoners in chains to Charles at Genezzano. Charles was determined to put the last of the Hohenstauffens to death, but it was difficult to do so with any show of justice.

**Battle of  
Tagliacozzo.**

**Death of  
Conradin.**

Conradin was formally tried, but acquitted by all but one of his judges. Charles, nevertheless, pronounced the sentence

of death upon him. He was executed on October 29, 1268, in the market-place of Naples, where the spot where the scaffold was erected is still shown. The boy, scarcely seventeen, and his cousin, Frederick, a few years older, suffered together. After he had prayed, Conradin said, as his last words, "O mother, what terrible news you will hear about me!" Before he died, he cast his glove into the crowd, and it was taken up by one who afterwards stirred up the Sicilian Vespers of 1282. Conradin was buried in the church of the Carmelites close by, where a beautiful statue, erected by Maximilian of Bavaria, commemorates his fate. His life and death have never been forgotten, and it was said in September 1870 that Sedan exacted vengeance for Tagliacozzo.

Four weeks later, Pope Clement IV. died, the spirit of the murdered Conradin troubling his last hours. For two years the cardinals in Viterbo neglected to supply his place, but in September 1271 the choice fell upon Tibaldo Visconti of Piacenza, who was then engaged in a crusade, and could not be crowned in St. Peter's till March 1272, when he assumed the title of Gregory X. He strove to increase the independence of the Holy See, disregarded the claims of Alfonso of Castile to the imperial crown, and favoured those of Rudolf of Hapsburg, who was elected in the following year. He summoned an oecumenical council at Lyons in the spring of 1274, which placed the conduct of crusades on an orderly footing, took some steps towards the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and drew up rules for the election of popes in a secret conclave. Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura—the shining lights of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders respectively—both died at the time of this council, one at Fossa Nuova, on his way to attend it,—the other of plague, in Lyons itself. After the death of Gregory in 1276 four Popes were enthroned within two years,—Innocent V., Hadrian V., John XXI., and the Orsini, Nicholas III., elected in December 1277, who succeeded, with the assistance of Rudolf of Hapsburg, in putting some check on the overweening power of Charles, which he did by increasing the power and importance of the papal families. His nepotism and his avarice induced Dante to find for him a place in Hell. The worldly-minded pontiff died on August 22, 1280, in his castle at Soriano, and, after an interval of party strife, was succeeded on February 22, 1281, by Martin IV., a friend of Charles, so that the French domination was established on a firmer footing.

But soon a conspiracy against the Angevin monarchy arose in Sicily, headed by John of Procida, the friend and physician of Manfred, who is said to have taken up the glove of Conradin in the market-place of Naples.

**John of  
Procida.**

He first addressed himself to Constance, the daughter of Manfred, and wife of Peter of Aragon, with a letter of recommendation from Pope Nicholas III.; encouraged by her, he travelled secretly through Sicily, stirring up the island to revolt, with the aid of money from the court of Byzantium. On March 30, 1282, as a crowded congregation were gathered in the cathedral of Palermo at the vesper office of Easter Tuesday, a French soldier insulted an Italian girl, on the pretence of searching for arms. The chance match set light to a flame, a cry arose, "Death to the French!" the passionate desire for vengeance spread through the whole island, and thousands perished in the massacre, which still bears the name of the Sicilian Vespers. Palermo declared its independence, and raised the imperial standard; the French garrison of Messina was burnt to death; and Charles had to face the task of reconquering the whole island.

**The Sicilian  
Vespers.**

No help could be expected from Martin IV., so the insurgents applied to Peter. At the end of August, the fleet of Aragon appeared before Trapani, and after two months the Spaniard became master of the island. In June 1283, Peter and Constance were crowned in

**Peter of  
Aragon in  
Sicily.**

Palermo, and the government of the island was committed to John of Procida and Roger of Loria. Charles was in great difficulties. While he was absent in Marseilles, collecting a fresh fleet, his son Charles of Salerno was captured at sea by Roger of Loria, and was saved from the fate of Manfred and Conradin only by the intervention of Constance and Peter.

These misfortunes so broke the spirit of Charles that he died at Foggia on January 7, 1284, and he was followed to the grave by Martin IV. on

**Death of  
Charles of  
Anjou.**

March 28, and by Peter of Aragon on November 11, 1285. As the eldest son of Charles was a prisoner, the government of Naples was undertaken by Robert of Artois. James of Aragon, the second son of Peter, was crowned king of Sicily at Palermo, and Roger of Loria exacted vengeance for Conradin by destroying the castle of Astura, and putting the son of the traitor Frangipani to death. Pope Honorius IV. died after a short reign, and, after a year's interval, a Franciscan friar was elected as his successor, under the title of Nicholas IV. on February 22, 1288. At last,

by the mediation of King Edward of England, the son of Charles of Anjou was released from captivity, and, in May 1289, was crowned by the pope in Rieti as king of the two Sicilies, under the title of Charles II.

We must complete the history of southern Italy before we return to that of Germany. Nicholas IV. saw the power of the papacy gradually wane. The crown of Sicily came into the hands of Frederick of Aragon, the youngest son of Peter, the grandson of Manfred.

Rome was torn by the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, the first represented by the Orsini, the second by the Colonna. Republican principles and municipal government made their way into central Italy. After the death of Nicholas, on April 4, 1292, the throne of St. Peter remained vacant for a year, until it was filled by Coelestine V., the son of a peasant of Molise, who had lived for years as a hermit in a cave in the hill of Murrone, close to Solmona. He was crowned with great pomp at Aquila, and lived in the palace of Charles II. at Naples. He had been chosen for his piety, but he found himself entirely unfitted for the position and the business of the pontificate, and, after four months' phantom rule, he did the best action of his life in a voluntary abdication in December 1294, although it is a general opinion that Dante placed him in Hell for having been guilty of the "gran rifiuto" (the great refusal), the casting-off of public duties deliberately entrusted to him.

He was succeeded by one of the most vigorous of the Popes, Benedict Gaetani, who took the name of Boniface VIII.

**Boniface  
VIII.**

Boniface immediately went to Rome, carrying with him the abject Coelestine as a prisoner.

When he escaped to his cave and the society of the Coelestine Order which he had founded, Boniface dragged him out and imprisoned him in the castle of Fumone, where he soon afterwards died. Boniface endeavoured to restore the power of the papacy, and began with Sicily, which, however, succeeded in preserving its independence under Frederick of Aragon. He then attacked the Colonna, whom he reduced to submission. Unable to conquer Frederick, he summoned to his assistance Charles of Valois, also count of Anjou, brother of Philip IV., king of France. Charles met Boniface at Anagni on September 3, 1301, and discussed with him and Charles II. the possibility of subduing Frederick in Sicily. Before their arrangements were concluded, Charles of Valois marched into Florence and established there the authority of the Guelf party. At last peace was made

between Charles II. and Frederick, on condition that Frederick should marry Charles' daughter Eleanore and reign for life as "King of Trinacria," and that the island should, after his death, pass to the house of Anjou, a condition which was never fulfilled.

The last two crusades, which are connected with the name and fortunes of Louis IX. of France, arose from the conquests of the Mongolian leader, Genghis Khan, who, proclaiming himself emperor (1206), turned his arms against the Charasmians and became master of Palestine. In 1248, Louis IX. landed in Cyprus; next year he advanced to Egypt and took Damietta, but was afterwards defeated and made prisoner, and had to renounce his conquests. At last, after five years spent in the East, Louis returned to France in 1254, in consequence of the strong representations of his mother, Blanche of Castile, who had conducted the government in his absence. The last expedition of Louis to the East, in 1270, hardly deserves the name of crusade. It was undertaken with the object of separating the Saracens in Africa from those in Sicily, and preventing them from assisting each other. Louis died of fever at Tunis in August, and Charles of Anjou, who had hastened to assist him, found his brother a corpse.

**End of the  
Crusades.**

## CHAPTER IX.

THE HANSA, 1150-1400—THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, 1000-1344  
—ENGLAND, 1087-1189.

It is impossible to write the history of the world with any clearness or success, unless it is regarded from some central point of view. The central position adopted in this history has been that of the empire and the papacy, the two powers which kept the states of Europe together as a single society, and whose dissolution in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century brought about a new epoch and began modern history. We have now reached, roughly speaking, the end of the thirteenth century, when the empire is receiving a new form under the house of Hapsburg; the papacy is approaching a time of weakness, by the removal of the see to Avignon, from which it has never recovered; and the kingdoms of Europe, in consequence of the loosening of these bonds, are beginning to assert themselves; while the crusades and the spirit which animated them have come to an end by the fall of Acre in 1291. We must now deal with Spain, England, and France separately, taking the history of each of them down to the middle of the fourteenth century, leaving the fortunes of the empire and the papacy to be described later, except so far as they are dealt with in the annals of the countries we have mentioned. To follow a completely chronological order is impossible, and we must adopt a compromise.

The weakening of the central power of Europe produced leagues to insure the mutual protection which the superior authorities were not able to supply, and we will give some account of the most powerful and distinguished of them—the Hansa—which will serve as a specimen of the rest. The inner unity of Europe, apart from political alliances, was begun by commerce, and its first notable appearance is found in the connection between England and Germany, or, more exactly, between the two great commercial cities of Cologne and London. Cologne was the only seaport of the German

empire, and as early as the reign of Aethelred II. we find a statute regulating the tolls payable for German participation in London markets. Henry II., in a decree of 1157, took the merchants of Cologne under his special protection, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, on passing through Cologne after his imprisonment, gave the citizens the privilege of free commerce in all England, with liberty to visit all fairs. The Plantagenet kings were favourable to foreign trade, and in the fourteenth century foreign merchants were useful to English kings for the purposes of loans, and the English barons, who were in conflict with the monarchy, found it also to their interest to encourage them. On the other hand, the English towns and guilds, which had begun to assume an important position, were anxious to preserve a monopoly. Another important commercial league was formed in Belgium, where seventeen towns leagued together for mutual protection. The Flemish towns were chiefly occupied in weaving cloth, for which the raw material came from England, the English climate being specially suited to the production of pure wool. The manufactured cloth often came back to England, but we do not find fine cloth made in England till the time of the Tudors.

The growth of international commerce made new financial arrangements necessary, and the Italians were the first financiers. In the fourteenth century they first adopted the system of companies of shareholders, which had their consuls and other agents in northern Europe.

**Birth of  
European  
Commerce.**

**International  
Finance.**

The financiers also began to frequent certain quarters in different towns, such as the Rialto in Venice, which may be regarded as the parent of our modern exchanges. The Lombards became famous as lenders of money, but their business was regarded as unchristian, and the taking of usury was forbidden by the church; consequently money-lending fell into the hands of the Jews. But the Lombards had accumulated a large amount of capital, and, to some extent, took the place of the Jews, who were expelled from England under Edward I. in 1290. Dante has made us familiar with the hatred with which the Caorsini, or inhabitants of Cahors in France, were regarded, who were usurers, but the name was given to all the usurers in southern Europe, just as bankers were called Lombards. The Caorsini came first into England in 1285, under the protection of the pope, to whom they lent money. In the next century, their place was taken by the so-called Lombards, who were chiefly



Florentines, represented by the great houses of Bardi, Varrazzi, and Frescobaldi, and who lent money to sovereigns, sometimes at a great loss.

In the thirteenth century, a new set of merchants came from the Baltic, under the name of Easterlings. The Cologne Hansa

**The Hansas and the Easterlings.** opposed them strongly, and they had to ask for assistance from Frederick II. The Hamburgers obtained the right to make a separate Hansa in 1266, and the Lübeckers in the following year. At last Cologne had to give way, and the three Hansas of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Cologne became one. They established, in 1282, a factory on the Thames, called the Steelyard, and it remained the property of the Hansa till 1852. Similar factories were founded at Bruges in Belgium, Bergen in Norway, and Novgorod in Russia. They were surrounded by walls, and the gates were closed at night.

One of the principal seats of the Hansa was the town of Wisby, in the Swedish island of Gothland. It is still worth a visit,

**Wisby.** but it once had forty-two towers sixty or seventy feet high, eighteen churches, mighty walls, and 12,000 citizens. In Russia, Kiev was for many years the great market for exchanging the products of the East with those of northern Europe. But at last it was found that an easier passage lay through northern Italy. A settlement of the Hansa was now established at Great Novgorod, and the merchants of St. Nicholas' Hof, in Wisby, transferred themselves to St. Peter's

**Novgorod.** Hof in Novgorod. The river Volkov divided the city into two parts, the trading town being on the right bank, the municipality on the left. The Novgorod merchants assembled in the church of St. John, and founded St. John's Guild. The town was a virtual republic, and was governed by a popular assembly. But it was difficult of access. Ships bound for it passed from the gulf of Finland up the Neva, and through Lake Ladoga to the mouth of the Volkov, and had to tranship their goods into lighter vessels, for the completion of the journey of eighty miles. Two convoys came from Germany every year, the winter convoy and the summer convoy. There was also a land convoy, but it was considered of less importance. The foreign traders were known as Latins; they were under the

**Lübeck.** special protection of the church, and had an organisation of their own, with a code of laws. St. Peter's court, as it was called, was governed by two aldermen, and in cases of difficulty appeal was made to Wisby, but Lübeck

gradually asserted herself, and obtained first a share and then a supremacy in the government of the Novgorod Hansa. Lübeck did not secure her power without a struggle. She had to contend with Denmark, who was ambitious for the control of the Baltic trade. In order to maintain her position as the staple between East and West, she was always trying to prevent direct communication between the two, and there was no difficulty in this when the Sound was impassable from ice.

But in the earlier times the most important centre of international commerce was Bruges. It was a place for the exchange of the products of western and southern Europe for those of the East. The produce of the Levant came from the Rhine and from France. Ships laden with wine arrived from Gascony, Portugal, and Spain. In the thirteenth century the Easterlings appeared, though at first they had no permanent settlement. Bruges owed its mercantile importance to being a seaport: it was connected by canals with Sluys and Damme, both on the coast—though transshipment was generally necessary—and great dykes, built at the end of the twelfth century, protected it from floods. But, like Ghent and Ypres, it was also a manufacturing town, its chief product being cloth, which it wove, refined, and dyed.

**Bruges.**

During the weakness of the empire which succeeded the fall of the Hohenstauffens, the commercial towns began to form leagues of mutual protection. There were three principal groups. The Wendish group, which formed the kernel of the Hansa league, consisted of Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Greifswald, Hamburg, and Lüneburg. Lübeck and Hamburg formed an alliance in the middle of the thirteenth century, making common cause against pirates and sharing the expense. There were also the group of the lower Rhine and Westphalia, and the group of the Netherlands. With other smaller groups, these principal groups made up the Hansa. But a well organised confederation of all the commercial towns never existed, and all attempts to form such a league were failures.

**Commercial  
Leagues.**

**Constitu-  
tion of the  
Hansa.**

Lübeck indeed did her best to create one by holding meetings, passing statutes, and imposing contributions, but the meetings were not attended, the statutes were not obeyed, and the contributions were not paid. No looser confederation is known to history. Lübeck was no Athens, and the Hansa no Delian League. It had no powers of armed compulsion: indeed, most of its com-

ponent towns were subject to the emperor. The Teutonic Knights exercised jurisdiction over the towns in their domain, which did not become independent till that Order fell. And, though at one time or another, some ninety towns paid contributions to the Hansa, the payment was not continuous and the geographical limits were very badly defined. Lübeck exercised a supremacy, and summoned meetings, but the only sanction for their resolutions was amongst themselves the boycott, and against foreigners the strike; and the use of these weapons at different times was often the cause of disaster to the towns who employed them. It is difficult to lead commerce back into paths which it has once deserted. At the close of the fourteenth century, a body of pirates made their appearance in the North Sea, known as Vitalian Brothers, a name which is supposed to be connected with a desire to provide themselves with victuals. They conquered Gothland, passed into the North Sea, and plundered Bergen, so that the Hansa had to arm themselves against them and summon the southern towns to their assistance. However, in April 1402, the pirates were defeated, and their leaders made prisoner. The history of the Hansa after 1400 will be treated of later.

#### THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, A.D. c. 1000-1344.

We must now turn our attention to the Iberian peninsula, where the struggle between the Christians and the Moors was proceeding with great intensity. The dynasty of the Ommajjads died out about the end of the tenth century with Hishām III., a descendant of the great Abderahman. The power of the khalifs still continued in Bagdad and Cairo, but in Cordova it was lost for ever. The empire, once so powerful, was broken up into tiny principalities, each town with its *emir*, *vali*, or *cadi*. Perpetual war raged between them, the stronger always endeavouring to suppress the weaker. In this manner, some thirty years later, Cordova fell into the hands of the emir of Seville, who was the most powerful Mohammedan sovereign in Spain, except the emir of Toledo. But in May 1085, Alfonso VI., king of Castile, made his triumphal entry into Toledo. He promised the inhabitants the possession of their property, the practice of their religion, and the maintenance of their laws and privileges. But many Christians from the north settled in the town, and swelled the numbers of the Mozarabian Christians, whose worship had been tolerated by the

**Moors.** Archbishop Bernard of Sahagun took possession of the great mosque at Toledo for Christian worship, while Talavera, Madrid, and other towns gradually suffered the same fate as Toledo.

In 1086 the Almoravids of Morocco, a very powerful tribe, which from a family of simple Bedouins had gradually become masters of Morocco, were invited into the peninsula to oppose the encroachments of the Cross.

**The Almoravids.**

In the great battle of Solara, not far from Badajoz, Alfonso and the Castilian knights were severely defeated, and ten thousand Christians' heads were sent to deck the battlements of Spanish and African fortresses. The Almoravids soon proved themselves rather masters than allies, and, by the close of the century, they were ruling over the southern portion of the peninsula. Seville was conquered by them in 1090; Granada, Malaga, Jaen, and Cordova fell before their victorious onsets. Saragossa alone remained independent, and, with its surrounding districts, formed a buffer state between the Christians and the Moors. To this period belong the exploits of the great commander, the Cid, Ruy Diaz, the Campeador, praised in Spanish romances as the paragon of

**The Cid.**

heroic virtue, the crown of chivalry, the pattern and prototype of the manly warrior. The last action of his life was the conquest of Valencia in 1095.

After his death, deeper misfortunes fell upon the banner of Castile. On May 30, 1108, was fought the battle of Ucles, in which Sancho, the youthful son of the aged king, Alfonso, hoped to drive the unbelievers from that mountain city, and to show himself worthy of suc-

**The Christian Kingdoms.**

cession to the crown. But he was slain on the battle-field, and with him perished the flower of Castilian chivalry. Alfonso could not survive this disaster, for Sancho had been the hope of his life. He was the son of his fifth wife, the daughter of the Emir Mohammed of Seville, who had been converted to Christianity. His first four wives had only borne him daughters. He died just a year afterwards—the "Shield of Spain," as he was called, the conqueror of Toledo, the strongest barrier of his country against the Moors—and his death gave new lustre to the line of the Almoravid rulers. Thus, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the peninsula was still divided between Mohammedans and Christians, the Christians being settled in the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, and in the marquisate of Barcelona. The individualism, the spirit of

separation, which has, through a large portion of her history, so fatally weakened Spain, was even then apparent, and a powerful prince of Navarre, Leon, or Galicia could easily assert his independence against his feudal sovereign. However, the Moors began to yield ground, and in 1118, Saragossa, so long the abode of Moslem emirs, became the capital of Alfonso I. of Aragon, who reigned from 1104 to 1134. He received the title of Batallador, the fighter of battles.

In the middle of the century, a rising of the original Spanish Moors against the Almoravids took place in Andalusia, led by **Dissensions among the Moors.** Abdel Mumin, the successor of a mahdi who had founded a religious sect, and had preached a crusade in Morocco. Algeciras was conquered; Gibraltar and Xeres opened their gates; in Seville and Malaga public prayers were offered for the success of the new prophet. In their distress the Almoravids called to their assistance Alfonso VII., the successor of Alfonso VI., the "Shield of Spain," whose career we have related. Alfonso was glad to seize an opportunity which was so much to his advantage, and, with the help of Count Raymond Berengar of Catalonia and Count William of Montpelier, wrested Tortona from the Moors, and gained, for a time, possession of Almeria. To the period immediately preceding his death we owe the military orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, and Compostella, which for some time defended the frontiers of the Ebro and the Douro against the Moslems, in spite of the internal dissensions of the Christian kingdoms. But, since the days of Almanzor, no prince had fought with such success against the Christians as Almohad

**Empire of Abdel Mumin.** Abdel Mumin, the Commander of the Faithful. In twenty years, he founded an empire which extended from the edge of the Sahara to the banks of the Guadiana, and from the shore of the Mediterranean to the coasts of Cyrene. He was equally great as a general and as a statesman; he gave his empire a firm political organisation, and placed his army and his fleet on a solid foundation of security. In Morocco he founded an empire for the training of civil servants and officers: in Seville and Cordova he revived the splendours of Ommaijad culture, but without the luxury and effeminacy which accompanied it. His life was simple, as his aims were clear. War and conquest were the chief objects of his soul. After a reign of thirty-three years, he was succeeded in 1163 by his son, the Cid Jusuf, and his son James Almanzor brought the century to a close. In 1195, the Moors won the

victory of Alarcos, in which the flower of Christian chivalry—not only the knights of Calatrava, Alcantara, and Compostella, but those of the Temple and St. John—covered with their corpses the stricken field. But the Cross was at last avenged in the mighty battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, fought on Monday, July 16, 1212. Pope Innocent III. had proclaimed a general crusade against the infidel. A crowd

**Battle of  
Las Navas.**

of ultramontane knights—it is said 110,000 in number—came from all parts of Europe to assist the Spaniards. Many of them retired before the battle, but, notwithstanding this, the Christians marched forth from Toledo on June 21 to meet the Moslem invaders. They found the passes of the mountains strongly guarded, and were despairing of success when St. Isidore, the patron saint of Madrid, presented himself in the guise of a bearded shepherd, and pointed out a bye-path by which the col could be turned. The victory was complete: it is said that more than 100,000 Moors were killed. The Moslem supremacy in Spain received its death-blow. For many years afterwards was celebrated in Madrid, July 16, the yearly festival of the triumph of the Cross. After the catastrophe of Las Navas, the decline of the Moslem rule proceeded with steady progress, only checked by the dissensions in the ranks of the Christians themselves. In 1236, Ferdinand III. of Castile, who bore the title of Saint, became master of Cordova, the capital of the khalifs, after a long siege. The Moslem inhabitants were compelled to leave the town and to settle in other cities, and the mosque was turned into a cathedral, now one of the wonders of the world. In 1248, Seville suffered a similar fate; the Moors emigrated from Andalusia in thousands, some to Granada, some to the Moorish settlements in Murcia, and some over the sea to Africa.

**Decline of  
Moslem  
Rule.**

To the loss of Seville is due the rise of the Alhambra. The kingdom of Granada was tributary to Castile, but the fertility of its soil and its commercial importance raised it to eminence. Moorish customs, which were dying out in Murcia, Valencia, and Andalusia, remained unchanged in Granada, where a number of civilised Moors of good birth were collected together, who preserved inviolate the traditional culture of their race, the love of science and education, of poetry and song, of music and architecture. The Alhambra bears everywhere inscribed upon its walls, "There is no conqueror but Allah," like the "Honi soit qui mal y pense" of the English Windsor. The origin of this was that when

**The  
Kingdom  
of Granada.**

Mohammed Ibn al Hamah returned to his dominions after the taking of Seville, he was saluted by his subjects with the cry of "Garlib" (the conqueror), and he replied, "There is no conqueror but Allah." Under him and his successors, the little Saracen kingdom was able, from time to time, to assert its independence, and to gain a few precarious triumphs. But

**Battle of  
Salado.**

in 1340 was fought the battle of Salado, the theme of many a Spanish song. Here the Moorish power was crushed for ever, and four years later the harbour of Algeciras, the connecting link between Africa and Spain, fell into the hands of Alfonso XI. of Castile, leaving the expulsion of the Moors a mere matter of time.

Still, to the outward eye, the kingdom of Granada presented a proud appearance, and retained much of its old splendour and magnificence. It was protected on the sides

**Granada,  
1344-1481.**

of the north and east by the lofty range of the Sierra Nevada, rich with mineral treasures, supplying in the heat of summer a refreshing breeze from its snow-covered heights. The valleys, watered by countless streams, contained pastures on their upper, and vines and fruits on their lower slopes. The lofty plateau of the Vega, watered by the river Xenil, was covered by cornfields and orchards, while the harbours of the coast received ships from all the nations of the world. In the midst of this earthly paradise there arose, like a crown of beauty, the city of Granada, seated on its double hills, defended by walls and towers, adorned by palaces and mosques, surrounded by pleasure gardens, filled with splashing fountains and shady arbours. On one of these hills stood the castle of the Alhambra, a jewel which needs no praise, "shining," as an Arab poet says, "like a star through the foliage of olive groves." Granada had a sufficient army to defend it, and, if its inhabitants failed, the warlike hosts of Africa could be summoned to its assistance. Under pressure, the Moorish prince could place 100,000 armed soldiers in the field, comprising formidable archers and light Arabian cavalry. But for more than a hundred years a good understanding was maintained with the court of Castile, until the reign of Muled Abul Hassan, which began in 1466. When, in 1476, a tribute was demanded by Queen Isabella, the emir replied that the mines of Granada no longer yielded gold, but steel, and in 1481 he attacked, on a stormy winter's night, the little mountain fortress of Zahara, on the frontiers of Andalusia. The garrison was cut to pieces, and the inhabitants—men, women, and chil-

dren—were carried off as slaves to Granada. When the news reached the Moorish capital, an aged priest cried out, "The ruins of Zahara will fall upon our own head; the days of the Moslem empire in Spain are numbered." We must now leave this history—the fall of Granada belongs to the close of the Middle Ages.

ENGLAND, A.D. 1087-1189.

The history of England now claims our attention, but, for the reasons before mentioned, it will not be treated in detail. On the death of William the Conqueror in 1087, his second son, William, called Rufus or the Red, was crowned in Westminster Abbey, eighteen days later, by Archbishop Lanfranc. This excellent prelate died in 1089. His place as adviser was taken by Ranulf Flambard, the justiciar, an unscrupulous character, who rose to be bishop of Durham. His great object was to obtain money for the king's extravagance, and he did this by putting pressure on the law courts, and exacting more rigorously the payment of feudal dues. It is said that William neither feared God nor respected man, but, as he suppressed the power of the barons, he was popular with the English, who were also gratified by the separation of Normandy, which had been left by the Conqueror to Robert, his eldest son. Rufus incorporated Cumberland with England, and fortified Carlisle; he conquered South Wales, and established his authority in Scotland, so as to make the English and Norman elements of civilisation predominate in the Lowlands. After the see of Canterbury had been vacant for four years, it was filled by the appointment of the great Anselm to the archbishopric. But Rufus opposed all Anselm's wishes, and quarrelled with him so constantly that in 1097 Anselm withdrew to the continent, and thus in 1099 was present at the Lateran Council, which decided against lay investitures. In the next year, Rufus was killed by an arrow in the New Forest, while out hunting.

**William  
Rufus.**

Rufus was succeeded by his brother Henry, who reigned for thirty-five years (1100 to 1135). Robert of Normandy had not yet returned from the first crusade, and the English acknowledged Henry as their king, fearing an interregnum. He was an able man, and well educated, as his title "Beauclerc" implies, but he was wilful and immoral. At the same time, he respected the Christian

**Henry  
Beauclerc.**



faith, at least outwardly. On his accession, he issued a charter, which is memorable in English history. He promised the church freedom in its government and the abolition of evil customs, such as keeping bishoprics vacant. He also promised to the barons that he would exact nothing from them beyond what was authorised by law, that he would not force marriages on heiresses or widows, that he would render feudal dues less oppressive, and that he would allow the disposal of personal property by will. He promised to the people that he would enforce the laws of Edward the Confessor, as improved by William, and that he would maintain the standard of the coinage. This charter may be regarded as the foundation of the Great Charter, which was granted in 1215.

In the first year of his reign, he imprisoned Ranulf Flambard, and married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. of Scotland and

**Henry and  
Robert.**

Margaret, the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, thus uniting the Norman and Saxon dynasties. In the following year, Robert, returning from the East, with the glamour of a successful crusader, and supported by the Norman barons, invaded England and attacked Henry, but the church and the people were too strong for him, and a treaty was made, by which Robert acknowledged his brother's right to the crown. Robert of Belesme, the most stubborn and most powerful of Henry's antagonists, a monster in human form, whose savage cruelties were long the subject of poetry and legend, was conquered by Henry and deprived of his castles. He fled to Normandy, and stirred up the impetuous Robert to rebel a second time against his brother. At this time Robert's Apulian wife died, and he was deprived of the revenues which she had brought him from southern Italy, so that he lost the allegiance of his nobles.

Henry invaded Normandy, and offered Robert favourable terms, but he preferred the arbitrament of arms. On September

**Conquest of  
Normandy.**

28, 1106, forty years to a day after the battle of Hastings, the battle of Tenchebrai was fought between the two brothers. The duke was defeated and four hundred of his knights were taken; Robert of Belesme escaped, but many years afterwards was captured by Henry and confined at Wareham, where he died. Robert and Edgar Aetheling, the last male of the Saxon royal line, the uncle of Queen Matilda, were among the captives. Robert was detained for twenty-eight years in confinement, dying in 1134 in the castle of Cardiff, a fiery spirit with a tragic history.

He had a son, William Clito, whose claims to the duchy of Normandy were supported by Louis VI. of France. This led to repeated wars with France, until, after the death of Clito in 1128, Normandy and Maine were secured to England. In 1107, the question of Investitures, long disputed between Henry and Anselm, was decided by the Concordat of Bec. Bishops and abbots were to be elected by the church, but in the king's court, and with his sanction; the pope or the archbishop was to confer spiritual rights by the gift of the ring and the crosier, but the bishop or abbot elect was first to do homage to the king for the lands of his see. Anselm died two years later, at the age of seventy-six, a worthy champion of papal power and of scholastic learning.

**The  
Concordat  
of Bec.**

Henry now set himself to give England a strong government. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was made justiciar, and with his help Henry organised the king's court, the *curia regis*, and connected the courts of the shire with the royal court. A ministerial nobility, dependent upon the crown, gradually grew up in the place of the independent barons, whose power Henry destroyed. Royal castles, well garrisoned, took the place of the feudal castles, which were allowed to fall into decay. Queen Matilda died in 1118, a terrible loss for Henry. She left a son, William, deeply loved by his father, and a daughter, Matilda, who married the Emperor Henry V. of Germany. But on November 25, 1120, a terrible catastrophe occurred. William was crossing from Normandy to England, with a throng of noble men and women, who were keeping themselves warm on a cold winter's night with copious libations. The White Ship, as she was called, ran upon a rock, and those in her were thrown into the water. William was drowned in an attempt to save his sister, the Comtesse de la Perche. It is said that Henry never smiled again. A second marriage brought him no children, so that the crown was left to his daughter Matilda, known as the Empress Maud, who was recognised as heiress to the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy. After she had lost her husband, she married

**Power of  
the Crown.**

Geoffrey of Anjou, the son of the powerful crusader Fulk, who was known as Plantagenet, from the sprig of broom which he always wore in his cap. Henry died in Normandy, in December 1135, but his body was brought to England and buried, in the abbey of Reading, which he had founded. He was a

**The Em-  
press Maud.**

wise and powerful sovereign, who loved war and the chase, living mainly in the forests of Windsor and Woodstock. He left a number of illegitimate children, the best loved of whom was Robert of Gloucester. He favoured science and learning, and encouraged the seminaries of Bec, Canterbury, Oxford, and Winchester. Under his reign, good historians made their appearance, and, although Latin was the common tongue amongst learned persons, Norman-French came into use and took the place of Anglo-Saxon among the upper classes.

While Matilda was declared in Normandy to be the successor of Henry, matters took a different turn in London. The

**Stephen of  
Blois.**

Angevin husband of the empress was unpopular, whereas Stephen, count of Blois, a son of Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror, who was the possessor of great wealth from his marriage with the heiress of Eustace of Boulogne, was greatly beloved, and was supported by the seneschal, Hugh of Bigod, by his own brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, and by the majority of the people. He was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury on December 22, even before King Henry was buried. But he had no capacity for government. It was said of him by a contemporary that he was the mildest of men upon earth, the slowest to take offence and the readiest to pardon, very easy of approach to the poor, and liberal of alms. He was entirely unable to keep his barons in order, so that in his reign anarchy triumphed and the poor were oppressed. The nobles, whether singly or combined, were equal in strength to the king, and were therefore able to resist his authority. As the law courts were impotent, war was the only resource.

The consequences of this weak government were not long in showing themselves. David, king of Scotland, Empress

**Growth of  
Anarchy.**

Maud's uncle, invaded England, and was bought off by the gifts of the earldom of Huntingdon to himself, and of Carlisle to his son. Robert of Gloucester, half-brother of Matilda, although he took the oath of allegiance to Stephen, maintained an armed neutrality, fortified by the possession of the strong castle of Bristol. Stephen allowed the nobles to build castles all over the country, filled with retainers who were no better than robbers, who plundered the country and burned the towns, so that the common people believed that "Christ and His saints were asleep." To secure his power, Stephen used the treasure left by Henry to engage a force of mercenaries, wandering soldiers, chiefly

from Flanders and Brabant, called Brabançons, assisted by others from Brittany, commanded by the counts of Penthievre and Richmond.

In 1137, King David made another invasion of England, supported by a rising in the south-west. He was, however, opposed by the aged Thurstan, archbishop of York, who was carried through the army in a litter, and so inflamed the courage of the soldiers.

**Battle of the  
Standard.**

Also, Walter Espè, an old warrior with long hair and beard, addressed the host from a platform. A battle was fought near Northallerton, called the Battle of the Standard, from the appearance in it of the Italian *caroccio*. The Scots were entirely defeated. But, in the treaty of Durham, which closed the war, signed on April 9, 1138, Henry, the son of David, was invested with the county of Northumberland. Stephen now alienated the church by his imprisonment of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and his nephew Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, who had offended him by setting themselves up like the barons and building castles in imitation of them. Even Henry of Winchester took the side of the clergy, and, as legate of the pope, summoned a council at Winchester, which, however, came to no conclusion. In 1139, Empress Maud landed, and was allowed by Stephen to pass freely to Bristol, where she found an army levied by her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester. In a battle at Lincoln in 1141, Stephen was defeated, made prisoner, and carried off to Bristol. In 1142, Maud was

**Battle of  
Lincoln—  
Coronation  
of Maud.**

crowned at Winchester. But she made herself unpopular by her strict government, and was compelled to fly to Gloucester. Robert was taken prisoner by William of Ypres, and Henry, who had crowned Maud, now returned to his brother's side. The civil war continued for six years with varying fortunes. The empress was nearly captured at Oxford, and with difficulty escaped over fields covered with snow, and the king nearly suffered the same fate. In the anarchy which ensued, the west of England acknowledged Matilda, the east of England Stephen, the north of England King David of Scotland, and the centre of England was divided amongst the great earls. In 1147 Robert of Gloucester died, and the empress left England. The second crusade diverted the attention of the combatants to other matters; Frederick Barbarossa became emperor, and Henry, Matilda's son, married Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. Henry now landed in England in

1153, and by the efforts of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry of Winchester, a treaty was signed at Wallingford, at which it was arranged that Stephen should reign for the remainder of his life and be succeeded by Henry. This was made easier by the fact that Eustace, a son of Stephen, had died in the previous year. Stephen himself died shortly afterwards, on October 25, 1154.

Henry II. reigned for thirty-five years, from 1154 to 1189. He was a great European prince, and the founder of the judicial

and parliamentary systems of our country. Of his four sons, two became kings of England, and of his three daughters, Matilda, the eldest, married Henry the Lion of Saxony; the second, Eleanor, the king of Castile; and the third, Johanna, William the Second, king of Sicily. Besides the kingdom of England, Henry ruled over Normandy and Maine, in right of his mother, Anjou and Touraine in right of his father, and Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Guienne, and Gascony in right of his wife, so that he possessed a large portion of France. He was a man of great ability and untiring energy. He had the merit, shared by other English kings, of recognising that the real foundation of his power was the welfare of the nation which he governed. His reign may be divided into three periods. In the first, from 1154 to 1162, he succeeded in

<b>Royal Authority Restored.</b>	weakening the feudal government of the nobles and establishing the royal authority. He destroyed what are called the "adulterine" castles which had been built in the reign of Stephen; he sent out of the country the foreign mercenaries whom Stephen had employed; and he resumed the royal estates which had been alienated by his predecessor. Following a precedent set by Henry I., he allowed his feudal barons to commute their yearly service for a pecuniary payment called scutage, which, besides rendering the barons less warlike, gave the king money with which he could hire mercenaries. He levied it first in 1159 for the prosecution of a war in Toulouse. At this time the papal see was held by Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever wore the tiara. He used the authority over islands supposed to be a prerogative of the pope by investing Henry with Ireland, which however, he had to conquer.
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The second period of Henry's reign, which lasted from 1162 to 1172, was occupied by his struggle with the church, his judicial reforms, and the conquest of Ireland. In 1162, Thomas Becket was made archbishop of Canterbury, at the age of

forty-four. He was born in London, of Norman descent, and belonged to the middle classes. He was educated at Merton Priory in Surrey, and at the University of Paris, and then entered the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. He was one of the most remarkable of Englishmen, and deserves the reverence with which he has always been treated. He was

**Struggle  
with the  
Church—  
Thomas  
Becket.**

extremely religious, an able ruler, very lovable, but, at the same time, headstrong and impetuous. He was made chancellor in 1154, and showed himself a good financier and an able judge. He succeeded in upholding at the same time the dignity of his office and the authority of the king. But when he became archbishop he transferred the zeal which he had displayed for the crown to extend the privileges of the church. When money was required for the war in Wales, Becket opposed Henry's attempt to appropriate a local tax called the "Sheriff's Aid"—the first instance of opposition to the king's financial measures since the Conquest. In 1164, at the royal palace of Clarendon, near Salisbury, a document was passed, called the Constitutions of Clarendon,

**The Consti-  
tutions of  
Clarendon.**

recording in sixteen clauses what Henry declared to be the English customs, of which the following are the most important:—(1) The separate trial of the clergy by their own order was forbidden. Those accused of crime were to answer the charge in the king's court—to be tried, indeed, in the ecclesiastical courts, but, if convicted, to be degraded and sent to the king's court for sentence. (2) In order to check the appeals of the clergy to Rome, they were not allowed to leave the kingdom without the king's licence. (3) All appeals from the ecclesiastical courts were to go to the king, and were to be finally decided in the archbishop's court, unless the king allowed them to be taken to Rome. (4) All elections to archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, and priories were to be made by the clergy in the king's chapel and with his assent, and the person elected was to do homage to the king before consecration. (5) The sons of villeins were not to be ordained without the consent of their lords. (6) No tenant in chief of the king or member of his household was to be excommunicated or placed under an interdict without the king's knowledge.

After some hesitation, Becket accepted these articles as binding on the church. But he soon repented of his action. He shut himself up in his palace at Canterbury, and refused to perform any priestly functions until Pope Alexander

should order him to resume them. The pope, however, denounced the new constitutions. Whom was Becket to obey?

**Flight and  
Return of  
Becket.**

In a case which now arose, he violated them by appealing to the Holy See. He was condemned for this and other matters in a council held at Northampton, and fled to France, carrying with him his pallium and his seal. Crossing from Sandwich, he at length reached Gravelines on November 2, 1164. After visiting Pope Alexander III., he took up his abode in the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, which had been assigned to him as a residence. From this refuge he was driven by the action of Henry. After expressing his confidence that God, who fed the birds of heaven and clothed the lilies of the field, would not desert him and his, he retired to the monastery of St. Columba at Sens. The quarrel between the archbishop and the king shook the courts of Europe, and efforts were made in every direction to reconcile them. We have no space to relate the thrilling story. At length, in 1170, when the king's eldest son had been crowned by the archbishop of York, to the disgust of Becket, who asserted his right to perform the ceremony—when the French king, Louis VII., was offended that his daughter Margaret, young Henry's wife, had not been crowned with him, and there was danger of war—when the pope threatened Henry with an interdict,—Henry, like a wise statesman, yielded. A reconciliation took place between the two enemies in a meadow near Tours, on July 22, and on December 1 Becket returned in triumph to his cathedral at Canterbury.

But he had many enemies, who declared that he had not returned in peace, but with fire and sword, to make his brother bishops a footstool under his feet. Three of the

**Death of  
Becket.**

bishops went to France, found the king at the castle of Bures, near Bayeux, and told him that he would have no peace so long as Becket was alive. Henry broke out into wrath against the man who had eaten his bread, and now trampled him under foot—whom he had covered with benefits, and who now treated him and his house with scorn. "By what cowards," he cried, "am I surrounded! Is there no one who will rid me of this paltry priest?" Four of his nobles, fired by these words, immediately left for England by different roads—Richard Fitzurse, "Son of the Bear"; Hugh of Moreville, a rich baron of Northumberland; William Tracy; and Richard Brito. The king sent to call them back, but it was too late. Becket had set out to visit young Henry at Woodstock,

taking with him three valuable horses as a present, but he heard in London that the young king would not see him. He returned in wrath to Canterbury, preached on Christmas Day, from the text "Peace on earth, good will towards men," and excommunicated all those who stirred up strife between him and the king. He embittered the feelings of his enemies, and on December 29, 1170, was barbarously murdered by the four knights in the cathedral. When the body was undressed, they found it clothed with a hair shirt, and bearing traces of recent penance. The people streamed to the scene of the murder, the very blood was revered as holy, and Becket was proclaimed a saint by the acclamation of the throng before he was canonised.

Before this momentous scene, Henry had effected important constitutional changes. In 1166, the Assize of Clarendon had established in criminal cases the "Jury of Presentment," by which twelve men of rank and position swore to reveal all guilty persons, but to accuse

**Judicial  
Reforms.**

no man falsely, and which was the origin of our present grand jury. By the Grand Assize, a jury of recognition was introduced into civil cases, which was the origin of our petty jury. A freeholder who had been deprived of his land might demand a "Jury of Recognition" to judge his case. In 1215, when the ordeal was abolished as a method of trial, by the pope, it became the duty of the Jury of Recognition to judge the cases brought forward by the Jury of Presentment. Also, in 1169, steps were taken to reduce to submission the island of Ireland, granted to Henry by the pope, which was effected by the labours of Robert FitzStephen, Richard

**Conquest  
of Ireland.**

FitzGilbert, better known as Strongbow, and Maurice FitzGerald. An opportunity had arisen when Dermot, king of Leinster, was driven from his kingdom and sought help from Henry. Dermot died in 1171, and Henry went to Ireland to receive the submission of Strongbow, who had become too powerful. A council was held at Cashel, by which the church of Ireland, which had hitherto been independent, was brought under the authority of the pope. After this, the population of Ireland was divided into three sections—the inhabitants of what was called the Pale, that is, the district immediately around Dublin, who were loyal to the English crown; the mixed Anglo-Irish, who dwelt in the open country; and the wild and rebellious natives in the west. These three sections were constantly at war with each other. After the conquest of Ireland, Henry was reconciled with the pope,



and was solemnly absolved at Avranches in 1172. He renounced ostensibly all new customs prejudicial to the church, but in effect a compromise was made—even, at last, on the question of the trial of criminous clerks.

The last eighteen years of Henry's reign were clouded with sorrow. In 1173, three of his sons—Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey

**Revolt of  
Henry's  
Sons.**

—rose against him, assisted by their mother, the Queen Eleanor, and by the king of France. Young Henry did not care to wear the crown without having some regal authority; Richard and Geoffrey hoped for appanages in France; Eleanor was enraged against her husband in consequence of his infidelity; and Louis VII. would have been glad to see the French and English possessions of the British crown in different hands. Hugh Bigod and several of the earls took the side of the rebels, and William the Lion, of Scotland, invaded the kingdom from the north. Civil war raged on both sides of the Channel. Henry called mercenaries to his aid, including the dreaded Brabançons. Battles were fought at Dol in Brittany, and at Bury St. Edmund's in England. Henry became convinced that the only remedy for these evils, which he regarded as a punishment for his own misdeeds, was to do penance at the shrine of the martyr. So, on July 12, 1174, happily in the middle of summer, after hearing a sermon from Gilbert, bishop of London, he went, clad in the shirt of penance, into the crypt, was flogged on his naked back by the priests and monks, and spent the night on the bare stones with prayers and tears. The next day he heard mass, presented the cathedral with costly gifts, was absolved from all his sins, and entered London with rejoicings. The penance soon produced its effect. On the very day that it was completed, William the Lion was defeated at the battle of Alnwick, and was taken prisoner. Hugh Bigod submitted. The kings of France and England made friends at Gisors. William the Lion, released from prison, acknowledged the supremacy of the English crown over the Scottish in the treaty of Falaise. Henry, accompanied by his reconciled son, gave solemn thanks at the shrine of Becket for his friendly interposition.

In 1176, Henry set himself to continue his judicial reforms. The Assize of Clarendon was amended by the Assize of North-  
**Further** ampton, which divided England into six circuits  
**Judicial** and established a system of travelling judges,  
**Reforms.** which still continues. A famous treatise on the laws of England was compiled, perhaps by the Chief Justiciar,

Ranulf de Glanville. The old *curia regis* was reorganised, five judges being separated from the general fisco-judicial staff in 1178, and required to remain always in the King's Court, and hear all cases brought before them; the authority of the sheriffs was strengthened in the counties; and all the departments of government were reformed. Henry obtained for himself so much reputation by these reforms that, in 1177, he was chosen as arbitrator between the kings of Castile and Navarre, who had long been disputing with regard to their respective frontiers. In 1181, the Assize of Arms made regulations for the national militia, known by the Saxon name of the Fyrd; and in 1184 the Assize of the Forest laid down rules for the management of the forest lands.

In 1183, the young Henry began to rebel once more against his father, but on June 11 he died suddenly at Marcel in Querci, the king sending him the ring from his finger, in token of forgiveness. He was more of a French-

**Henry's  
Last Years.**

man than an Englishman, but was admired by both friend and foe for his knightly virtues, and praised by the poets of both the south and the north. After his death Henry liberated his wife Eleanor from prison, in which she had been confined for ten years, and allowed her to come to Normandy. He might have looked forward to a few years of happiness, had it not been for his extravagant affection for his worthless son John, the stubborn temper of his son Richard, and the treachery of Geoffrey, who joined King Philip Augustus, Louis VII.'s successor on the throne of France, in an attack on Normandy, but died suddenly in Paris, a posthumous child, Arthur, being born to him on August 19, 1186. In 1187 occurred the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the effect of which we have already described, and in the same year war broke out again between Henry and Philip II. The expense of the new crusade was met by the imposition of the Saladin tithe, already mentioned, which was the first tax on personal property. The war still continued; Le Mans, Tours, and Samur fell into the hands of the French; Brittany was in rebellion; John and Richard deserted their father. Henry lay in the castle of Chinon, broken in mind and body. He acknowledged himself to be the vassal of the king of France, but when he saw that his son John was among the rebels he uttered a curse against him and Richard, and gave up the ghost on July 6: he was buried in the monastery of Fontevault. He was undoubtedly a great king, as we have learnt from the relation of his life. We have said nothing of

his love for the fair Rosamund Clifford, whose son Geoffrey became chancellor and bishop of Lincoln.

Notwithstanding the domestic troubles of his reign, he left England in every respect in a better condition than he found her. But the court was French, and, in order that England might acquire her self-consciousness and proceed on the course of orderly advance, it was necessary that she should lose her possessions in France.

## CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, A.D. 1189-1377.

KING RICHARD I. was the spoilt child of his mother Eleanor. Brought up in the civil wars of south-west France, he was a stranger to his own country, and spent less than a year in it as king. He knew nothing of statesmanship and constitutional legislation, but only cared for the excitements of war, the sports of chivalry, and the songs of the troubadours. Crowned in Westminster Abbey on September 3, 1189, he set to work to plunder and persecute the Jews, from whom he exacted money for the crusade. For the same purpose he sold offices, civil and ecclesiastical, in a reckless manner. His bastard brother Geoffrey obtained for £3000 the archbishopric of York, as Henry II. had desired, and Bishop Hugh of Durham paid £10,000 for the county of Northumberland. Richard said himself that he would have sold London if he could have found a purchaser. He sold the suzerainty of Scotland for ten thousand marks, and threw the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick into the bargain. In this way he amassed an enormous treasure, which he proceeded to squander. He gave as recklessly as he acquired, and his brother, John, and his mother, Eleanor, were recipients of his inconsiderate bounty. Having appointed William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, chancellor and justiciar of the kingdom, and made peace with King Philip of France, he left for the third crusade in June 1190, joining Philip at Messina. In Cyprus, he married Berengaria of Navarre.

William of Ely, a Norman of humble birth, exercised his office with great severity, and was opposed by John, who hoped to receive the crown in case Richard should not return, which was very likely, whereas William favoured the claims of Arthur of Brittany, son of Geoffrey, who was certainly the rightful heir. With the help of Geoffrey of York, Hugh of Durham, and the citizens of London, William was driven from his position and forced into France, where he appealed to the pope. His place was taken by Walter of Coutances, arch-

bishop of Rouen. The events of the third crusade have been already narrated, the capture of Acre and the return of Philip to France, the conquest of Jaffa and Ascalon, the march on Jerusalem, and the truce with Saladin for three years, during which the Christians were to have free access to the Holy Sepulchre. On his return, Richard was captured by the duke of Austria and imprisoned by the Emperor Henry VI., in 1193.

When the news of this event reached England, John endeavoured to secure the kingdom with the help of Philip of France. Eleanor kept England true to Richard, but Philip took advantage of Richard's imprisonment to gain Gisors by treachery, and to get into his hands Aumâle, the Vexin, and, indeed, the whole country as far as Dieppe. At length, Richard was set free by the payment of a large sum of money, and by the influence of his mother, and of Hubert Walter, who was now justiciar, came back to England. Walter was an excellent ruler, who laid the foundations of a future Parliament, by making the juries the representatives of the counties and giving them certain political powers.

Richard returned to his country in March 1194, and was received with joy by the people. John went to France, in order to secure the French possessions of the crown, with the help of Philip. Richard prepared for war. William of Ely was recalled from exile. John, frightened at Richard's power, threw himself at his brother's feet and received pardon. Bertrand de Born, the troubadour poet, says:

**Treachery  
of John.**

**Richard's  
Return.**

“The merry time is back again,  
When motley tents bedeck the plain;  
When walls are stormed by warriors bold,  
And captives languish in the hold;  
When lance and banner fill the field,  
The horse, the helmet, and the shield.”

War raged from the Seine to the Garonne. The death of Henry VI. directed Richard's attention to Germany, as he was anxious to gain the imperial crown for his nephew Otto. The pope made peace between the two kings. But in January 1199, Richard was wounded at Chaluz, in a quarrel with Guidomar of Limoges. He died a few days later at Limoges, at the age of 42, and was buried there, leaving John as his

heir, for he had no children. He was every inch a knight, tall and well made, with fair hair, very strong and courageous, deserving the name of "Lion Heart," fond of art, music, and poetry. Château Gaillard ("the saucy castle"), which he built for the defence of Normandy, remains his characteristic monument. He was renowned for his generosity. His reign gave opportunity for the growth of liberty in the towns, especially in the city of London.

John, supported by the last will of Richard and the influence of Eleanor, was crowned in Westminster Abbey on May 29, 1199, but the rightful heir to the throne was his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey. Philip Augustus, king of

**John  
Lackland.**

France, supported his claims; and the two kings were also divided on German questions, John supporting his nephew Otto, Philip the Hohenstauffens. Peace was, however, made between them in May 1200, when Blanche of Castile was betrothed to Philip's son Louis, and Arthur was compelled to do homage to his uncle for the possession of Brittany. At the close of the same year, John divorced his wife Hadwisa of Gloucester and married Isabella of Angoulême. Arthur still continued to assert his rights, and, in 1203, besieged the castle of Mirebeau, where Queen Eleanor was lying ill. But he was captured, and afterwards murdered by John's contrivance. His murder gave Philip a handle against John. He was summoned to be tried by his peers at Paris, and, when he did not come, was condemned to lose his French possessions by contumacy. Château Gaillard was taken, and Caen, Cointances, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Avranches were compelled to submit. Rouen held out longer, but finally surrendered.

Thus Normandy came back to France three hundred years after it had been conquered by Rollo. The Plantagenet possessions soon followed.

**Loss of  
Normandy.**

In the summer of 1205, Hubert de Burgh surrendered Chinon, and soon all the country between the Loire and the Garonne—Anjou, Maine, and Touraine—came into the hands of Philip.

John was a man without character, for whom it was impossible to feel respect. His Norman nobles had deserted him, and it was difficult for his English vassals to remain faithful to him. He was soon to find a more formidable antagonist in Pope Innocent III. The dispute arose about the appointment to the see of Canterbury,

**Quarrel  
with the  
Pope.**

which had become vacant by the death of Hubert Walter. On the death of Hubert, the younger monks elected Reginald, their sub-prior, as archbishop, whereas the king nominated John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was elected by the senior monks. The bishops of the province also put forward their claims to elect their metropolitan, and the decision of the question came to Pope Innocent III. The pope hesitated for a long time, and at length determined that the right of appointment belonged to the monks, and not to the suffragan bishops or the king. But he said that the sub-prior, Reginald, had been elected irregularly, and ordered the chapter to choose Stephen Langton, a man of excellent character and profound learning. The king became very angry, and refused to acknowledge Langton; but the pope consecrated him at Viterbo and gave him the pallium on June 17, 1207.

When John heard of what had happened at Viterbo, he was beside himself with rage. He drove the monks of Canterbury out of their cells, and confiscated their property. **England** under **Interdict.** Seventy monks and one hundred lay brothers sought refuge in Flanders at St. Bertin and other monasteries. The bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester thereupon received orders to rebuke the king, and, if this produced no effect, to place the country under an interdict. John swore by the teeth of God that he would drive the bishops and all the clergy out of his kingdom and confiscate their property, and, if the pope sent messengers to England, he would send them back without eyes or noses. On March 28, 1208, the three bishops issued the interdict, and then fled the kingdom. The churches were closed, no bells rang, no masses were celebrated, no children were baptized, no dying were anointed, no dead were buried in consecrated earth. Many bishops and other ecclesiastics left the kingdom, and their property was confiscated, only those of Norwich, Durham, and Winchester remaining faithful to the king. In the following year, the pope issued a ban against the king himself.

Shunned in his own country, John betook himself to Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Wales. He also renewed relations with his nephew, the Emperor Otto IV. In the meantime, he treated England with the utmost severity. The bishops of London and Ely went to Rome, and stirred the pope to action. He looked about for assistance. No one was so fit to execute his purpose as Philip Augustus of France. The danger was not great. Wales was in rebellion. England ready for revolt.

Frederic II. had crossed the Alps to wrest the imperial crown from Otto. Raymond of Toulouse, John's brother-in-law, was nearing his fall. So Innocent III. declared John deposed from his throne and all his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and offered the crown of England and Ireland to Philip, as a reward for his fidelity. On April 8, 1213, the French king summoned a meeting of notables at Soissons, and received from them general support. Only Ferrand of Portugal, count of Flanders, dissented, and with Rainald, count of Boulogne, and other princes of the Netherlands, allied with John and Otto IV. At Easter, 1213, all Europe was in movement. But, before John marched in defence of the Welfs, he thought it prudent to become reconciled with the pope, and on May 13, 1213, he swore on the gospels submission to the pope. He promised to receive Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and on May 15 he placed the crowns of England and Ireland in the hands of Pandulf, the pope's nuncio, and received them back as the pope's vassal, promising to pay a yearly tribute of a thousand marks into the pope's coffers. John was absolved from excommunication, and Philip was told that he must stop his warlike operations. John was now able to send a fleet to Flanders under his bastard brother William Longsword, who destroyed most of the French fleet at Damme.

**John deposed by the Pope.**

**John submits.**

We now approach the period of the Great Charter. On August 4, 1213, a council was held at St. Alban's by Geoffrey FitzPeter and Peter des Roches, at which proclamation was made of the restoration of good and the abolition of bad laws, and, on August 25, at a council held at St. Paul's, Stephen Langton read the charter of Henry I. to the assembled barons. At this time, Geoffrey FitzPeter died, and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, became justiciar. Although John was reconciled with the pope, this did not prevent him from taking part with Raimond of Toulouse and Otto IV., who were both excommunicated. He himself sailed to La Rochelle, while William Longsword joined Otto, Ferrand, and Rainald in the Netherlands. The great battle of Bouvines, which we have before described as one of the decisive battles of the world, took place on July 27, 1214, and the French cavalry gained a victory over the forces of the allied nations of Germany, England, and the Netherlands. John had to surrender, in the treaty of Chinon, his western territory in

**Action of the Barons.**

**Battle of Bouvines.**



France from the Seine to the Garonne, and retained only Aquitaine and the harbour of La Rochelle.

John was now entirely at the mercy of the barons. He attempted to form a party for himself by promising freedom of election of the bishops to the church, taking the vow of a crusade, and appealing to the pope.

**The Great Charter.**

But the barons collected an army and forced him to sign the Great Charter at Runnymede, a large meadow by the side of the Thames, near Staines, with an island in the stream, where the king is supposed to have pitched his tent. Magna Charta (the Great Charter), as it was called, was signed at Runnymede on June 15, 1215. It was a statement of the rights of the English barons. The king was expected to keep the law, and the charter stated what the law was, but it was entirely feudal in character. It was a statement to which Englishmen could appeal in their struggle for liberty against the king. Its principal provisions were as follows:—The church was promised freedom, especially with regard to the election of bishops. Feudal abuses, as to reliefs, wardships, marriages, and collection of debts, were remedied. No aids or scutages were to be collected unless by consent of the common council of the realm, except in certain cases. The common council was to consist of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and greater barons, summoned individually, and of the lesser barons summoned through the sheriffs. For justice, the court of common pleas was to sit in some fixed place; judges were to ride the circuit four times a year; justice was not to be refused or sold; no freeman was to be punished without trial by his peers, or against the law of the land. In commerce, merchants were to go and come freely, weights and measures to be uniform, and all rivers to be open to navigation. London and all other towns were to have their ancient liberties and customs. Besides these provisions, the forest laws were to be reformed, the exactions of the crown with regard to purveyance limited, the foreign mercenaries dismissed, and a body of twenty-five barons, including the mayor of London, was to see that the charter was observed.

The king returned to Windsor in great disgust, brooding over plans of vengeance. He tried to collect a new army, and

had recourse to the pope. The nobles met at

**Civil War.** Oxford and Northampton, and sought assistance from France. They offered to acknowledge Philip's son Louis, who had married John's niece, Blanche of Castile, as king of England. But the barons were defeated at Rochester, and

Innocent used all the artillery of the church to assist John. In January 1216, the king marched northwards, to put down the rebellion. Fire and desolation marked his advance. William Longsword did the same for the south, and Savary de Mauleon for the east. By March, nearly all England, except London, was in the king's hands. But Louis landed in England on May 21, 1216, and entered London on June 2. Then, on July 16, Innocent III. died, and John followed him to the grave on October 19, at the age of 49. John was small, ugly, corpulent, and immoral. He murdered his nephew and lost his possessions in France. He justified in his career the nickname, early given to him, of Lackland. He was one of the worst of the English kings. It is not to his credit that his career incidentally assisted commerce both at home and abroad, and that his intolerable tyranny favoured the development of law and order.

Dante, when he introduces us to Henry III. of England, in Purgatory, calls him the king of the simple life, and gives us a pleasant idea of him. This is a contrast to the English historians, who represent him as vain, extravagant, and false, hated and despised. The probability is that Dante was right, that Henry was greater than his contemporaries believed him to be, and that Englishmen regarded him too much from their own point of view. He is admitted, even by them, to have been pious and personally courageous. He reigned for fifty-six years, one of the longest reigns in English history, from 1216 to 1272, covering nearly the whole of the thirteenth century, which is regarded by some historians as the most brilliant period of modern times. His reign falls naturally into four divisions—the first of eleven years (1216–1227), before he came of age; the second of thirty-one years (1227–1258), called the period of his misgovernment; the third of seven years (1258–1265), the period of revolution and civil war; and the fourth of seven years (1265–1272), ending with his death.

A few days after King John had been buried in the cathedral of Worcester, Henry, then nine years of age, was proclaimed king in the abbey church of Gloucester, and was crowned by the papal legate, Cardinal Gualo, after he had taken the oath and acknowledged the pope as suzerain. His ministers were William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, who was regent and represented the English party; Gualo, the papal legate; Peter des Roches, who favoured the foreign party; and Hubert de Burgh, who was justiciar. The Great Charter was reissued,

omitting, among others, the clauses which made the consent of the great council necessary for taxation, and established a council of twenty-five. A foreign prince was in England, acknowledged as king by many of the barons, but, now that the hated John was dead, the strength of the king's party grew every day. On

**Battle of  
Lincoln.**

May 20, 1217, Louis was defeated in the battle of Lincoln, and three hundred of his adherents were made prisoners. Shortly afterwards followed the battle of Sandwich, in which Eustace the Monk, with sixty ships, was defeated by Hubert de Burgh with forty. By the treaty of Lambeth, Louis received 10,000 marks and returned to France.

On May 17, 1220, Henry, now a boy of thirteen, was crowned again at Westminster by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. Langton had been sent back to England

**Early years  
of Henry.**

by Pope Honorius III., and before that took place William Marshall had died and been succeeded as regent by Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, and Gualo had made way himself for Pandulf, a more tyrannical and overbearing character, while Peter des Roches was the king's guardian. Also the foundation-stone had been laid of a new abbey at Westminster, and the bones of Becket had been placed in a gorgeous shrine, so that a new epoch seemed to be opening for England. Discontent and dissension still continued, but Langton and de Burgh worked hard for order and good government. Langton obtained a promise from the pope that, during his life, no foreign legate should reside in England, and Pandulf left the country. And, in 1224, Fulke de Breauté, the leader of John's foreign mercenaries, who had acquired for himself great wealth and position, was defeated by de Burgh and driven from the kingdom. In the same year Louis VIII. became king of France, and war between him and the English naturally broke out, lasting two years, but leaving Henry in possession of Gascony.

In 1227, at the age of twenty, Henry became of age. The government was wisely administered by Hubert de Burgh, the great justiciar. Peter des Roches went on a crusade for four years, and even the death of Stephen Langton in 1228 did not produce much mischief, except that, in the year following, a demand of a tax of one tenth on all personal property was made by the pope and was consented to by the clergy. But in 1232 des Roches returned from the crusade, persuaded Henry to dismiss de Burgh as being too powerful, took his place, and proceeded to fill the offices of state with foreigners from his own

country of Poitou. A new leader was required for the English and constitutional party, and this was found in the person of Richard, earl of Pembroke, the son of the famous William. Henry was weak enough to attack him with Flemish and Poitevin mercenaries, and a civil war broke out, in which the feelings of the English were entirely against the king. But Richard, with the help of the Welsh, defeated the king's troops; and in 1234, Edward Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, persuaded the king to dismiss des Roches, and his nephew Peter of Rivaulx. They went to Italy, and served the pope, but in 1239 des Roches returned to Winchester, and died there. Richard was killed by the treachery of a doctor in 1234, and Henry mourned bitterly at his death. But his brother, Gilbert Marshall, took his place; Hubert de Burgh regained his power, and was assisted by Sir Philip Basset, and the great Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, the friend of Simon de Montfort, and of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars. In 1236, Henry married Eleanor, the second daughter of Raimund Berengar of Provence, sister of the queen of France; and the Emperor Frederic II. married Henry's lovely sister, Isabella.

The fatal effects of the submission of John to the pope now began to appear. Pope Gregory IX., the successor of Honorius III., whose conduct towards Frederick II. we have already described, began to treat England with similar severity. He filled the sees and benefices with foreigners, and appropriated the church revenues, so that his representatives in England were ill-treated and even killed, and his bulls trodden under foot. The needy brothers and friends of Queen Eleanor regarded England in a similar way, and our island was exposed to the ravages of foreigners. Among them were the four sons of the Count de la Marche, who had married the widowed Queen Mother, Isabella; and Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who had married the queen's sister, Sancha, after his return from the crusades, and the great Simon de Montfort, the distinguished patriot, who had married Eleanor, the king's sister, the widow of William Marshall, at this time seemed to side with the foreign and papal party. Matters became worse under Pope Innocent IV. In 1241, Boniface of Savoy, uncle of the queen, though utterly unfit for the post, was made archbishop of Canterbury. In 1242, Henry undertook an expedition to Poitou in alliance with his step-father. The French and English armies met at Taillebourg, but little fighting took place, as the English de-

**Dismissal of  
Hubert de  
Burgh.**

**Papal  
Exactions.**

camped in the night. Henry returned to England with a number of Poitevins, but Poitou was lost. At the council of Lyons in 1245, the English nobles and people made a solemn complaint against papal exactions, and Grosseteste repeated it at Rome in 1250, the year of the death of the great Emperor Frederick II., the wonder of the world.

The necessities of the crown proved to be the beginnings of popular government. In 1254, the knights from each shire were summoned to meet for the purpose of levying and **The Parliament of 1254.** aid. As we have before seen, Henry accepted the crown of Sicily from the pope for his son Edmund; which led to great expense, and Richard of Cornwall was elected king of the Romans, which caused more. In 1257, Henry, already deeply in debt, demanded an aid for the conquest of Sicily, and this led to the revolution of which Simon de Montfort made himself the head, earning an undying name in the history of England.

In 1258, Henry consented to the summoning of a Parliament at Oxford, and to the appointment of twenty-four commissioners, **The Provisions of Oxford.** barons and bishops, twelve chosen by himself and twelve by the barons, to inquire into the grievances of the kingdom. The Parliament which met at Oxford was called the Mad Parliament, and by it resolutions called the Provisions of Oxford were passed. They were six in number. The first established the commission of twenty-four, which has just been mentioned, the second appointed another commission of twenty-four to treat with the king, the third required a council of fifteen to be elected by four barons out of the first twenty-four to give the king advice, and the fourth established a body of twelve men to meet the council of fifteen at least three times a year, and this was to constitute a Parliament. The two last provisions determined that the castles of the king should be placed in the hands of Englishmen, and that the chief justice, the treasurer, the chancellor, and the sheriffs should hold office for one year only, and then give an account of themselves. In the following year, the provisions of Westminster were passed, to remedy the special grievances of the barons, the bad administration of justice in feudal as well as royal courts, and the excessive power of the sheriffs.

Henry was obliged to consent to the Provisions of Oxford, but turned for assistance to the king of France, Louis IX., and to the pope. He surrendered to Louis his empty claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, and

did homage for what he possessed of Aquitaine. By the leave of the barons, he went to France, and spent six months in the Louvre and St. Denis. In April 1261, Pope Alexander IV. issued a bull which condemned the Provisions of Oxford and released Henry from his oath to preserve them, and this was confirmed by the next pope, Urban IV. In 1263, war broke out between the king and the barons, under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, who was supported by the citizens of London. Matters were not improved by the fact that Louis, called in to arbitrate, by a decision called the Mise of Amiens, declared all the Provisions illegal, and that the pope countenanced this by a fresh bull. A battle took place at Lewes on May 14, 1264, in which the king was entirely defeated. The result of this was an arrangement called the Mise of Lewes, by which the matters in dispute were to be settled by fresh arbitration. The king was bound to confine himself to native councillors, and Prince Edward, the eldest son of the king, and his cousin Henry of Almaine, son of Richard, king of the Romans, were kept by the barons as hostages.

**The Mise  
of Amiens.**

**Battle of  
Lewes.**

A Parliament was now summoned, which was composed of four knights from each shire, and a new constitution was drawn up. Three electors appointed a council of nine, without whose advice the king could not act, and who should appoint the ministers of state. In 1265, the first regular Parliament met, which was composed of barons, bishops, and abbots, two knights from each shire, and two barons from certain towns, this being the first time that representatives of the shires and counties had sat together.

**The  
Parliament  
of 1265.**

Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, was now regent and protector of England. Queen Eleanor did her best to find adherents for the disgraced king in France, and mercenaries were hired in Flanders, but the popular party forbade the pope's legate, Cardinal Guido of Sabina, to land in England, and he was forced to return to Rome, where he became pope under the name of Clement IV. But the royal party received a powerful ally in Gilbert of Clare, earl of Gloucester, whose father had been a bitter enemy of Simon, and he was soon joined by others. The result was the battle of Evesham, fought on August 4, 1265, in which Simon was defeated and killed. Simon deserves the reputation which he has always had in the history of England. He was very religious, a friend of the friars, but

**Simon de  
Montfort.**

**Battle of  
Evesham.**

a persecutor of the Jews. After his death he was revered by the people as a saint, and was regarded as "Simon the Righteous," who, by his death, made England free. His great achievements were that he placed the administration of England in the hands of Englishmen, and that he conceived and executed the idea of a Parliament representing all classes and interests of the people. The battle of Evesham was ruin to Montfort's party. The city of London had to submit, and the countess of Leicester had to retire to France. Queen Eleanor returned in triumph to Windsor. The remaining adherents of Simon took refuge in the Castle of Kenilworth, but a civil war raged until, at last, by the influence of the legate and the earl of Gloucester, peace was arranged on terms which bear the name of the "Dictum de Kenilworth," by which Henry was restored to his authority. An

**Royal Authority restored.** amnesty was proclaimed to the rebels on payment of a fine, the Provisions were annulled, but the authority of Magna Charta and the charter of the forest was established, and in the following year, 1267, the Statute of Marlborough re-enacted almost all the Provisions of Westminster. In June 1268, Prince Edward and his brother, together with a hundred and fifty knights, took the cross from the hands of the papal legate. Henry III. died on November 20, 1272. He was a pious, God-fearing man, who supported the clergy and led a pure life, but he was deficient in the qualities of a statesman, and was much influenced by those around him, so that he became uncertain in his policy and extravagant in his way of living, and often found himself in pecuniary difficulties. The simplicity of life attributed to him by Dante must refer rather to his personal character than to his public actions.

Prince Edward heard of his father's death whilst he was staying with Prince Charles of Anjou in Sicily, on his return from the crusade. He did not hasten his return, but

**Edward I., Longshanks.**

passed through Italy and France, visiting Pope Gregory X., the learned doctors of Padua, and the rich merchants of Milan, and defeating the count of Châlons in a tournament in Burgundy. Indeed, he was not crowned at Westminster till August 1274. He is, perhaps, the greatest of our English kings. He knew that England required good laws and a strong administrator, but he knew that a powerful government could not exist without the co-operation of the whole country, and he carefully refrained from increasing his own power, which he might easily have done, at the expense of

popular government. He adopted the position of a national king, that is, of a leader of the nation, depending on national support, but in Scotland he maintained the position of a feudal lord. Like Victor Emmanuel of Italy, the "Re Galantuomo," he made "keep troth!" his guiding maxim. He was unselfish and truthful, hardworking, religious, and affectionate. His life was frugal and simple; he loved field sports, but at the same time was a patron of art and was fond of literature. His chief advisers were his chancellor, Robert Burnell, and Accursi, the Italian jurist of Bologna. In appearance he was tall and well made, and his long legs earned for him the appellation of "Longshanks."

Until the year 1290, he was chiefly engaged in conquering Wales, and passing some important legislation, the chief object of which was to remedy the abuses of feudalism.

The Statute of Wales was passed in 1284. It introduced English laws, reformed the administration, and divided the territory of Llewellyn into counties, whilst it provided for the maintenance of some Welsh customs. It favoured the building of castles and the settlement of English in many large towns. Edward's son was made Prince of Wales in 1301. The legislation, although it had definite ends in view, was spread over the whole period. In 1275, the principle of customs was confirmed by a statute giving the crown half a mark on every sack of wool and a mark on each last of hides exported. The king also raised money by compelling persons holding land of twenty pounds a year and upwards to become knights and to pay the fees. In 1278 commissioners inquired by what title (*Quo Warranto?*) landowners held property or jurisdiction once

**Settlement  
of Wales.**

**Taxation  
and Legis-  
lation.**

belonging to the crown, and in this way many royal rights were recovered. In 1279, the important Statute of Mortmain forbade the grant of lands to corporations. In 1285, a second Statute of Westminster was passed, which was really a code of existing English law, a first statute having been passed in 1275. Besides, it added some important improvements, established and regulated the practice of entailing property, improved the system of itinerant judges, and ordered that people dwelling in the country should be answerable for robberies done in their district. The gates of towns were to be shut from sunset to sunrise, and other precautions taken against robbers and highwaymen; the Assize of Arms was revived, by which every man between the ages of fifteen and sixty was to have armour



according to his rank, reviewed twice a year. In 1290 the important statute called *Quia Emptores* put an end to the splitting up of property by subinfeudation. In the same year, Edward banished the Jews from the kingdom, chiefly because of their practice of usury and their habit of clipping the coinage.

The second half of Edward's reign, from 1290 to 1307, was taken up with trouble in Scotland, Wales, and France, and the perfecting of the English constitution. Scotland was at this time divided into Lothian, which was part of the old kingdom of Northumberland, and

**The Scottish  
Succession.**

was settled mainly by Normans; Strathclyde, inhabited by British; and Greater Scotland in the north. In 1290, after the deaths of Alexander III. and his little granddaughter, "The Maid of Norway," there were three serious claimants to the Scottish crown—John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings, all descended from David, earl of Huntingdon, who was the brother of William the Lion. Edward decided for John Balliol, but his insistence on his feudal rights as Balliol's overlord produced constant friction, and when war broke out between Edward and Philip IV. of France, owing to the French occupation of Gascony,

**War with  
France.**

an alliance was formed between Scotland and France, and Balliol repudiated his allegiance. The troubles with Scotland and France made it necessary for the king to raise money, and for that purpose a model Parliament was summoned in 1295, consisting of spiritual lords, lay peers, representatives of the lower clergy, two knights elected from each county, and two representatives from each borough and from each city.

To return to the affairs of Scotland. At Easter, 1296, an army was collected at Newcastle, consisting of 4000 horse and 30,000 foot soldiers, while a considerable fleet sailed to the Gironde under Edmund of Lancaster and Hugh of Lincoln. On April 27, the Scotch

**Invasion  
of Scotland.**

were entirely defeated at Dunbar. The coronation stone was carried off from Scone to Westminster. Balliol was deposed, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, and Earl Warenne was made governor of Scotland. But in Gascony, the English were entirely beaten, many nobles were taken prisoners, and a large part of the country was recovered by the crown of France. This was accompanied by troubles at home. The new pope, Boniface VIII., had issued, before the Scottish expedition, a bull, known as *Clericis Laicos*, forbidding the king to levy taxes on the clergy, or the clergy to pay them. Hence, in 1297,

Archbishop Winchelsey refused to pay taxes. Edward replied by declaring the clergy outlaws, and Boniface, finding Philip IV. also resolute, had to explain away his bull. But Edward had offended not only the clergy by his taxation, but also the barons by his popular reforms, and the merchants by his seizure of their wool. The constable of England, Bohun, earl of Hereford, and the marshal, Bigod, earl of Norfolk, refused to go to Gascony. Edward, ostensibly reconciled to the clergy, exacted an aid, and went to Flanders to gain assistance against the French. But Bohun and Bigod opposed the collection of the aid, and, supported by Archbishop Winchelsey, demanded a confirmation of the Great Charter and of the Forest Charter, and the addition of articles forbidding the exaction of taxes without the consent of Parliament.

**Dispute  
with the  
Church.**

The Scotch were encouraged by the ill success of Edward in Gascony and by the revolt of the English nobles, and they found a leader in William Wallace, who, from being the son of a humble gentleman, rose to become a national hero. He was assisted by William Douglas, and Robert Bruce, the grandson of the pretender. In September 1297, Warenne was entirely defeated at Cambuskenneth. The news reached Edward in Flanders, so that he determined to make peace with Philip IV., and devote himself to the reduction of Scotland. He also satisfied his discontented nobles by issuing a document at Ghent, which is called the "Confirmation of the Charters," that no "aids, tasks, or prises," except those which were customary, should be exacted without the consent of Parliament. This is a great landmark in English history. Peace at home being thus secured, William Wallace was defeated at Falkirk in 1298. But the intervention of Philip IV. and Boniface VIII. hindered Edward's advance. Philip's quarrel with Boniface, however, enabled Edward to flout the Pope's pretensions to be lord of Scotland. He also strengthened his position by marrying Margaret, Philip's sister, and betrothing his son, Edward, to Philip's daughter, Isabella. Returning to Scotland, he forced Comyn and the chiefs of the national party to submit, but Wallace still held out. A price was set upon his head, and, in August 1305, he was betrayed and brought to England. He was tried, condemned for high treason, dragged to Smithfield at the tail of a horse, and executed. His head was cut off and exhibited on London Bridge, while various parts of his body were exposed at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. The task of defend-

**William  
Wallace.**

**The Con-  
firmation  
of the  
Charters.**

ing Scotland now fell to the charge of Robert Bruce. Betrayed by John Comyn, he murdered him in the Franciscan church at

**Robert  
Bruce.**

Dumfries on January 29, 1306, and was crowned king of Scotland at Scone in March. But before Edward could reach the Scottish frontier Bruce was defeated on June 26, 1306, at Methven, by Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and had to fly for his life. Edward was preparing for a fourth expedition when he died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, on July 7, 1307. He was the great lawgiver of the English nation; he called the English Parliament into existence, and gave it the control of taxation. He won for England a great position on the continent, but he secured the undying hatred of Scotland, which was not appeased for many years.

His son, Edward II., who reigned for twenty years (1307–1327) was a man of very different character. He was idle, fond of pleasure, extravagant, and obstinate. He had some

**Edward II.**

refined and cultivated tastes, but he did not possess his father's manliness of character or strength of intellect. He was under the influence of unworthy favourites, the first of whom was Piers Gaveston, a Gascon knight, who had been banished by Edward I., but was recalled to the court on his death. In 1310, Parliament was obliged to appoint

**The Lords  
Ordainers.**

Lords Ordainers, the chief of whom was Archbishop Winchelsey, to regulate the royal household and the government. Ordinances were published in 1311 by which the government was transferred from the king to the barons, who had the nomination of the great officers of state, and power over war and peace. Parliament was to be summoned every year. Edward recalled Gaveston, who had been banished under the Ordinances, but he was attacked by the barons, excommunicated by Winchelsey, besieged in Scarborough Castle, and executed on Blacklow Hill. The government of the barons was not a success. Bruce acquired great

**Battle of  
Bannock-  
burn.**

power in Scotland, and, in 1314, at the battle of Bannockburn, the English were entirely defeated, which led to the practical independence of Scotland, and to risings in Wales and Ireland against English rule. More powerful than the king, at this time, was Thomas of Lancaster, the largest landed proprietor in England, related to the royal houses of both England and France. He was the son of Edmund, brother of Edward I., who once had the opportunity of becoming king of Sicily, and of Blanche of

Artois, granddaughter of Louis VIII. He had received from his father the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, and, owing to his marriage with a member of the family de Lacy, claimed the reversion of those of Lincoln and Salisbury. In 1316 he became president of the royal council, but the other barons would not submit to him, and civil war broke out. In 1317 Robert Bruce was defeated, and his brother slain at Dundalk, and English rule was established in Ireland; but in 1318 he captured Berwick.

The place of Gaveston was now taken by the two Hugh Dispensers, father and son, who became favourites of the king. The English nobles took up arms against them, and they were banished, but divisions among the barons gave the king his opportunity, and in 1322 they were recalled. Lancaster and his supporters, Clifford and Hereford, were defeated at Boroughbridge, and Lancaster, the possessor of five earldoms, was beheaded at Pomfret. He was not a better man than Edward, but he was regarded as a martyr by the people, and was revered as a saint. Edward had the good sense to throw himself upon the support of Parliament, and to declare that what concerned the whole nation should be treated of by a Parliament fully representative of the nation. During the remaining four years of his reign, however, England was ruled by the Dispensers.

**Edward and  
the Barons.**

A truce was made with Scotland, and, in 1324, Charles IV., the new king of France, summoned Edward to do homage to him under pain of the forfeiture of his estates. Queen Isabella went to France instead, and Prince Edward did homage in the place of his father.

**Deposition  
and Death  
of the King.**

But Isabella and her lover Mortimer formed a conspiracy against the king, and returned to England in September 1326. In January 1327, Edward was deposed, and his son was proclaimed king in his place. Edward, rejected by his wife and son, was carried about from castle to castle, and was, at last, killed in a barbarous manner at Berkeley Castle, on September 27, 1327. He was not a bad man, but he was weak, and he did not succeed in securing the support of either barons, clergy, or people, and thus he fell. His son, Edward III., reigned for fifty years (1327-1377).

**Edward III.**

He was not a very great king, and was far inferior to his grandfather; but by his bravery, self-assertion, and magnificence he gained a distinguished name in English history, and has probably a greater reputation than he deserved. He was respon-

sible for the war with France, which was unjust in its origin, and did the country much harm. But he took care to be on good terms with his Parliaments, and assisted the constitutional development of his country. He fostered English commerce and manufactures, and attempted to establish a powerful commercial union, which was to include the south of France, England, and the Netherlands. His long reign may be divided into four parts—first, the regency, which lasted three years (1327–1330); then the troubles with Scotland, from 1331 to 1336; then the war with France, from 1337 to 1360; and lastly, the constitutional struggle, which darkened the last seventeen years of his reign, from 1361 to 1377.

The first act of Edward's reign was to put an end to the war with Scotland, by acknowledging its independence under King Robert Bruce. This was effected by the treaty of Northampton, which was concluded in March 1328. Bruce died in the following year, and was buried in the abbey church of Dunfermline. His heart was to be taken by James Douglas to Jerusalem, but on the way Douglas was killed by the Moors at Granada: the heart, however, was saved and buried in Melrose Abbey. Bruce was succeeded by his son, David, a child of eight years old, who was crowned and anointed in Scone. Mortimer and Isabella meanwhile misgoverned England, but in 1330, Edward, who was already the father of a son by his Dutch wife, determined to take the government into his own hands. Mortimer was hanged at Tyburn, and Queen Isabella was confined for the rest of her life at Castle Rising. Peace reigned in England, but, in 1332, Edward Balliol rose against Bruce, defeated his troops, and was crowned in Perth as a vassal of the English crown. The Scotch did not approve of this, and asserted their independence, but they were defeated on

**Battle of Halidon Hill.** July 18, 1333, at the battle of Halidon Hill, in which Bannockburn was avenged. The flower of the Scottish chivalry, the Regent Douglas, the earls of Ross, Lennox, Carrick, and Sutherland, were among the slain, which are said to have numbered 30,000. Berwick was taken; David Bruce, and his wife Johanna, Edward's sister, fled to Holland; Balliol was recognised as king. But Balliol had soon to retire to Berwick, whilst the heads of the national party, Moray and William Douglas of Liddesdale, made an alliance with France. This led to a border war between Scotland and England, which lasted for a long time.

Parliamentary government now received a further develop-

ment by the division of Parliament into two houses. The knights of the shire first deliberated apart from the lords and then with the burgesses, so that, by 1341, the division into two houses was complete. The division of Parliament into two houses, instead of three, as in France, was favourable to the unity of the realm. The knights of the shire were connected by birth with the nobles, but their interests lay with the people, and by sitting in the lower house they prevented the severance of classes, and the union of the clergy and the nobles against the people.

**Growth of  
the House of  
Commons.**

What is called the Hundred Years' War, between France and England, broke out in 1337. It arose from the help given by the French king to Bruce against Balliol, from his seizure of certain English lands in Guienne, and from his interference in the wool trade between England and Flanders. Edward had, as allies, Robert of Artois, a vassal of Philip, who had been banished from France; the famous James von Arteveld, the brewer of Ghent; the Emperor Louis IV., the Bavarian, who was at enmity with the pope, and the princes of the empire in Brabant, Guelders, Juliers, and Cologne. Philip was assisted by the count of Flanders and the Scots. In 1340, Edward took the title of king of France, to which he had no right whatever. It was based upon the principle that, although the Salic Law forbade a woman to reign in France, it did not prevent a woman from passing on her claim to her son, provided such a son was born in the lifetime of his grandfather. Thus, Edward III. was the grandson of Philip IV., the elder son of Philip III., while Philip VI. was the son of Charles of Valois, who was the younger son. In this year was fought the battle of Sluys, in which the English obtained command of the sea, after which a truce was made between the two countries. The next great event of the war

**The Hun-  
dred Years'  
War begins.**

**Battles of  
Sluys and  
Crecy.**

was the battle of Crecy in 1346, in which the victory was due to the efficiency of the English archers and the great good discipline of the English soldiers, as compared to the feudal levies of Philip—in other words, to the steadfastness and tenacity of the English, compared with the lighter and less solid character of the French. When Napoleon saw that he was defeated at Waterloo, he said, with a sigh, "It has always been the same since Crecy." In the same year, the Scotch were defeated at Neville's Cross, and David Bruce was taken prisoner. When Calais was taken in August 1347, Edward III. stood at the

height of his power. In this year he founded the Order of the Garter, the first order of chivalry in the world, whose only rival was the Golden Fleece—its rival no longer. But just at this time

**The Black  
Death.**

occurred the terrible calamity of the Black Death, which killed a large part of the population of England and produced important economic results.

Owing to the scarcity of labourers, and to the large profits to be derived from the trade in wool, sheep farming was introduced on a large scale, and the system of leasehold farming began. Landowners could not afford to pay labourers to work their estates, and therefore broke them up into holdings, which they stocked and let out to tenants for rent.

Meanwhile a war of succession was raging in Brittany, which was decided in favour of the English; Count Charles of Blois, Philip's nephew, was defeated and imprisoned in the Tower. A Spanish fleet, which took advantage of the war between France and England to attempt piratical excesses, was defeated at Winchelsea in the summer of 1350. During these years, several important statutes were passed. The Statute of Labourers (1351) forbade labourers to receive higher wages than had been paid them before the Black Death. The Statute of Provisors protected the patrons of livings against the encroachments of the pope. The Statute of Treasons (1352) defined the crime of treason, the heavy penalties of which had hitherto been inflicted with excessive frequency. Henceforward some act designed against the king or his heir, or their wives, or the king's eldest daughter, or one of certain specified minor offences had to be proved. The first Statute of Praemunire (1353) forbade the prosecution of suits in foreign courts, such as the pope's. In the same year the Act of the Staples settled the number and site of the staple towns to which the wool export was restricted, and confirmed the privileges of the merchants.

In 1355 the war with France was renewed. The Black Prince wasted the south of France from Bordeaux to Narbonne, but, on the other hand, the Scotch, who were allies of the French, captured Berwick. This was avenged in the following year by the "Burnt Candlemas," a name given to the devastation of the

**Battle of  
Poitiers—  
Treaty of  
Bretigny.**

country round that border city by Edward III., and by the great battle of Poitiers, in which King John of France was taken prisoner. In 1357, peace was made with Scotland, and King David was released from prison, and in 1360 the peace of Bretigny put an end, for a time, to the war with France. In this treaty the

king of England renounced all claims to the throne of France and to the Plantagenet possessions north of the Loire, comprising Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Normandy. The French king ceded to Edward the duchy of Aquitaine, Ponthieu, and Calais in full sovereignty, and was released on promising to pay a heavy ransom, which was of great service to the exhausted coffers of the English crown.

After the peace of Bretigny, the war with France slumbered for nine years, but the time was occupied with important events, both foreign and domestic. In 1361, Edward the Black Prince, the hero of Poitiers and the darling of the English people, was married to Johanna of Kent. In 1362, Parliament enacted that no subsidy should be granted by merchants on the exportation of wool without the consent of Parliament, and the exportation of manufactured wool,

**Domestic  
Legislation.**

as well as of butter and cheese and similar commodities, was forbidden. It was also ordered that the English language should take the place of Norman-French in the law courts. In 1366, Parliament repudiated the papal claims to tribute admitted by John in 1213. In Ireland the Statute of Kilkenny forbade English colonists in Ireland to intermarry with the Irish or to act as foster parents or sponsors to Irish children, or to adopt the Irish language, dress, or laws. All these provisions showed the growing strength of the national consciousness and confirmed the principle of "England for the English." The Black Prince reigned in Gascony, and, in 1267, undertook an expedition to help Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, against Henry of Trastamare, who was helped by the French. He won an important victory in the battle of Navaretta, and Pedro was restored to the throne. But war cannot be conducted without expense, and the Gascons complained at having to pay for an enterprise in which they had no concern. In 1369, they appealed to the king of France, and the Hundred Years' War broke out again. The Constable du Guesclin now became the hero of France, and the English had to give way. In 1375, a truce was made which left only Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne, and Bordeaux in English hands.

**The Black  
Prince in  
Spain.**

The year 1376 is memorable in the history of our country for both good and ill. The Black Prince, a worthy successor of Edward I., was in favour of popular government and opposed to the autocratic spirit of his uncle, John of Gaunt. By his influence, the Good Parliament, as it is called, established the principle of im

**The Good  
Parliament.**



peachment, by which Parliament for centuries controlled the king's ministers. The ministers of the king and others who are accused of high treason are accused by the Commons and tried before the Lords. In this manner, Lyons and Lord Latimer and Alice Ferrers were found guilty and were punished. But, just at the moment when the Black Prince had set this seal to his reputation, he died, after a lingering illness, from the fever which he had contracted in the south of France. He died on June 8, 1376, and was followed to the grave, on June 21, 1377, by his father, Edward III., who was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II., a child ten years old. This year was also made memorable by the return of the pope from Avignon to Rome, and by the trial of the reformer John Wycliffe at Saint Paul's before Archbishop Sudbury.

## CHAPTER XI.

FRANCE, A.D. 1180-1350—GERMANY AND ITALY, A.D. 1272-1347.

**PHILIP II.** of France, dignified by his contemporaries with the name of Augustus, the son of King Louis VII., succeeded to the French throne in September 1180, and reigned for forty-three years. He was the most distinguished of the Capetian kings who had lived up to that time. His main object was to establish the unity of his country and the power of the crown, and, for that purpose, he tried to overthrow the predominating influence of England. Ten years after his accession, in March 1190, shortly after the death of his wife, he undertook an expedition to Acre with Richard of England, but he was back again in his own country by Christmas 1191. He took full advantage of Richard's imprisonment and of the interdict pronounced over John. Immediately after his return from Palestine he married Ingeborg, a Danish princess, but he divorced her shortly after the wedding, and married Agnes of Meran. For this, Pope Innocent III. pronounced an interdict against him, similar to that which he pronounced against John. After a long struggle Philip had to give way, and to promise to take Ingeborg back, upon which the Pope removed the interdict. But Agnes remained his real wife till her death in 1201, and Ingeborg was not received by her husband until 1213, when she had been for seventeen years a prisoner in Etampes. Meanwhile, Normandy, Brittany, and other French possessions of the Plantagenets fell into his hands; the weakness of England became the strength of France. Philip obtained a position in France which no French monarch had held since the first Carlings. The important battle of Bouvines, which we have already mentioned, confirmed his authority, and Paris became the capital of the kingdom. He also made conquests in the south, and was just preparing for a crusade against the Albigenses when he died in July 1223, and was

**Philip  
Augustus.**

succeeded by his son, Louis VIII., who, however, died himself in November 1226.

Louis IX. succeeded to the throne at the age of eleven, and France was governed by his mother, Blanche of Castile. Louis

**Saint Louis.** IX., afterwards dignified with the name of Saint, is one of the few good kings that France ever

had. He always treated his mother with great respect and followed her advice. Notwithstanding his general modest and religious character, he was always able to keep his nobles in due subordination. A pattern of Christian chivalry, like a knight of the Holy Grail, the true son of his nation and his age, an example of domestic virtues, a wise and far-seeing statesman, the darling of his people, he not only deserved the title of Saint himself, but cast a glamour of sanctity over the crown of France which never left it. It was never forgotten that French kings were sons of Saint Louis, however much their private character might diverge from his standard. He increased his dominions rather by diplomacy than by war. In December 1259 he made a treaty with Henry III., which acknowledged his claim to Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, and established a solid basis for the future monarchy of France. We have no space to deal with his constitutional reforms. He died, as we have seen, on a second crusade, where a church, which overlooks the ancient harbour of Carthage, marks the place of his decease.

Louis IX. was succeeded by his son, Philip III., who bore the title of Le Hardi, and reigned from 1270 to 1283. He followed in the steps of his father, but was not

**Philip III.,**  
**Le Hardi.** fortunate in his councillors. He took as his principal adviser Pierre de la Brosse, a man of

humble birth, who was hated by the nobles and the queen, and was eventually turned out of his offices, and hung in 1276, though he still lives in the pages of Dante. Meanwhile, on the death of Philip's uncle, the childless Alphonse of Toulouse and Poitou, almost all his territories fell in to the crown. In 1284, Philip became involved in a useless war with Castile. By marrying his son Philip to Joanna, the heiress of Navarre, he secured to France the eventual possession of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie. In 1284 he was persuaded to undertake an expedition to conquer Aragon for his son, in the interest of his uncle, Charles of Anjou, the rival of Aragon in Sicily. He started in the spring of 1285, but the fleet was destroyed by Roger of Loria, the army

was decimated by sickness, and the king himself died at Perpignan on October 5, 1285. Although his reign is marked by no great event, he bore an honourable part in the building up of the unity of France and developing its constitution.

His son, Philip IV., called Le Bel, who now came to the throne at the age of seventeen, wielded with a strong hand and political wisdom, but also with reckless despotism, the sceptre which Philip Augustus had supported by force of arms and Saint Louis by justice

Philip le  
Bel.

and virtue. He reigned from 1285 to 1314, and was a powerful personality. He was essentially a worldly man, and with his practical spirit dealt fatal blows both to feudalism and the power of the church. As we have already seen, he contended successfully against Edward I. of England, and he came out of his Flemish quarrel with an increase of dominions. His quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII. about the taxation of the clergy, the bull *Clericis Laicos*, and other matters, resembled the strife between Henry II. and Becket. In November 1302, Boniface issued the bull *Unam Sanctam*, in which he declared the supremacy of the papal see over all worldly thrones. This led to open war, and to the attack upon Boniface by William of Nogaret and other French knights at Anagni, immortalised in the verse of Dante, the shock of which caused the pope's death. It is said that he dashed out his brains against the walls of his bed-chamber. Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface, only reigned for a few months, and his successor, Clement V., removed the papal see to Avignon and remained a passive instrument in the hands of Philip. Philip made war against the Flemish, but was beaten at Courtrai in the "Battle of Spurs," on July 11, 1302, peace being made two years later. The last great enterprise of his reign was the destruction of the Order of the Templars, one of the most unjust and tyrannical actions of the Middle Ages; the Grand Master of the Order, Jacques de Molay, perished on the scaffold on March 17, 1313. Philip died at Fontainebleau on November 29, 1314; he may be regarded as the founder of the absolute monarchy in France, but the means which he employed were condemnable, and the final result was ruin, notwithstanding the splendour of the intervening period. His system reached its culmination in Louis XIV., but ended in the disgrace of Louis XV. and the catastrophe of his successor.

Philip le Bel left three sons, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., who all reigned, but with them the direct line of the

Capets came to an end, the next king, Philip VI., being the son of Charles, count of Valois, brother of Philip IV., and the founder of the line of Valois, the house of Bourbon being descended from Robert, count of Clermont, son of Saint Louis, and brother of Philip III. Louis X. died on June 4, 1316, a year and a half after his father. He had imprisoned his wife, Margaret of Burgundy, for infidelity, and had her killed in order to marry Clementine of Naples. He left a daughter, Joanna, by his first marriage, and his wife with child. Philip V., called the Tall, reigned for six years (1316 to 1322). He was not a bad king, but the curse of the Templars seemed to hang over his race. As he was taking measures for suppressing the Pastoureaux, a throng of peasants who marched through the country creating every kind of confusion, and driving the Jews out of France, he died suddenly on January 3, 1322, leaving his country in the wildest confusion. He was succeeded by his brother, Charles IV., who reigned for six more years (1322 to 1328). He continued the struggle with Flanders, tried to obtain the crown of the empire for his house, and utilised the weakness of England, under his brother-in-law, Edward II., for the aggrandisement of his throne, but his enterprises cost much money and involved heavy taxation. He died on February 1, 1328, leaving behind him a daughter and a wife who was expecting her confinement.

Philip of Valois became regent for the time, and when, three months later, the widowed queen gave birth to a daughter, he was acknowledged as king. The house of Valois was now established on the throne of France, and a short time before the head of the barony of Bourbon, the third branch of the Capetian house, had been raised to the dignity of duke and peer. Up to this time, the descendants of Hugh Capet had followed each other without a break from father to son for three hundred and forty years. Philip VI., the first king of the house of Valois, reigned from 1328 to 1350. He inaugurated a different policy from his predecessors, making the crown more masterful, surrounding himself with a brilliant nobility, and holding a splendid court.

He even planned a new crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The monarchy of France pursued an entirely different path from that of England. It had no king like Edward I. to bind together the common interests of crown, nobles, and people. In England there was no caste of aristocracy—the nobles were continually rising from the

**The last  
Capetian  
Kings.**

**The House  
of Valois.**

**The French  
Nobility.**

people and descending again to be mingled with them, joining with the crown in a common democratic patriotism. In France the nobles were separated from the people, and had to be kept in order by the king, so that, when troubles arose, there was no middle class to act both as a buffer and as a cement between the king and the nation. Hence came the miseries of the French Revolution: what the Valois had begun, the Bourbons continued.

## GERMANY, A.D. 1271-1347.

We left Germany in the troubled times of the Interregnum. We must now relate how order was restored to the confused mass and a powerful government established.

After the death of King Richard of Cornwall, there was a danger lest the empire should come into the hands of Philip III. of France. The pope therefore urged the electors to a speedy choice. On January 17, 1273, Werner of Eppenstein, archbishop of Mainz, made a treaty with Duke Louis of Bavaria and the Palgrave of the Rhine, which was joined by the bishops of Worms and Speier, to elect a worthy prince to the German throne, and the archbishops of Trier and Cologne soon gave their adhesion. This led to the definition of the college of electors—three ecclesiastics, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and four laymen, the Count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia, if he were a German. A majority of the electors now chose as king Rudolf of Hapsburg, who had large possessions in Switzerland and Alsace, and was one of the richest nobles of his time. He was elected German king on

**The Seven  
Electors.**

**Rudolf of  
Hapsburg.**

September 29, 1273, and founded the German empire anew. He was a man of untiring energy, and sound common sense. He was invested at Aachen with the crown of Charles the Great. He soon gained the favour of the pope, who recognised him as emperor and invited him to be crowned at Rome, commanding Alfonso of Castile to surrender his claims to the empire. Rudolf cared little for Italy, and confined his attention to consolidating his power in Germany. The first adversary with whom he had to contend was Ottokar of Bohemia, who had the support of the duke of Bavaria, and there was considerable difficulty in persuading the Bavarians to take the side of the Germans against the Slavs. Similar difficulties were found in uniting the scattered princes of Germany in a common effort.

Eventually, on June 24, 1276, an imperial ban was pronounced against Ottokar, and war was declared. The decisive battle took place on the Marchfeld on August 26, 1278, one of the most memorable conflicts of the Middle Ages. Ottokar was defeated and slain. This victory of German over Slav was one of the most momentous events in the history of Germany and of the world, and its consequences continue to the present day.

Rudolf now set himself to consolidate his power. Bohemia and Moravia, which fell to the lot of Ottokar's youthful son, Wenzel II., were reunited with the empire, and remained under German government until Wenzel attained his majority in 1281. About the same time, Rudolf was beset by domestic calamities—by the death of his wife, Anna, who is said to have died of grief in parting with her daughter Clementina, who was married to Charles of Sicily, and by the drowning in the Rhine of his beloved second son, Hartmann, who was betrothed to the daughter of the king of England. However, in December 1282, Austria, Styria, Carniola, and the Wendish March, having been wrested from Ottokar, were given as fiefs to the emperor's sons, Albert and Rudolf, and the power of the house of Hapsburg was finally established. Rudolf then devoted himself to bringing about internal peace and to the knitting of the various parts of the empire together. In effecting this, he was perhaps more busied with petty details than with great enterprises, and we cannot here deal with those minute occurrences which belong mainly to the history of Germany. However, at Christmas, 1289, a great festival was held at Erfurt, such as Germany had not seen for many a year. Thither came the princes of north Germany, ecclesiastical and secular, the dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, of Mecklenburg and Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the burgrave of Nuremberg, and countless others. Strong measures were taken in the cause of order: nine-and-twenty robber knights were executed, and a large number of castles were destroyed. But there was a darker side to this brightness. Albert of Austria had many difficulties to contend with. A war broke out between him and Salzburg, and the weak Wenzel II. of Bohemia gave a great deal of trouble. The question of the succession caused the aged emperor serious anxiety. His eldest son, Rudolf, died suddenly in May 1290, while Albert had few friends, and the princes refused to elect him king in 1291. This was the last

blow, and the aged sovereign died on July 15. His reputation has steadily increased since his death. He cared little for outward show, for crusades, or for expeditions to Rome; but by painful assiduity and conscientious labour, he placed the house of Hapsburg upon a firm foundation, which has preserved its power and authority for more than six hundred years.

Rudolf had always a great desire to secure the succession of the empire to his house. But he knew that Albert was unpopular with the princes and could not be

**The  
Imperial  
Succession.**

elected emperor, and so it was not until his two younger sons had been the victims of an early death that he turned his attention to his proper heir. And it was found after his death that, although Albert had the imperial ensigns in the castle of Trifels and the Count Palatine on his side, yet the other lay electors were working for the king of Bohemia, while Mainz and Cologne were putting forward Adolf of Nassau, in which they were afterwards joined by Trier. Adolf was elected German king

**Adolf of  
Nassau.**

at Frankfort on May 5, 1292, a chivalrous, cultivated man, but lord only of a small territory and unfit for the burden of empire. He was consecrated and crowned in Aachen on June 24, and then set himself to attack Albert, who was arrayed against him. The decisive battle did not take place till July 2, 1298, at Gollheim on the Donnersberg—the Thunder Mountain, the Mont Tonnerre of the French—on the old Roman road between Kaiserslautern and Worms. It was a great cavalry struggle, in which personal bravery and energy went for much. Adolf did his best, but he was thrown from his horse and killed. His party was entirely defeated, and his cause lost. Albert

**Albert of  
Hapsburg.**

was elected king on July 27, 1298, and crowned at Aachen by the archbishop of Cologne on August 24. He held a brilliant court at Nuremberg in November, and his sons Rudolf, Frederick, and Leopold were invested with the government of the hereditary provinces of Austria. But he had a powerful opponent in Pope Boniface VIII., who sought the assistance of Philip IV. of France.

Hungary and Bohemia now took part in the struggle. Andrew III., the last king of the Arpad stock, died on January 14, 1301, and was succeeded by Charles Robert, sometimes called Carobert, the son of Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles of Anjou. In Bohemia, Wenzel II. abdicated in favour of his son, Wenzel III. On August 4, 1306, Wenzel III. was murdered,

**The Crowns  
of Hungary  
and  
Bohemia.**



and Albert seized the vacant heritage. His son Rudolf was elected king, marrying Elizabeth of Poland, the widow of Wenzel II. But he died on July 4, 1307, and the crown of Bohemia was claimed by Henry of Carinthia, the husband of Wenzel's daughter Ann, opposed by Frederick, the brother of Rudolf. But the situation was changed by a terrible event which happened on May 1, 1308. Rudolf, eldest son of the Emperor Rudolf, had, as we have seen, died young. He left a widow, Agnes, daughter of Ottokar, and a son, John, who was educated at the court of Bohemia. When John reached the age of fourteen, Albert summoned him to his court and brought him up with his cousins. But the youth saw himself set aside and his cousins advanced before him, and, meditating a deep revenge, which was stimulated by the enemies of Albert, he at last determined to kill his uncle. The fatal act was committed at

**Murder of  
Albert.**

the ford across the Reuss, close by the cradle castle of the Hapsburgs. The crime caused a feeling of horror throughout the world, which finds its echo in the verse of Dante, and John is stamped in history with the title of "parricide." The monastery of Königsfeld was founded at the scene of the murder, and there Agnes passed the rest of her days. John became a monk, and died in obscurity.

Albert left behind him twenty-one children, all born of Elizabeth of the Tyrol, but he was succeeded by Henry VII. of

**Henry of  
Luxemburg.**

Luxemburg, from whom Dante expected the regeneration of Italy. At the close of the year he was elected at Frankfort and crowned at Aachen on January 6, 1309. Henry had already gained a great reputation as a brave and chivalrous ruler, just, pious, and statesman-like, highly cultivated, speaking Latin, German, and excellent French, a handsome man of moderate stature, with light brown hair and a healthy complexion. He soon added Bohemia to his dominions, accepting the crown for his son John. But the great task before him was the settlement of Italy. Crossing

**Henry in  
Italy.**

the Mont Cenis on November 1, 1310, he entered Turin, and was received with acclamation, and, on November 11, advanced to Asti. Here he received the aged Matteo Visconti, the head of the Ghibellines, as well as embassies from Verona, Pisa, and even Rome. After a month's stay at Asti, he proceeded to Milan, which he entered on December 23. Guido della Torre kissed his feet, and when he received the iron crown of Lombardy on January 6, 1311, it seemed as if party quarrels were at an end. But disorder soon

broke out. Milan became the scene of a civil war: disorder raged in Cremona and Brescia. Easter Sunday was spent in the imperial city of Pavia, but Cremona was severely punished. The leaders of the revolt threw themselves at Henry's feet, but the walls of the city were destroyed, and she was deprived of all her privileges. This severity stimulated her ill-feeling against the king, and Padua and Vicenza remained doubtful in their allegiance.

Tuscany now awaited the peacemaker, but King Robert of Naples, the head of the Guelfs, was an active opponent of the German invader. Henry hesitated to advance until he had pacified the north of Italy, which was no easy task, and Dante in vain urged him to energetic action. Brescia had to be subdued, and to suffer the fate of Cremona. A diet held at Pavia in October 1311 had little effect, as Henry was master of only a small military force. Then, not daring to encounter the opposition of the Tuscan League, he turned aside to Genoa. Here he was well received, reconciled the quarrels of the houses of Doria and Spinola, and appointed Uguccione della Faggiuola imperial vicar. He, however, suffered a severe blow by the death of his wife on December 13, 1311. In February 1312, he committed himself and his court to the uncertainties of the sea, and, after a stormy voyage, reached the faithful imperial city Pisa. Here he pronounced a ban over the disobedient towns of Tuscany—Florence, Lucca, Siena, Parma, and Reggio. On April 23, he was able to set out for Rome, and, on May 7, entered the Eternal City and lodged in the Lateran Palace. But St. Peter's and the Leonine City were in the hands of his enemies. Much fighting took place in the streets, and Henry had to content himself with being crowned in the Lateran on June 29, 1312.

Henry and  
Dante.

He now made an alliance with Frederick of Sicily, and his daughter Beatrice was betrothed to Frederick's eldest son, Pedro. As the summer heats approached, his followers became tired of Rome, and on July 20, he left the city and retired to Tivoli, where he remained till August, and reached Florence in September. He spent the winter at Poggibonzi, and moved to the imperial city of Pisa in the spring. There he took measures for crushing the enemies who were gathering round him on both sides of the Alps. Bohemia and Austria were marshalling their hosts in the north: Frederick of Sicily was preparing his fleet in the south. Galleazzo Visconti, the

imperial vicar, held his own against the Guelfs in Lombardy. Henry's efforts were producing their effects, and his triumph

**Henry's  
sudden  
Death.**

seemed to be at hand, when he suddenly died. As he travelled in August from Pisa to Siena, fever seized him, and he was carried in a litter to the little town of Buonconvento in the hills. He received the host from the hands of Brother Bernardino, a Dominican monk from Montepulciano, and died on the same day, August 24, 1313, at the age of fifty-one. It was said that the host was poisoned, but the heats of Italy are sufficient to account for his decease. He was buried in the Campo Santo of Pisa, one of the few towns in Italy which was really true to him. His army broke up. Frederick of Sicily hurried home to protect himself against Robert of Naples. Henry's son John, who had crossed the Alps to assist his father, went to his new kingdom of Bohemia. The two ladies, Katherine of Hapsburg and Beatrice of Luxemburg, who had crossed the Alps to marry their respective husbands, Henry and Pedro, had to seek other alliances, Beatrice being married to Charles Robert of Hungary, and Katherine to Charles of Calabria, the heir of King Robert, while Robert was now made by the pope vicar over the whole of Italy, including Genoa. Italy fell back into the confusion and disorder which excited the scorn and indignation of Dante.

But who was to succeed to the imperial crown? Five sons of Albert of Austria were still alive, the most prominent of whom were Frederick the Beautiful and the chivalrous Leopold. The archbishops of Trier and Mainz would have preferred John of Luxemburg, but he was too young and inexperienced, so their eyes were turned to the house of Wittelsbach, which was represented by Louis of Bavaria. The result was a double election. Louis was chosen by four electors and crowned at Aachen, Frederick by three and crowned at Bonn. The sword had to decide between them. The civil war continued for eight weary years, and was not concluded till the battle of Mühldorf, on September 28, 1322, when victory fell to the house of Wittelsbach. John of Luxemburg remained in possession of Bohemia.

To this time belongs the rise of the Swiss confederacy, as, when kings are fighting against each other, the people get their own. After the death of the Emperor Rudolf, the three Forest Cantons, as they are called, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, formed a confederacy in August 1291, which is the kernel of the

**The  
Swiss Con-  
federacy.**

modern Switzerland. It is obvious from the events which we have described that the Hapsburgs were not in a position to assert their sovereignty over this country, and the Luxemburg emperor confirmed their liberties. After Henry's death, the Swiss supported the Bavarian cause, and the battle of Morgarten, fought on November 15, 1315, was a defeat for Austria. The league was confirmed on December of the same year, and Frederick, hard pressed by Louis, was compelled to acknowledge Swiss independence, which was also fully recognised by Louis. The battle of Mühldorf, and the captivity of Frederick which followed it, did not decide the struggle between Hapsburg and Wittelsbach, because Duke Leopold, Frederick's brother, still thirsted for revenge. He was assisted by Pope John XXII., an ugly little man of low birth, who had succeeded Clement V. in 1316, and now reigned at Avignon. The pope was stimulated to attack Louis by the influence of the French king, Charles IV., who was anxious to obtain the imperial crown for himself, and had strengthened his position by marrying Maria, of the house of Luxemburg. In October 1323, John ordered Louis to lay down the imperial crown within three months, and when he refused he was deposed and excommunicated. Louis was driven to negotiate with the king of France and with Frederick, whom he released from prison. But the claims of Hapsburg suffered a terrible loss by the death of Leopold at the age of thirty-four, on February 28, 1326, followed by the decease of his brother Henry, just a year later. This reduced Frederick to insignificance, and he retired from the field of history, sufficiently occupied with the management of his own territories, where a civil war was raging. He died on January 28, 1330.

**Battle of  
Morgarten.**

Louis now prepared to march to Rome, which he reached at the beginning of 1328, and was crowned in St. Peter's on January 17, by the will of the Roman people, in spite of the opposition of the pontiff at Avignon. Louis issued from the capital an imperial ban against "Jacob of Cahors, falsely called Pope John XXII.," on the grounds of simony, heresy, and high treason. He ordered that in future the pope should always reside in Rome. A new pope was elected, who bore the name of Nicholas V. Louis was temporarily weakened by the desertion of Castruccio Castracani, who had been his active supporter, the most powerful despotic prince since Ezzelino, but he died in September, and Louis was

**Louis of  
Bavaria  
Crowned.**

**The Rival  
Popes.**

relieved. Yet, when he returned to Germany in the following year, he had gained nothing by his expedition. Even Pope Nicholas was forced to resign his power to John XXII., and was kept in confinement at Avignon until his death. John of Bohemia pursued a wild adventurous career, fighting sometimes against Arabs, sometimes against the heathen in Prussia, sometimes on the Rhine; but at length, in 1330, he concluded an alliance with Albert and Otto, the two surviving sons of Albert, son of Rudolf. Then he went to Italy, where the memory of his father was still vivid, and had considerable success, being acknowledged even by Milan. But he was recalled to Germany, and left his youthful son Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles IV., in his place. Louis was not strong enough to undertake a new expedition to oppose him, and the two now made a kind of friendship, but John's designs on Italy had no permanent result. We cannot follow in detail the troubles which distracted Germany for the next fifteen years. Louis pursued a policy of family aggrandisement. He himself obtained Holland, Zealand, and Friesland by marriage. He made his eldest son, Louis, margrave and elector of Brandenburg, and married him to Margaret Maultasch (*i.e.* Pouch Mouth, for she had the underhanging lips which have remained ever since the hereditary mark of the Hapsburgs), heiress of the Tyrol, annulling for this purpose her earlier marriage to John Henry of Moravia, son of John of Bohemia. He made a short-lived alliance with Edward III. of England against France. And in the famous decrees of Rhense (1338) he was joined by the electors in repudiating the claim of the papacy to meddle in the choice of German kings. Yet he alienated Luxemburgs and Hapsburgs alike by his land-hunger,

**Deposition  
of Louis.**

and in 1346 he was deposed by Pope Clement VI., and Charles of Luxemburg, son of John, was elected in his place. John, who was now blind, took sides with Philip of France, and met with his death at Crecy. Charles was crowned at Bonn on November 28, 1346, but his success seemed very doubtful. Louis, however, died by a stroke of apoplexy on October 11, 1347. His life was one long struggle, beginning and ending in war. He did not succeed in any of his enterprises, but his reign gave prosperity and economical advance to his dominions.

## CHAPTER XII.

FRANCE, A.D. 1350-1380—ENGLAND, A.D. 1377-1509—THE  
IBERIAN PENINSULA.

WE have already related the history of England down to the death of Edward III. We must now give some account of the history of France down to the same period.

Philip VI. died on August 22, 1350, and was succeeded by his son John, a brave and chivalrous prince, but devoid of statesmanlike qualities. While his country was suffering from the defeat of Crecy and the loss of Calais, his mind was set on the pleasures of a splendid court. He took John of Bohemia as his model. Almost the first act of his reign was to make the count of Eu and Guines constable of France. To obtain the assistance of Spain, he married Blanche of Bourbon to the young king, Peter the Cruel of Castile, and his own daughter Joanna to Charles of Navarre. He made his favourite, Charles d'Espagne, constable of France. When the renewal of the war in 1355 made it necessary for him to get supplies, he summoned the States-General to Paris, which only produced confusion and discontent in the kingdom. His hasty and tyrannical temper estranged the affections of his subjects, and nearly produced a condition of civil war. The battle of Poitiers, called by the French the battle of Maupertuis, followed on September 19, 1356. Attempts were made in France to curb the authority of the crown, as had already been done in England. The leaders of the movement were Robert Lecoq, bishop of Laon, and Stephen Marcel, provost of the Paris merchants. A kind of Parliament of 800 members met in Paris, and passed ordinances similar to the Provisions of Oxford, which pointed to the establishment of parliamentary government. These reforms were accepted by the Dauphin as the only means of obtaining money, but the whole country was in disorder, and civil war raged from the northern coast to the Mediterranean. Marcel joined with the king of Navarre, and marched on Paris, and what is called the Jacquerie broke out—a name derived

John the  
Good.

from Jacques Bonhomme, the usual appellation of the French peasant. It was a foretaste of the Revolution of four centuries later. The Dauphin took refuge in Compiègne, but he collected his forces and managed to suppress the revolt. Provost Marcel and his friend Jean Maillart were killed, the bishop of Laon fled to Navarre, and, on August 3, 1351, Charles the Dauphin entered Paris in triumph. The peace of Bretigny followed in May 1360.

King John now returned from his imprisonment in England, but he did not long enjoy his freedom. At the beginning of 1364, he returned to London voluntarily, his son Louis, a hostage for the unpaid ransom, having escaped from Calais; and he died there on April 8. John was one of the least satisfactory of the French kings. The easiness of his character won him the title of the Good, but he worked great misery for his country. Just before his decease, the death of Philip of Burgundy, a descendant of Hugh Capet, gave this rich county to the crown of France; but, instead of keeping it for himself, he gave it as an appanage to his son Philip, whom he created the first peer of France—an act which produced disastrous consequences.

His successor, Charles V., who received and deserved the title of the Wise, had a weak body and feeble health. He was fortunately able to commit the conduct of his war-like operations to Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the heroes of French history. By his efforts,

**Charles the  
Wise.**

France was cleansed from some of the mercenary troops, who, under the name of companies, devastated the provinces. His coronation at Reims on May 16, 1364, was brightened by the news that du Guesclin, with the help of Marshal Boucicault, had defeated

**Exploits of  
du Guesclin.**

Charles of Navarre at Cocherel, not far from Evreux, Charles having defended his claim to the duchy of Burgundy by arms. In Brittany, however, in the same year, the English party won the battle of Auray. Charles avoided his father's errors, by the practice of economy, the establishment of a trustworthy coinage, and the reform of the bureaucracy. Although he kept the towns in order, he was accessible to all and fostered a national spirit.

In 1369, the war broke out again. The Black Prince, being in want of money, imposed a hearth tax, called Fouage, in Aquitaine, which was resisted by the nobles, who complained to

the king in Paris. He reserved his decision until Henry of Trastamare had, with the help of du Guesclin, defeated his brother, Peter the Cruel, put him to death, and ascended the throne of Castile. Charles then summoned the Black Prince to his court, and received as a reply that he would come, but with his helmet on his head and 60,000 men in his train. Charles summoned the States-General to Paris to insure the support of his people, and among them were representatives of the towns, so that it had the character of a Parliament. The national spirit was aroused, and he strengthened his house by the marriage of his brother, Philip of Burgundy, to the heiress of Flanders. The Black Prince had now to withdraw from the war in consequence of bad health, and, distressed by the death of his eldest son at the age of six, he left Bordeaux, never to return.

The star of English victory sank. The English fleet was beaten by the Spanish Armada, and La Rochelle acknowledged the sovereignty of Charles V. By the summer of 1374, the English possessions in France were confined to Calais, Bayonne, Bordeaux, and some castles on the Dordogne. But Charles did not succeed in driving the English from France as he had hoped. On July 13, 1380, du Guesclin died at the siege of the castle of Randon, and on September 10 Charles died himself, at the age of forty-four, leaving the crown to his son, a child of twelve.

**English  
Reverses.**

The reign of Charles V. was a time of peace between two periods of unrest. Though he never put on armour or bestrode a warhorse, he was served by distinguished generals, who held their own against the English. He was supported by the French and the Scotch, and had friendly relations with Castile and the empire, so that he was able to hold in check his evil-minded brother-in-law, King Charles of Navarre. He left behind him an honourable name in the history of his country.

#### ENGLAND, A.D. 1377-1509.

At the death of Edward III., John of Ghent, commonly called John of Gaunt, the brother of the Black Prince, was the most powerful man in the kingdom, having gained this position by the weakness of his aged father and the ill-health of his brother. He was duke of Lancaster and Leicester, and was head of the national party, which was attempting to break the yoke of the papacy, which

**John of  
Gaunt.**



had become more oppressive since the removal of the papal see to Avignon. He was assisted by John Wycliffe, of Balliol College, Oxford, a man of deep learning, equally skilled in scholastic philosophy and canon law, who set himself against the corruptions of the Roman church, and especially against the

**Wycliffe.** occupation of English church preferments by foreign priests, the exactions of the papal Curia, and the abuses of non-residence. The beggar orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, were enthusiastic supporters of the pope. At an early stage in his career, Wycliffe proposed that the papal tribute, which was much needed at home, should be withheld, and was supported by John of Gaunt, so that the fulmination of Rome against him had but little effect. Wycliffe became more courageous. Barefooted, clad in a rough robe of serge, he walked from village to village, attacking the demoralisation of the church and the clergy and urging the necessity of root and branch reform in head and members. He also translated the Bible from the Latin Vulgate into the English language, although the Curia declared that it was casting pearls before swine. He went so far as to describe the existing system as the reign of Antichrist and the synagogue of Satan, and to denounce the worship of saints, purgatory, masses for the dead, indulgence, confession, and transubstantiation. This preaching, however, produced an unexpected result in the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.

When Richard II. succeeded to the throne in 1377, there was an attempt to reduce the power of John of Gaunt, and he and his brothers were excluded from the royal council. England was exposed to attacks from the French on the south coast and from Scotland on the north, and the subsidy which was raised for the war was placed under the control of two London citizens. The following year (1378) saw the beginning of the Great Schism which divided the papacy into two parts, Urban VI. being acknowledged by England and Germany, Clement VII. by France, Spain, Scotland, and Sicily.

The revolt of the peasants in 1381 was due to various causes, but was connected with a similar movement in France, the knowledge of which was brought to England by the return of the English mercenaries from that country. Some of the wandering priests of the Wycliffite party, known as Lollards, a name of uncertain derivation, had been preaching the equality of man and giving currency to the saying, "When Adam delved and

**The  
Peasants'  
Revolt.**

Eve span, where was then the gentleman?" This aspiration after equality was intensified by the hatred of the peasants to the compulsory service of villeinage and the oppressive exaction of a poll tax intended to bring the lower classes under contribution. The leaders of the peasants were Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and a priest named John Ball. Their demands were the abolition of villein tenure, which provided that the occupation of land should be paid for by compulsory labour instead of by a money rent.

The rising broke out first in Kent and Essex, and the insurgents soon numbered 100,000. As in the Jacquerie of France, the peasants destroyed country houses, killed the game, burnt title-deeds, and murdered many people. In London they broke open the prisons, burnt the Savoy Palace of John of Gaunt, seized the Tower, and murdered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. The boy king, Richard, rode out to meet the insurgents, and tried to pacify them; but John Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, indignant at the impertinent behaviour of Wat Tyler, stabbed him with his dagger and killed him. Richard then said, "What do you want, my people? Tyler was a traitor; I will be your leader." He then rode on, followed by the crowd, and the rising was suppressed. This rising naturally strengthened the desire of the government for the preservation of order, and made it less inclined to liberalism. It also discredited the principles of the Lollards and postponed the Reformation for a hundred and fifty years. Villeinage died out in course of time, but this was mainly due to causes which were independent of the rising.

The revolt was put down with great severity. In Kent and the eastern counties, the leaders were executed, and it is said that 1500 men were executed by the Chief Justice Tresilian at St. Albans. John of Gaunt lost his enthusiasm for democracy and reformation. The feeling turned against Wycliffe, who was forbidden to teach at Oxford, but was allowed to retain his rectory at Lutterworth till his death in December 31, 1384. At the same time, Wycliffe's faction spread after his death, and Lollards were persecuted as late as the sixteenth century, while, in spite of the opposition of the church, Wycliffe's Bible continued to be read. The Lollards, like the Protestants, looked upon the Bible as the foundation of faith and morals, but they

**The  
Lollards.**

also had a political character, and were generally opposed to the government and principles of authority. Lollard doctrines would have spread more widely if printing had allowed their wider dissemination, and if their political associations had not rendered them unpopular.

The first years of Richard's reign were spent in endeavouring to get rid of the overweening authority of John of Gaunt. Michael de la Pole, the son of a wealthy merchant in Hull, was

<b>Richard II. assumes the Govern- ment.</b>	made chancellor; of the king's uncles, Edmund, earl of Cambridge, was made duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, while Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made duke of Ireland.
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In 1386, John of Gaunt went to Spain to claim the throne of Castile in right of his wife, who was daughter of Peter the Cruel. But all these measures had little effect. Richard was discredited by the failure of his expedition against Scotland, and, in 1386 his chancellor, Michael de la Pole, was deposed. He was impeached for the misappropriation of public money and for enriching himself by grants from the crown. He was acquitted of the first charge, found guilty of the second, deprived of his status, and imprisoned.

Parliament became convinced that Richard was a weak king who fell under the influence of favourites, so that a commission of regency was appointed for one year to govern the country and to reform abuses. Richard resented this, and obtained an opinion from the judges that the action was illegal. The result was civil war. Five "Lords Appel-

**The Lords  
Appellant.**

lant"—the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, and Nottingham—took up arms against the supporters of the king, and defeated them in 1387 at Radcot Bridge. In the following year a Parliament, which is known in English history as the "Wonderful or Merciless Parliament," passed what was called an act of "appeal," accusing the king's friends of subverting the constitution, so that those who could not save themselves by flight were executed or banished. However, in May 1389, Richard, who was now twenty-two years of age, suddenly declared to the council that he intended to take the government into his own hands. He dismissed Gloucester, and gave the great seal to William of Wykeham, and the command of the fleet to his own half-brother, the earl of Huntingdon.

For eight years (1389-1397) Richard governed well. In

1394, he made an expedition to Ireland, and succeeded in settling the country and receiving homage from the chiefs, while he left behind him his cousin, Roger Mortimer, as lord deputy. In 1396, he made a truce with France for twenty-five years, and, as his first wife, Anne of Bohemia, had died two years before, married Isabella of France. However, in 1397, his government underwent a change. He became convinced that Gloucester was plotting against him, and took strong measures against him and his adherents. He banished Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, executed the earl of Arundel, murdered Gloucester, and banished the earl of Warwick. The two remaining Lords Appellant, Derby and Nottingham, supported the king, and were made dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

**Richard in  
Ireland.**

A Parliament was held at Shrewsbury in 1398, which annulled the proceedings of the "Wonderful Parliament," delegated its power to a committee of eighteen, all friends of the king, who were to act as a Parliament for the future, and gave the king the customs of the country as a revenue for life. A quarrel now took place between Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. The king intervened, and they were both banished from the kingdom, Hereford for six years and Norfolk for life. Norfolk went to the Holy Land, and died at Venice on his return, where his monument still exists. In this year, Roger Mortimer, lord deputy of Ireland, died, leaving a son, Edmund Mortimer. Roger was the rightful heir to the throne, being the son of Philippa, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III.; on the other hand, Henry of Hereford was the son of John of Gaunt, the third son. In 1399, Richard, being in need of money, levied forced loans from seventeen counties, and on the death of John of Gaunt took possession of his estates. This was resented by Hereford, who, during the absence of Richard in Ireland, landed in England and claimed his father's property. The feeling of the country was obviously in favour of Henry, and Richard was compelled to abdicate, Parliament accepting his resignation. Henry had no claim against Edmund Mortimer, but Parliament elected him, and that gave him a right to the throne. Richard was imprisoned in the Tower.

**Henry of  
Lancaster.**

Henry IV., who reigned for fourteen years (1399-1413), was a commonplace king, whose success was due rather to mediocrity

than to genius. He was an orthodox and honest Catholic, and had been a crusader in Lithuania, and was always prepared to undertake a crusade. He had no sympathy

**Henry IV.** with Lollardry, and was generally averse to new ideas. He won popular favour by his chivalrous and energetic character, and took a middle line between the despotism of Richard and the vindictiveness of Gloucester. But he never surmounted the fundamental falseness of his title to the throne. His last years were darkened by ill-health and by remorse for past misdeeds. He, however, succeeded in founding a powerful dynasty, supported by influential alliances, and he has left behind him a fairly honourable name. His moderation led him to respect the constitution, which at his death was stronger than he found it.

The reign of Henry IV. may be divided into two parts. During the first nine years of it (1399-1408), he was endeavouring to enforce his authority and to assert the principles of strong government; during the last four, the struggles of the earlier period quieted down, and he reigned in a constitutional manner. His first procedure was to revoke the acts passed by the Parliament of Shrewsbury and to degrade the dukes who were friendly to Richard. They were betrayed by one of their

**Death of  
Richard.**

number, and the consequence was that Richard was taken to Pomfret Castle, where he died in a mysterious manner. Henry had now to establish his authority over Scotland and Wales. He crossed the Scottish border, to compel King Robert III. to pay him the homage which he had refused, but he was obliged to return without effecting his purpose. Wales was at this time under the influence of Owen Glendower, a powerful leader, to whom the people attributed magic powers. The English border nobles, Lord Grey de Ruthyn and Mortimer, fought against him, and by the intervention of Henry he was compelled to submit and his estates were confiscated. In this year Manuel Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, visited England in the hope of obtaining assistance against the Turks. He failed in this object, but the danger was for the time averted and Constantinople did not fall till more than fifty years afterwards.

In 1401, Glendower still continued his resistance, and assumed the title of Prince of Wales. Henry marched against him, but without success, and his two opponents, Grey de Ruthyn and Mortimer, were captured by Glendower at the

same time. The Scots invaded the English border, but, in the battle of Homildon Hill, the great border family of the Percies defeated the Scotch leader Douglas, and took him prisoner, as well as Murdoch, heir of the earl of Albany, who was brother of Robert III. This **Battle of Homildon Hill.**

His victory did not contribute to the peace of the kingdom. The Percies, represented by the earl of Northumberland, his son Hotspur, and the earl of Worcester, the brother of Northumberland, made common cause with Glendower. Their quarrels with the king were mainly personal, but showed the little authority possessed by Henry over the great nobles of the kingdom. The rising was crushed in the battle of Shrewsbury, fought on July 21, 1403, and immortalised by Shakespeare, in which the Percies were defeated by the king and the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. Hotspur **Battle of Shrewsbury.** was killed, Douglas was taken prisoner, and Worcester was captured and beheaded, Northumberland making his submission. Reluctance to submit to Henry and to acknowledge his title to the crown continued for four years longer.

Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of King Charles VI. of France, who was insane, supported the claims of Mortimer, and married his mother, Queen Isabella, to his son. He also supported Owen Glendower, who was recognised as prince of Wales by Pope Benedict XIII. In 1405, Mowbray, son of the duke of Norfolk, who had died at Venice, Scrope, the archbishop of York, and the old earl of Northumberland, conspired in favour of Mortimer, earl of March, who was the rightful heir to the throne. At the same time, Glendower, with the help of the French, captured the castle of Carmarthen. But fortune favoured the house of Lancaster. The rebellion in the north was put down by Henry; Mowbray and Scrope were executed, and Northumberland **Further opposition put down.** fled to Scotland. Robert III. of Scotland died

on April 4, 1406; his heir, James, was a prisoner in England. Louis of Orleans was killed in the streets of Paris on November 23, 1407, and France fell under the power of John the Fearless of Burgundy, an ally of England; and when the aged Percy, with the help of Thomas Percy, again raised the banner of insurrection, he was defeated at the battle of Bramham, on February 19, 1408, and risings against Henry were at an end. The power of Glendower was restricted to a small district in Wales.

Henry had, at last, undisputed possession of royal power, and obtained the position of a sovereign, which he owed to his alliance with the church and with the House of Commons. Hence he persecuted the Lollards and gave his consent to an act for the burning of heretics, by which teaching and preaching without a licence from the bishop were forbidden, and relapsed heretics were handed over from the bishop's court to the sheriff and burned. He also allowed Parliament to have control over the proper auditing of accounts, he regulated the election of knights of the shire so as to prevent the sheriff from giving false returns, and he conceded to the Commons the right of originating money bills. After four years of peaceful reign, interrupted only by two expeditions against France, Henry died on March 20, 1413, at the age of forty-seven.

His successor, Henry V., who reigned for the next nine years (1413-1423), was a typical medieval hero. His youth had been wild and stormy, but as king he was pure and upright. He was a great warrior, possessed by the crusading spirit, and he bitterly persecuted the Lollards, whom he hated and despised. He was not disturbed, like his father, by any doubts as to the validity of his title to the throne. He took up the position of the leader of the nation, supported by the Parliament. He was essentially a man of action. On his accession, he made Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, chancellor in the place of Archbishop Arundel; he released the earl of March, and other political prisoners; but, at the same time, he condemned Sir John Oldcastle for heresy, and drove the Lollards to make plans for the subversion of the government. In 1415, he renewed the war with France, which was thoroughly unjust, but was popular with all classes in England—with the clergy, the nobles, and the people. Henry was undoubtedly led to undertake the war by his desire for military glory and by the weakness of France, which seemed to lie like a victim at his feet.

After putting down the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey to place the earl of March on the throne, Henry set out for France, and, on September 22 captured Harfleur. He then marched upon Calais, and, on October 25, fought the battle of Agincourt,—a brilliant victory, won by superior generalship over larger numbers. He then returned to England, and received a

visit from the Emperor Sigismund, who desired to make peace between France and England and to heal the papal schism. In 1417, he built a fleet, and, having reformed his army, again invaded France, and captured Rouen in 1419. In this year the duke of Burgundy was treacherously murdered on the bridge of Montereau by the adherents of the dauphin, which induced the queen and the Burgundians to take the side of the English. In 1420, a treaty was made at Troyes, by which Henry was to marry Catherine, the daughter of the imbecile king, Charles VI., to act as regent for him, and to be king of France after his death. In 1421, Henry returned to England with his queen, but, in the same year, a third invasion of France took place, in which Henry besieged and captured Meaux, dying himself in the following year, leaving his crown to a baby, and his kingdom to be punished for the brilliant excesses and injustice of his reign.

**Battle of  
Agincourt.**

**Treaty of  
Troyes.**

Henry VI. was a saint, but was little fit to be a sovereign. The typical effort of his reign was the foundation of King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College, still noble places of education, but intended to be nobler than they are. The thought of them occupied the whole of his life. He was unable to control his turbulent barons, and he lost the dominions in France which his predecessors had added to the English crown. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, was one of the most fascinating and attractive of our queens. Henry succeeded at the age of nine, so that the kingdom was governed by his uncles, John, duke of Bedford, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and cardinal. Bedford and Gloucester were sons of Henry IV., and grandsons of John of Gaunt by Blanche of Lancaster; Beaufort was son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford. Bedford was regent of France; Gloucester, protector of England. Beaufort after a time became anxious for peace with France, and his policy was continued after his death by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk.

**Henry VI.**

The people preferred Richard, duke of York, son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, and grandson of Edmund of York, son of Edward III. and a younger brother of John of Gaunt. The struggle between the houses of Lancaster and York was called the War of the Roses, the red rose being the badge of the Lancastrians, the white rose the badge of York, while the



combination of the white and red formed the Tudor-Rose after peace was made between the rival houses. The war was waged first to decide who should be the king's adviser, and later, who should be king.

The history of the French war has been already related from the French side. The first seven years strengthened the English

**The Loss of France.** power in the north of France, England being closely united with Burgundy against the French crown. The battle of Crévant in 1423 helped

to unite England with Burgundy, and the battle of Verneuil in 1424, by the conquest of Maine, did the same for Brittany. By 1428 English authority was supreme north of the Loire, and an attempt was made to extend it by the siege of Orleans. The siege of this town was raised by Joan of Arc, who pursued her victorious career for two years, till she was captured by Burgundy at Compiègne in 1431. In 1435 Bedford died, Burgundy joined Charles VII., and Richard, duke of York, was made regent in France. The next fifteen years mark the decline of the English power in France, and Normandy was lost in 1450, Calais, however, remaining English. The loss of Normandy led to the rebellion of Jack Cade, who defeated the royal forces at Sevenoaks, seized London, and beheaded Lord Say. The result was that the duke of York came forward as the leader of the opposition, being thought likely to establish a more effective form of government.

The struggle between York and Lancaster occupies the eleven years from 1450 to 1461, the War of the Roses beginning in

**The Wars of the Roses.**

1455 because the duke of York was dismissed from the office of lord protector. In the civil war which ensued, the house of York had greater wealth and a more legitimate claim to the throne, whereas the Lancastrians were discredited by the disasters of the French war, the weakness of the sovereign, and the power assumed by the nobles. The Lancastrians were supported by the Beauforts and the Percies, the church, and the north of England generally; the Yorkists by the Nevilles of the younger branch, including the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and the leading houses of the south. In the first battle of St. Albans, the Yorkists won, Somerset was slain, and York again became protector. The influence of Queen Margaret gained the assistance of the Scotch and the French for her side, but at Bloreheath, in 1459, the Yorkists were again successful,

and still more so at Northampton in 1460. After this, the duke of York claimed the throne, and an arrangement was made by which Henry was to reign for life and be succeeded by the duke of York. Margaret rejected this compromise, and fought like a lioness for her son, Edward. She conquered at Wakefield, where York was slain, and at the second battle of St. Albans, but lost at Mortimer's Cross, where Edward of York defeated Jasper Tudor, the half-brother of Henry VI. Edward joined the defeated Warwick, hastened to London, and on February 25, 1461, was declared king. On March 29, Edward and Warwick met Margaret at Towton Heath, the red rose army being sixty thousand strong, the white rose fifty thousand. The battle took place on the eve of Palm Sunday, and lasted all through the night and till the afternoon of next day. The Lancastrians were entirely

#### Edward IV.

defeated, and Edward was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury. Margaret kept up the struggle, fighting valiantly for her son, till he was slain after the defeat of Tewkesbury in 1471. Edward, in 1464, married Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Jacquetta of Luxembourg, who had first married John of Bedford and then Richard Woodville. The war still continued, and, in 1470, Warwick, who had fled to France, invaded England, drove Edward IV. to Flanders, and restored Henry VI.; but in 1471 the Yorkists gained a final victory at Tewkesbury, and Henry VI. at last died. In 1475 Edward IV. invaded France, but a peace was speedily arranged at Pecquigny. In 1478, he put his brother Clarence to death, fearing his ambition, and in 1483 he died. He was succeeded by the child Edward V., whose mother was

#### Edward V.

supported by the Woodvilles, but opposed by the new nobility, represented by Hastings and Stanley, and by the old nobility led by Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother of Edward IV., and the duke of Buckingham. The crimes of Richard are one of the commonplaces of history, although attempts have been made to defend his character. He executed Rivers and Grey, heads of the Woodville party; he seized Edward V., and was recognised as protector, afterwards getting possession of Edward's little brother, Richard; he arrested and executed Hastings; and, on June 26, was declared king, the crown being offered to him by Buckingham.

The reign of Richard III. lasted two years, from 1483 to 1485. He was a very able man, was popular in the country;

and certainly intended to rule well; but the crimes by which he obtained the throne stained him with indelible infamy.

**Richard III.** There is no doubt that he murdered the little princes in the Tower of London, where their bones have been discovered. A rebellion was formed against him by Buckingham, Morton, bishop of Ely, and the Woodvilles. The object was to marry Henry of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., son of Margaret Beaufort, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and thus unite the two houses of York and Lancaster. The rebellion, however, was suppressed, and Buckingham was executed.

In 1484, Edward, only son of Richard III., died, and his place as heir to the throne was taken by John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, son of Richard's sister Elizabeth. However, in 1485, Henry, who had fled to the north of France, made preparations for the invasion of England. He landed at Milford Haven, and, in the battle of Bosworth, fought on August 22, gained a complete victory, Richard perishing in the struggle.

After the death of Richard, Henry, earl of Richmond, ascended the throne with the title of King Henry VII. He held the crown by three titles—first, as representing

**Henry VII.** the line of Lancaster, which was by many held to have a superior claim to the line of York; next by marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and head of the house of York; and lastly, by the decision of a stricken field. A week later, he made his entry into London, not on horseback, as a warrior, but in a close carriage, as one of modest bearing. He was crowned two months later, and on the same day established a body of archers, who were to act as a body-guard and were styled yeomen of the guard, and have continued, in a different form, to the present day. His title to the throne was confirmed by an act of Parliament, and a year later by a papal bull, so that, as Bacon says, the wreath of three became a wreath of five, and to his three original titles to the throne he added two more, the parliamentary and the papal.

The beginning of his reign was disturbed by the impostors Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, the first of whom personated the earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, and the other the murdered duke of York. Simnel was put down in the battle of

**Lambert  
Simnel.**

Stoke, after which the queen was crowned, so as to secure the adhesion of the house of York, and the court of Star Chamber was organised to give a summary trial to powerful offenders. Simnel was crushed in 1489, but Warbeck did not appear till 1492, and was not finally captured and executed till 1499.

In 1489 was passed the Statute of Fines, putting an end to conflicting claims upon land, which, in the disturbed state of the country, had become very troublesome. By it, any person holding land could, by paying a sum of money, have a proclamation issued in a court of law as to the tenure of his land, and after five years was safe against all claims that might be made against his title. In 1491, taxes called benevolences had to be raised for the French war, made against Charles VIII., king of France, in consequence of his marriage with Anne of Brittany, giving France a power which seemed to threaten England. The levying of the tax was directed by Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, who ordered the commissioners to say that if they met with any who were sparing they should tell them that they must needs have money because they laid up, and if they were spenders they must needs have money, because it was seen in their bearing and manner of living. So neither kind could escape. This dilemma was called Morton's Fork or Crutch.

The war was soon put an end to by the treaty of Estaples, by which it was agreed that Charles should pay Henry a considerable sum of money by instalments, a claim which was not satisfied till many years afterwards. In 1494, Poynings' Law was passed to destroy the power of the Yorkist lords in Ireland. It provided that no act could be introduced into the Irish Parliament without having first received the approbation of the king's council in England. Passed to check oppression, it afterwards became a means of restricting the liberties of Ireland, and was a main cause of Irish discontent. Warbeck continued to give trouble, and was used by all the enemies of England as a means of attacking her. The law of treason was altered by a statute entitled, "De Facto," by which no one could be punished for serving the reigning king, even if he were not the lawful king. In 1496, a commercial treaty between England and Burgundy, which received the curious name of "The Great Intercourse,"

**Poynings'  
Law.**

**Perkin  
Warbeck.**

provided that neither country should assist each other's rebels, which deprived Perkin Warbeck of the help of that country. Warbeck was assisted by the Irish, but was deprived of their help by the energetic action of the earl of Kildare, and the invasion of England by James IV. of Scotland on his behalf produced no result. The tax levied for the Scotch war produced a rising in Cornwall, and Warbeck went to help the rebels, but was captured. Escaping from prison, he was recaptured and executed, and the earl of Warwick, who had been kept all this time in confinement, was also put to death.

The last nine years of Henry's reign were mainly devoted to foreign affairs, when the modern state system of Europe came into existence. Henry based his foreign policy on alliance with Spain, which had become a single country by the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon. Maximilian of Germany married Mary of Burgundy, his son Philip of Austria married Joanna of Spain, and Henry VIII. married Catherine of Aragon, Joanna's sister. All these alliances were directed against France, and resulted in the union of the Spanish empire, the Burgundian provinces, and Austria with the imperial dignity, in the person of Philip's son, Charles V. In 1503, Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was married to James IV. of Scotland, an alliance which eventually brought about the union between Scotland and England. In the same year, Elizabeth of York died, and the remaining years of Henry's life were spent in matrimonial schemes for himself and the extortion of his agents, Empson and Dudley. He died in 1509. He deserves the character given to him by Bacon, of being a wonder for wise men, and governing his country not only with a view to the present, but out of prudence for the future.

#### ARAGON AND CASTILE, A.D. 1336-1479.

In treating of the Pyrenean peninsula, we must deal separately with Aragon, Castile, and other provinces, as well as with Portugal. Pedro IV. was king of Aragon from 1336 to 1387. The chief fact of his reign was the existence of the Justicia, a tribunal which held the balance between the crown and the armed nobles. Its success was chiefly due to the wise minister Cabrera. Pedro was succeeded by his son John (1387-1395), a frivolous and extravagant sovereign,

who was forced by the Justicia to reform. With Martin, king of Aragon and Sicily, the dynasty came to an end in 1410. He was followed by Ferdinand I., called the Great, the son of Eleanor of Aragon, who reigned for six years, till 1416. The next king, Alfonso V. (1416-1458) ruled in Sicily and conquered Naples: Aragon he entrusted to his brother, who, as John II. (1458-1479), was the last king of Aragon before its union with Castile. The kingdom of Navarre had a closer connection with France at this time than Spain.

Charles the Bad reigned from 1349 to 1387; his **Navarre.**

son, Charles III., a peace-loving friend of literature and art, died in 1425, when Navarre passed to his daughter Blanche, wife of John II. of Aragon. In Castile, the constitution was not as liberal as in Aragon. Pedro the Cruel, who well deserved his name, reigned from 1356 to 1369,

and murdered his stepmother, Eleanora Guzman, **Castile.**

and his French wife Blanche. His chief opponent was his half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, who drove him from the throne by the help of du Guesclin, but he was restored by the Black Prince at the battle of Najera, called by English historians Navaretta. Henry at last succeeded in defeating and killing his brother in 1369, and became king under the title of Henry II. He reigned for ten years (1369-1379), and was succeeded by his son John (1379-1390), who attempted to gain the throne of Portugal, but was stopped by his defeat at Aljubarrota in 1385. There was also a danger of Castile's falling into the hands of John of Gaunt, who had married Constance of Castile, but the treaty of Bayonne in 1387 prevented this by the marriage of Henry, prince of the Asturias, to Catherine, the daughter of Constance. Henry III. (1390-1406) was weak in body but strong in mind, and secured the possession of the Canaries to Castile. Dying early, he left a young son, who, as John II., reigned for 47 years (1406-1453), first under the regency of his mother Catherine and the care of his uncle Ferdinand. His successor, Henry IV. (1453-1474) rightly nicknamed "the Impotent" left no son, and at his death his half-sister, the famous Isabella of Castile, became queen.

#### PORTUGAL, A.D. 1325-1433.

Portugal was disturbed by disputes in the royal house, as well as among the nobles. Indeed, the Spanish and Portuguese

aristocracy, having no longer the Moors to fight against, turned their arms against each other. King Diniz (1279-1325) was succeeded by Alfonso IV. (1325-1357), whose reign was stained by the murder of the beautiful Inez de Castro, to whom Pedro, the crown prince, was secretly married. On coming to the throne, which he occupied for ten years, Pedro exhibited the virtues of an excellent ruler, peace and prosperity flourishing under him. His son Fernando (1367-1383) was a very different character, weak and sensual, dishonoured by his connection with Leonard Tellez, and by the assistance which he gave to John of Gaunt against Castile. After his death, there was an interregnum of two years, caused by the attempt to unite Castile and Portugal, which was bitterly resented by the Portuguese, and defeated, as we have seen, at Aljubarrota. John of Avis, called the "Spurious," the bastard brother of Fernando, became king and reigned for 48 years (1385-1433). He wrested Ceuta from the Moors, assisted by his heroic youngest son, Henry the Navigator. From this time, the energy of Portugal was spent in foreign exploration, which gave her the possession of Porto Santo and Madeira.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY, A.D. 1347-1449.

ON the death of Louis of Bavaria, Charles IV. became in fact, as well as name, German king. He had been baptized as Wenzel, but changed his name to Charles, and, being at an early age betrothed to a French princess, was **Charles IV.** educated in Paris. At the age of fifteen, he was left by his father, John of Bohemia, to act as viceroy in Italy, and distinguished himself in the battle of San Felice, fought on November 25, 1332. Recalled from Italy, he ruled in Bohemia and Moravia during his father's absence, and ruled with wisdom and strength. He became extremely popular, assisted his father in his wars, spoke five languages, and was a great patron of literature. Pope Clement VI., who had been his tutor, was deeply devoted to him, and when he was crowned at Prague with his wife, Blanche of Valois, September 2, 1347, the prospect of his reign excited the warmest hopes. We need not spend time over the trouble which accompanied his accession, or the election of a counter king, Günther of Schwarzburg. His first act after his election was to found the university of Prague on April 7, 1348. Indeed, he created that splendid city.

Charles naturally desired to be crowned emperor at Rome, and to settle the affairs of Italy, which was in a disordered condition, as we shall see later on. It was the time of republican independence at Florence, of Cola di Rienzi at Rome, of the Visconti at Milan, of the Pepoli at Bologna, of the rise of the power of Venice, of its rivalry with Genoa. Charles was incited by Lombardy and Tuscany and by Pope Innocent VI., who had succeeded Clement VI., to crush the overweening power of the Visconti. But he had no desire to destroy so useful a counterpoise to the power of the popes, and made an alliance with that powerful family. He received the iron crown of Lombardy on January 6, 1355, and his first act was to make peace be-



tween the Visconti and the Lombard League. He was crowned in St. Peter's on Easter Day, April 5, but left Rome the day after, as he had promised Clement VI. He returned home after a peaceful journey, interrupted only by an outbreak at Pisa. The truth is that the struggle between Guelfs and Ghibellines was now at an end, and it was recognised that the emperor could never have any predominant power in Italy. The age of Guelfs and Ghibellines had been succeeded by the age of the Condottieri.

When Charles returned to Germany as crowned emperor, he turned his attention to legislation. A Bohemian Diet met at Prague at the end of September, and the law best called the *Majestas Carolina* was promulgated. Immediately after this came the Golden Bull.

**The Golden Bull.** drawn up at a diet which sat at Nuremberg from November 1355 to January 1356, completed at Metz, and published on Christmas Day, 1356. The Golden Bull established the election of the emperor or rather of the German king on a fixed basis, appointing seven electors for this purpose, but it also weakened the power of the emperor by increasing that of the electors; and, although it seemed to add to the power and prestige of the imperial crown, and to confirm the strength of the constitution of the empire, it really contributed to undermine both. A great object of Charles IV. was to increase the power of the house of Luxemburg, and this was made easier by the fact that, after the death of the Emperor Louis, Bavaria was divided between his six sons, which reduced the Wittelsbachs to a condition of impotence. Charles fixed his eyes on Brandenburg, then held by Louis' eldest son, but he had to contend against the claims of the house of Hapsburg. The head of this house was Rudolf IV., son of Albert II., and husband of Catherine, the daughter of Charles IV. He quarrelled with his father-in-law, laid claim to Bohemia, called himself palatine of Austria, and duke of Swabia and Alsace, and joined Würtemberg against the emperor. But a so-called *Erbverbrüderung*, or brotherhood of inheritance, between Luxemburg and Hapsburg was concluded at Brünn, on February 10, 1364, by which it was settled that Margaret Maultasch, daughter of Henry of Carinthia and wife of Louis of Brandenburg—whose son, Meinhard III., had married Margaret, daughter of Albert II., duke of Austria—should keep certain castles in the Tyrol, with a yearly allowance, but that after her death, which

**Dynastic  
Arrange-  
ments.**

happened in 1369, the Tyrol should go to either the Hapsburg or the Luxemburg house, whichever might have heirs, excluding the house of Wittelsbach. After Meinhard's death, Margaret married John Henry, margrave of Moravia, and Albert III. married Elizabeth, the daughter of Charles. But the Tyrol went eventually to Austria. Charles, however, obtained possession of the mark of Brandenburg. When Charles was at the height of his power, he possessed Luxemburg, Bohemia, Moravia, the Lausitz, Brandenburg, Silesia, and part of the Netherlands.

When Pope Innocent VI. was succeeded on September 12, 1362, by Urban V., Charles went to Avignon to persuade him to take up his abode in Rome, and met with a favourable answer. Italy was a prey to the Condottieri, of whom a principal leader was Fra Moreale, a monk who commanded the so-called English Company, which had been employed by Edward III. in his wars in France. The pope desired to clear the country from these plagues and to undertake a crusade, in which the emperor promised to assist him. Charles received the crown of Arles on June 18, 1365, but he did not make a second journey to Rome till 1368, when his wife had borne him a second son, Sigismund, afterwards emperor. He returned in August 1369, having established the pope in his capital. But Urban was obliged to come back to Avignon shortly afterwards, and it was left for his successor, Gregory XI., to restore the papacy permanently in Rome, seven years later.

**Attempt to  
restore the  
Popes to  
Rome.**

Charles had the happiness to see his eldest son Wenzel crowned King of the Romans at Aachen at the age of thirteen in 1376. He arranged that, after his death, Wenzel should have the greater part of his possessions, together with the guardianship of his younger brother, and Sigismund Brandenburg, except what was given to the third son, John. Just before his death, Charles paid a visit to Charles V. in France, anxious to see again the scenes dear to him in his youth. He also arranged that his son Wenzel should succeed his brother Wenzel in Luxemburg. He died in the Hradshin at Prague on November 29, 1378. He was a great king and a powerful emperor, but his fondness for his own country has impaired his reputation among the Germans, to whose hand the narrative of his reign has been generally committed. Wenzel was a weak ruler, and under him the German towns developed their leagues, which weakened the imperial power and diminished its prestige.

At the time when the south German towns were at war with their lords, the Swiss Confederation, the beginnings of which have been already related, set itself to win independence, and sealed its faith in blood at the battle of Morgarten. On May 3, 1334, Louis of Bavaria surrendered his feudal rights over the states of the confederacy. In 1332 Lucerne joined the union, making it one of four cantons instead of three; and, after many struggles with its suzerains, both clerical and lay, the important town of Zürich finally joined the confederation on May 1, 1351, and soon gained in it a predominant position. The Swiss now cast their eyes on the town of Bern, which had been founded by Berthold V. of Zähringen in 1191, and had been recognised by Frederick II. as an imperial town. In the battle of Laupen on June 22, 1339, the men of Bern, under Rudolf of Erlach, defeated the nobles, and, on March 6, 1353, made an everlasting union with the three original cantons, to which Lucerne and Zürich were admitted under certain conditions. Switzerland now consisted of eight cantons—Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zürich, Bern, Glarus, and Zug, which had joined in 1352. Charles IV. made several attempts to break up the confederacy, and besieged Zürich, but he finally recognised the union in 1362, and the peace of Thorberg, as it was called, was continued till his death. Attempts were made to consolidate the union, and a document called the Pfaffenbrief, or Priests' Letter, was signed on October 7, 1370, for that purpose.

Some twelve years after this, the lords of Kyburg, who were deeply in debt, went to war with the confederacy with the hope of recovering Thun and Aarberg, which had been mortgaged by them to Bern, and were supported by Leopold III. of Austria. But he was afraid to attack the Swiss because of the treaty of Constance, by which in 1384 they allied with the Swabian Leagues, and which made them very powerful. However, the unavoidable struggle took place at Sempach on July 9, 1386, when the Austrian chivalry, depending on their phalanx of 25,000 men, armed with long spears, were entirely defeated. Arnold von Winkelried is said to have broken the Austrian phalanx by seizing a number of Austrian spears and thrusting them into his heart. The Austrians were again defeated at Näfels on April 9, 1388. At the beginning of the next century, Appenzell joined the league, and fought in the battle of Speicher on May 15, 1403, but had great difficulty in maintaining its

**Battle of  
Sempach.**

independence, and St. Gallen still continued under the suzerainty of its abbot.

Wenzel IV. went on from bad to worse. He neglected business, and gave himself up to sport. The large dogs which he kept in his bedroom tore his first wife to pieces.

Later on, he took to drinking, and was guilty of the most cruel tyranny, but he did not lose the affection of his Bohemian subjects. In the papal conflict, he took the side of Urban, but Clement had many supporters in Germany. With the death of his wisest councillors, the character of his government became worse. He quarrelled with the archbishop of Prague, and, on March 20, 1393, threw John of Pomuk from the bridge of Prague into the Moldau, which gave rise to the legend of St. John Nepomuk, whose statue is found on many bridges. At last, a coalition was formed against him, and he was taken prisoner, and imprisoned in the Hradshin. His brother, Sigismund, king of Hungary, tried to help him, but in vain. After many struggles, he was eventually solemnly deposed by a majority of the electors at Rhense on the Rhine on August 30, 1400; and the Count Palatine, Rupert III., was elected in his place and crowned at Aachen, Cologne refusing to receive him.

**Misconduct  
of Wenzel.**

**Wenzel  
deposed.**

King Rupert naturally desired to be crowned at Rome, but, owing to his defective title, there were difficulties in the way. He assembled his troops at Augsburg in September 1400. But he was defeated by the Milanese at

**Rupert III.**

Brescia, and forced to retreat to Trent. However, he would not give up the struggle, and advanced again to Padua. But he could get no farther. He returned home, without money and without fame, and got the name of "Rupert with the empty pockets." His attempted journey to Rome had done him nothing but harm. Moreover, he was unfit to govern the empire entrusted to his care. The authority of the emperor was everywhere despised and disregarded. Rupert did his best to restore order, entered into negotiations with Wenzel for the recognition of his position, and even contemplated a second expedition to Rome. He was recognised by the Italian pope, and the death of Galeazzo had put an end to the power of the Visconti. But his vicar in Italy, Francis of Carrara, had been imprisoned and executed by the Venetians; the imperial city of Pisa fell into the hands of Florence; Perugia was recovered by the pope; Venice seemed likely to take the place which Milan

had held under the Visconti. In Germany, a league was formed at Marbach in 1405 by John, archbishop of Mainz, which set itself against Rupert's authority, and, in 1407, the archbishop possessed more power than the king. If the Marbach League could unite itself with Wenzel, all would be lost. Rupert at last, by recognising the League, succeeded in getting crowned at Aachen on November 14, 1407, but it was a poor satisfaction. He was in a miserable position; without friends, threatened by Wenzel, excommunicated by the pope as a heretic and a schismatic, without any firm support in any direction. He had the alternative of either abdicating or crushing John of Mainz. But John had been appointed papal legate for Germany by the new pope, Alexander V., and had submitted to the suzerainty of France, the first German elector to suffer this indignity. And, as Rupert was preparing for war, he died, on May 18, 1410, and was buried with his wife, who survived him only for a short time, in the church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg. Rupert had many excellent qualities. He governed the palatinate well, and worked hard to fulfil his duties, but the welding of the empire into unity, and the healing of its divisions and quarrels, were far beyond his strength.

After Rupert's death, there was a division among the electors. Some were in favour of recalling Wenzel. Others supported **Sigismund** his brother, King Sigismund of Hungary, who had **and Jost of** exhibited in the government of his kingdom powers **Bavaria.** of statesmanship and diplomacy, and had recently subdued Bosnia, and established his power in Serbia and Dalmatia. He was strongly supported by Frederick VI., burgrave of Nuremberg. The election took place at Frankfort, on September 20, 1410. The Elector Palatine, the archbishop of Trier, and Frederick II., acting for Brandenburg, chose Sigismund as king. Twelve days later the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz, and the representatives of Wenzel, chose Jost, margrave of Moravia, a son of John Henry, brother of Charles IV., so that the world had now three popes and two emperors.

**Death of** Luckily, before war broke out, Jost died at **Jost.** Brünn on January 17, 1411, leaving no heirs.

Of his possessions, Brandenburg went to Sigismund and Moravia to Wenzel, so that Moravia and Bohemia were now united. By the intervention of Stibor, voivod of Transylvania, peace was made between the two brothers, and Wenzel recognised Sigismund as king of the Romans. On July 21, 1411, Sigismund was solemnly chosen by Jost's electors

and the duke of Saxony, the other two naturally standing aloof, so that the unity of the empire was restored. He was crowned at Aachen on November 8, 1411, and his queen, Barbara, with him. Immediately after this, Sigismund set out for the Council of Constance, which had been summoned to reform the church in head and members, and to heal the divisions in the empire itself.

Before we relate the history of the Council of Constance, we must go back. As we have before stated, Pope Urban V. (1362-1370) had returned to Rome, but was, soon afterwards, compelled to leave it, in spite of the prayers of the Romans and the prophecies of

**The Popes  
at Avignon.**

St. Brigit, who foretold his death if he should return to Avignon. Brigit was right, and the excellent and worthy pope died on December 19, 1370, being succeeded by Pierre Roger, count of Beaufort, who took the name of Gregory XI. and reigned for seven years (1371-1378). He did return to Rome, but died before he was able to do any good. The Romans now insisted on having an Italian pope, and Bartolomeo di Prignano, archbishop of Bari, was elected, taking the name of Urban VI. (1378-1389). However, the French cardinals declared the election illegal, as having been extorted by force, and chose Robert of Geneva, bishop of Cambrai, who assumed the title of Clement VII. (1378-1394).

**The Great  
Schism.**

Clement retired to Avignon. He was obeyed by France, Spain, and Naples, whereas Urban received the allegiance of Italy and Germany. The division lasted for forty years. Urban VI. was followed by Boniface IX. (1389-1404), by Innocent VII. (1404-1406), and by Gregory XII., who died in 1417. Clement VII. was succeeded by Peter of Luna, Benedict XIII., who died in 1423. At last a General Council assembled at Pisa in 1409, to which both popes were summoned in the hope of healing the schism.

The council was attended by the cardinals of either obedience, by archbishops, bishops, and abbots of all countries, personally or by deputy, by doctors of the universities, by kings and princes. The learned Gerson of Paris supported the view that the church could exist without

**Council of  
Pisa.**

a pope, and was, indeed, superior to the pope, whom she could, if necessary, depose. The council deposed both popes, calling them heretics, and chose Peter Philargi, archbishop of Milan, to reform the church. The new pope, under the title of Alexander V., accepted the duty, but deferred it to a council

which was to be summoned in three years. So there were three popes, Benedict being still recognised in Spain and Scotland, and Gregory in a part of Germany and Italy, by King Rupert. Alexander was of no use, and, dying on May 3, 1410, was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, cardinal legate of Bologna, as John XXIII. John lived till 1419.

**Three rival  
Popes.**

He was a Neapolitan, a man of infamous character, who began life as a pirate, and had then been ordained, gaining the favour of Boniface IX. Pope John was received in Rome, attempted to gain the support of the university of Paris, and held a council in the Lateran for the reform of the church, which was a mere farce. Driven from Rome by King Ladislaus of Naples, he agreed to the calling a fresh council, and Sigismund compelled him to hold it outside Italy. He gave way, and it was summoned to Constance. A movement was proceeding in Bohemia, like that of Wycliffe in England, the leaders of which were John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and this matter was also left to the decision of the council.

A more brilliant assembly was never seen in the middle ages than the Council of Constance. Besides cardinals, archbishops

**Council of  
Constance.**

and bishops, doctors and professors, there were electors and counts, and ambassadors from all Christian princes, together with the Emperor Sigismund and the pope. Men of learning were there, François d'Ailly, Gerson, Brogni and Zabarella, Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, the great English scholar, Aretino and Chrysoloras. Among the visitors, who were reckoned at fifty thousand, were camp-followers male and female, good characters and bad. Pope John went there with reluctance, full of anxiety and fear. The council opened on November 5, 1414, and found three great problems before it, those of faith, unity, and reformation. John Huss was intimately connected with the first of these. Sigismund had promised him a safe-conduct, and the pope was favourable to him, but he had many enemies. His forebodings were only too well founded. He was loaded with chains and kept in prison in the Dominican convent on the Boden See. The emperor arrived with his wife, Barbara of Cilly, on Christmas night, after his crowning at Aachen. He was angry at the imprisonment of Huss, and threatened to leave the city, but he gave way to pressure and sacrificed Huss to the unity of the church. On March 1, 1415, Pope John, after many struggles, was persuaded to abdicate. Three weeks later he ran away in the dress of a groom, and took refuge with Duke Frederick of Austria. Many

cardinals and prelates followed him, including the archbishop of Mainz. The authority of the council was rudely shaken, but was strengthened by the decree called *Sacrosancta*, affirming the supremacy of the council, passed on April 5, 1415, chiefly by the authority of Gerson, who was called the "Soul of the Council." On the following day, the ban of the council was pronounced against Frederick, and the secular arm was summoned to execute it. On May 5 he humbled himself before the emperor, and promised to bring John back to Constance. He was deprived of all his dominions except the Tyrol, and received the nickname of "Frederick with the empty pockets." The wrath of the council was now directed against the pope, who was deprived of his office and confined in the same prison as Huss, until he was removed to Heidelberg.

Now came the turn of Huss. His friend Jerome of Prague hastened to Constance to support him, and Sigismund exerted himself in his favour. Huss defended himself before his judges, but was constantly interrupted. One of his main contentions was the right of the laity to receive the communion in both kinds, whence his followers were called Calixtines, and the churches of his persuasion were marked by a chalice. But, on June 15, doctrines were condemned, and on July 6 Huss was solemnly pronounced a heretic in the presence of Sigismund, and given over to the secular arm. He was stripped of his priest's clothing, and a high paper cap was placed on his head, decorated with three devils, and an inscription, "This is an arch heretic." When he heard his soul devoted to hell, he exclaimed, "And I recommend it to my Lord Jesus Christ!" The Palgrave Louis gave him over to the town authorities, with orders that he should be burned, and, on the following day, the orders were fulfilled. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine that they might not be worshipped in Bohemia. Jerome of Prague underwent the same fate on May 30, 1416. When the council came to an end, it had fulfilled two great tasks, and these alone—the deposition of Pope John XXIII. and the burning of John Huss.

Before the end of the year, Benedict XIII. was deposed at Narbonne, whither Sigismund had betaken himself. He continued his progress to Chambéry, where he raised Amadeus of Savoy to the rank of duke, then went to Paris and to London, where he was forced to make an alliance with Henry V. against France. He returned to Constance in January 1417. During his absence things had not gone well. Frederick of Austria

**Trial and  
Death of  
John Huss.**



had broken his parole, and Pope John XXIII. was hoping to recover his power. However, in 1418, an arrangement was made between Sigismund and Frederick. The council, on October 9, 1417, passed five decrees of no great value, one providing for the periodical meeting of councils, which was never carried into effect, and, on November 11, Cardinal Otto of Colonna was chosen pope under the title of Martin V. The last meeting of the council was held on April 22, 1418, and it was settled that the next council should assemble at Pavia.

The burning of Huss lighted a flame in Bohemia. The archbishop of Prague had to flee from the wrath of the people.

A Catholic League was formed to resist the Hussites, but on July 22, 1419, a Hussite meeting was held in which many thousands, calling themselves brothers and sisters, swore to be true to "the cause of the chalice." The unfortunate Wenzel IV. died on August 16. This brought matters to a crisis, and a civil war broke out. Sigismund, the new king of Bohemia, was in Hungary preparing for war against Turkey. He appointed Wenzel's widow Sophia as regent, with the burgrave of Wartenburg to help her. The Hussites now received assistance from two powerful men, Nicholas of Pistna, burgrave of Hust, and John Ziska or Trocnow. Great meetings were held on the mount of Tabor, or the hill of Horeb, near Hohenbruck, and on the hill of the Cross, near Prague; and a league was formed to protect the freedom of the word of God, and to guard the national faith, and Tabor, the stronghold of the cause, gave its name to the extremists of the party, who were known as Taborites. The war which followed dragged on for many years. It was waged with far more vigour by the Hussites than by their opponents, and Sigismund's attempts to end it were vain, though papal bulls summoned crusaders to help him in crushing the heretics. Ziska died of the plague on October 11, 1424, but a new leader for the Taborites appeared in Prokop the Great, while Korybut of Lithuania helped the men of Prague. At Aussig, in 1426, these two gained a complete victory over the Germans, who are said to have lost 15,000 men. Aussig was captured, plundered, and burned. The Hussites carried on the war with continued success, through five campaigns, and won another great victory at Tauss on August 14, 1431.

Pope Martin was not a success as pope. He had no money, and was saluted by the children of Florence with the rhyme "Papa Martino, senza quattrino" (Pope Martin, without a

farthing). He died on February 1, 1431, and was succeeded by a Venetian, Condolmieri, who took the name of Eugenius IV. When he was elected, Eugenius promised to call a council, which met at Basel in 1431.

No sooner, however, had the council met than it was dissolved by the pope on the ground of the uncertainty of the roads and the distance of Basel from the centre of affairs. He promised that another council should meet at Bologna after a year and a half's delay, at which he would be present himself. But the council refused to accept its dismissal, and asserted the supremacy of councils over the pope. The council declared that the pope was not, and could not be, more powerful than the whole church; and the papacy, however much it might oppose these principles, was not strong enough to enforce its authority. Sigismund now determined to be crowned at Rome. Accompanied by a small body of Hungarian cavalry, he set out in the late autumn, and received the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan on November 25, 1431. Venice was now at war both with Hungary and Milan, who had in their service the great Condottiere Carmagnola. Sigismund entered into negotiations with the pope, who offered to crown him if he would give him his support at the Council of Basel. During this time Sigismund remained in Siena, promising to persuade the council to give assurances that it would undertake no measures against Eugenius IV. At length a treaty was signed between Sigismund and the pope at Ferrara, as well as between Venice, Florence, and Milan. Sigismund promised to recognise the pope as the true pontiff and to induce all Christendom to do the same. Eugenius had won the battle, and Sigismund was crowned at Rome on May 31, 1432. In October, the emperor suddenly appeared in Basel, where the struggle between the council and the pope still continued. He could not, however, effect much, and soon left the city against his will. In Rome, Eugenius had his own difficulties to contend with. He was opposed to the powerful family of the Colonna, who were assisted by Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan, who could command the services of the condottieri Fortebraccio, Sforza, and Pioccinino. The pope was taken prisoner, and had to escape to Florence in disguise. The council was delighted at the humiliation and weakness of its adversary.

**Council of  
Basel.**

**The Ques-  
tion of  
Supremacy.**

The next problem before the council was to make peace with

the Hussites, who, after the victory of Tauss, were divided into two parties—the Taborites, wishing to continue and even to

**The Council** extend the war; and the Calixtines, who gradually grew in influence, desiring to bring about a  
**and the** reconciliation. The leaders of the council were  
**Hussites.** Cardinal Julian, Cusanus, and Capranica. Julian wrote that the gate was open to let in the lost sheep. Negotiations went on, and a certain agreement was reached at Prague on November 30, 1433. But passions were too violent to be appeased in this manner. Civil war broke out, and the irreconcilable party was defeated at Lipan on May 30, 1434. The war, however, still continued, the leader of the Calixtines being John Rokycana. Peace was not made till 1436, and on August 23, in that year, Sigismund, accompanied by his wife, Barbara, and a stately company, entered Prague in triumph as king of Bohemia, having promised to observe what was called the Compactation of Prague. This, however, was not done. The pope and the council were too enthusiastically devoted to the old catholic faith. Monasteries were restored: monks and nuns were recalled. It was only very slowly that the stormy waters of Bohemian revolt subsided into peace and calm.

The council itself was sharply divided into parties, some for and some against the authority of the pope. The heads of the  
**Dissensions** first were Cesarini of Venice, Cervantes, and  
**in the** Albergati, aided by Torquemada and Cusanus.  
**Council.** The supporters of the council were more in number, consisting chiefly of the French, led by Louis d'Allemand, bishop of Arles, the English, Germans, and also many Italians, led by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., who now made his appearance in Basel. He was a man of commanding ability and of great literary culture, but of worldly temper. A middle position was held by John of Segovia, who represented the university of Salamanca. But as the feeling of the council became more democratic, and power seemed to come into the hands of the inferior clergy, the bishops were more inclined to support the claims of the pope.

Passions were now roused by the consideration of the hard question of the union between the Latin and Greek churches. A violent quarrel broke out on May 7, 1437. The archbishop of Taranto, defeated by his opponent, the democratic Louis d'Allemand, took refuge with the pope, who rewarded him with a cardinal's hat. Each party condemned the resolution passed by the other. In July, Eugenius dissolved the council and

summoned another to meet at Ferrara. In September the council declared the orders of the pope to be null and void. These quarrels were too much for the aged emperor, and his anxieties were increased by troubles at home. When his son-in-law, Albert V. of Austria, whom he had designated as his heir in Luxemburg and Bohemia, came to Prague to claim his inheritance, a conspiracy broke out against him, in which the empress took part and was imprisoned in consequence. Wary of life, he died at Znaim on December 9, 1437, the last of the brilliant house of Luxemburg. During his life he did his best to heal the disorders of a divided church and a distracted empire, but he did not possess the clearness of view, the unity of purpose, and the strength of will which were necessary for this overwhelming task. He was succeeded by Albert II., who was elected on March 18, 1438. He was king of Bohemia and Hungary and heir to Luxemburg, a strong and worthy prince, who might have done much for the good of the empire, assisted by his trusted chancellor, Schlich, if he had not been involved in a war with Turkey and died on his return from it on October 27, 1439. His cousin, Frederick III., of the Styrian line, was elected as his successor in 1440, and reigned over Germany for fifty-three years, but with so little strength or prestige that the empire fell into greater disorder than ever. The Council of Ferrara met on January 8, 1438, attended by Greek prelates, with the Emperor John Paleologus and the Patriarch Joseph at their head, and, having been adjourned first to Florence and then to Rome, proclaimed a hollow union of the Roman Communion first with the Orthodox Church and then with minor churches of the East. Meanwhile a "Rump" of the Council of Basel—ignoring Eugenius' bull of dissolution—continued to sit. It professed to depose Eugenius on June 25, 1439, and Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, was elected in his place as Felix V. But Felix did nothing. He spent his life in the magnificent castle of Rapaille on the shores of Lake Lemane; and when, in 1449, Frederick III. finally dissolved the council, he submitted to the reigning pope, the learned Thomas Parentucelli, who, as Nicholas V., had succeeded when Eugenius died on February 23, 1447. Thus the final victory in the long struggle rested with the papacy.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE GREAT CITIES OF ITALY—EASTERN EUROPE.

#### 1. ROME AND NAPLES, A.D. 1341-1435.

WHILE the popes were in Avignon, Rome was in a terrible condition; it remained poor and obscure, ruined and debased, the rubbish heap of politics, while its lord and master was accumulating riches in France. Perhaps its brightest day was the crowning of the great Petrarch in the Capitol in 1341. Among the crowd who witnessed it was a young man, Cola di Rienzi, the son of an innkeeper called Lorenzo, who was seized with the idea of reviving the glory and the power of his native city. In May 1342, Clement VI. became pope, and, on January 19, 1343, King Robert of Naples died, leaving his throne to his granddaughter Joanna, wife of Andrew of Hungary, the son of his nephew, Charles Robert. It was thought a favourable moment to send an embassy to Rome to beg the pope to return, and Cola was a member of it, spending some time in Avignon, in intercourse with Clement and Petrarch. By fiery speeches and exhibitions of ancient monuments, he stirred the Romans to enthusiasm, protected by the pope, who, however, still delayed to return. Joanna of Naples was a woman of ability, but of unbridled passions, and, when Andrew had been crowned king by order of the pope, he was murdered, with the connivance of his wife, in the palace of Aversa, on August 21, 1345. Joanna had two cousins, Charles of Durazzo, who married her sister Maria, and Louis of Taranto, who claimed the throne of Constantinople. Joanna married Louis in August 1346, but his hopes of being king had been marred by the birth of a posthumous son of Andrew, Charles Martel, who, however, died in 1348. After Louis' own death in 1362, Joanna married James of Majorca; and, when he died in 1375, Otto, duke of Brunswick, who died in 1381, Joanna dying herself in 1382.

In the summer of 1347, Rienzi declared himself tribune of Rome, at a time when Stephen Colonna, the most powerful noble of the city, was collecting supplies at Corneto. **Rienzi and the Roman Republic.** Returning to Rome, Stephen had to take refuge in Palestrina, and the rest of the nobles accepted the republic founded by Rienzi, who now determined to make Rome the head of an Italian federation. Joanna bowed to the storm and accepted the situation; Rienzi appeared in a dress of white silk on a white horse, with a banner waving over his head, and a bodyguard of a hundred youths. He proceeded to make himself a knight by bathing in the baptistery of the Lateran, and made himself ridiculous by extravagant ceremonies. At last he was overthrown, and took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. The cardinal legate, Bernhard, took possession of the city for the pope, and gave the government to the Orsini and Savelli. In the meantime, Louis of Hungary conquered Naples, and Joanna had to escape to Provence. In 1350, a Jubilee was held in Rome, which restored the prestige of the papacy and put all ideas of a republic out of the heads of the citizens. Rienzi fled to Prague, where he sought the protection of Charles IV., who, anxious to conciliate Clement, threw the tribune into prison, and, after a year's confinement, sent him to Avignon, where he remained till Clement VI. died and was succeeded on December 6, 1352, by Innocent VI.

Rome continued in even worse confusion than ever. The new pope created Cardinal Albornoz his vicar-general. He set Rienzi at liberty, and took him with him **Return and Death of Rienzi.** to Rome, where he was made senator. In August 1354, he entered the city in triumph, with a bodyguard of a hundred men under the command of Fra Moreale. As these troops were difficult to pay and their leader was suspected of treachery, Rienzi captured him by a trick, and had him executed on the steps of the Capitol, seizing the hundred thousand gold florins which he left behind him. When this treasure was exhausted, Rienzi had to get money from the people, which made him as much hated by them as he was by the nobles. On October 8, 1354, Moreale's brother, Brettone, attacked Rienzi in the Capitol; he was driven from the palace, endeavoured to escape in the dress of a monk, was recognised, and killed on the same spot where Moreale had fallen. His body was burned in the mausoleum of Augustus, and his ashes scattered to the winds.

The death of Rienzi and the futile expedition of Charles

IV., which we have already related, increased the prestige of the papacy. But the wandering condottieri were still the real masters of Italy. Albornoz governed the patrimony of St. Peter well, but, in 1357, he was recalled to Avignon by Innocent VI. He died in 1367, **Renewed the Papacy.** equally great as a statesman, a general, and a legislator, and was buried in Toledo. Pope Urban V. returned to Rome in the same year, and took up his abode in the Vatican, honoured by Petrarch, visited by Joanna of Naples, and by the emperor, whose fourth wife, Elizabeth of Pomerania, he crowned in St. Peter's. But in 1370 he returned to France to die there. Rome was not permanently occupied by its lord till the return of Gregory XI., on January 17, 1377, and he died fifteen months afterwards. He was succeeded by Urban VI., but the Great Schism followed, and, as we have seen, did not come to an end for many years.

Urban supported Louis of Hungary against Joanna of Naples, who summoned a second Anjou, Louis, brother of King Charles V., to her aid. Catharine of Siena, who had spent **The Struggle for Naples.** her life in endeavouring to bring the pope back to Rome, died on April 30, 1380. Charles of Durazzo, brother of Louis, entered Rome in November 1380, and attacked Joanna. Though bravely defended by her husband, Otto of Brunswick, she was defeated and captured, and eventually murdered on May 22, 1382. Louis of Anjou died two years afterwards, leaving Naples to his son, Louis II., and Provence to his younger son, Charles of Maine. Blood seemed to cling to the house of Anjou, as it did to the house of Oedipus. Within forty years, Andrew, Joanna, and two Charleses of Durazzo, father and son, had met with violent deaths, but, in 1369, the new pope, Boniface IX., recognised Ladislaus II., son of Charles, as king. Louis II. of Anjou and his brother, the count of Maine, came to Naples to claim their inheritance, but Ladislaus reigned in Rome. In 1404, his protector Boniface died, and was succeeded by Innocent VII. After two years, Innocent was succeeded by Gregory XII., a Venetian, eighty years old, who supported Ladislaus, but the rights of Louis of Anjou were recognised by Alexander V., who had been made pope at the council of Pisa. At last the chivalrous Ladislaus died on August 6, 1414, leaving his kingdom to his sister, Joanna II. But the anarchy still continued, with conflicts too complicated to be related here, till Louis II. of Anjou was succeeded in 1423 by Louis III., who held the title till

his death in November 1434. Joanna herself died in February 1435, leaving her kingdom to René, the brother of Louis III. of Anjou and the father of Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI. of England, who bore on her six-fold shield the arms of Hungary, of both Anjous, of Bar, of Jerusalem, and of Lorraine.

## 2. MILAN AND PIEDMONT, A.D. 1322-1482.

In Milan, Matteo Visconti, who had succeeded in the government of that city the Guelf family of della Torre, died in 1322, leaving his position to his distinguished son, **The Galeazzo.** The Visconti continued in power with **Visconti Azzo**, who died in 1339,—Lucchino, who died in **at Milan.** 1349,—Giovanni, who died in 1364,—and Bernabo, the blood-thirsty tyrant, who died in 1385,—till the succession of Gian Galeazzo, whose only daughter, Valentina, married Louis of Valois, the brother of Charles VI. of France, with a dowry of 400,000 gold florins. In 1395, the Emperor Wenzel gave him the rank and title of duke of Milan, which placed him among the princes of Europe. He died in 1402, leaving a nun as his heir, which resulted in the downfall of his race. In 1450, Francesco Sforza, a condottieri leader, who had succeeded Carmagnola as defender of the city, was elected duke by the people, and governed his country with wisdom and success till his death on March 8, 1466.

Piedmont was divided into marquisates, the principal of which were Susa, Montferrat, and Saluzzo, of which Montferrat was the most distinguished. The best known **Piedmont.** among the rulers of Montferrat was Giovanni, who got possession of Ivrea, Valenza, Asti, and Alba. After his death the country was attacked by Susa on one side and Milan on the other, and the house of the Paleologi came to an end at the death of Giovanni IV. in 1461. The house of Savoy was founded in 1056 by Humbert-with-the-White-Hands, count of Maurienne, who in **The House of Savoy.** 1034 had received valuable territory from the Emperor Conrad II. He was succeeded by Amadeus I., Oddo II., Peter I., and Amadeus II., whose sister, Bertha, married the Emperor Henry IV., and who made valuable additions to his dominions. He was followed by Humbert II., Amadeus III., Humbert III., and Thomas I., who was made imperial vicar by Frederick II. Amadeus V., who was called the Great



(1285-1323), founded a new dynasty, and about this time Piedmont was reunited to Savoy. Amadeus VI., the "Green Count," was succeeded by Amadeus VII., the "Red Count," who got possession of Nice and Ventimiglia. Amadeus VIII., who bought the Genevois in 1401, became duke in 1416, inherited Piedmont in 1418, resigned the duchy in 1434, was elected pope in 1439, and died in 1451, as an Augustinian hermit in Geneva. He was followed by Louis, who failed to make good his claim to Milan as against Sforza,—by Amadeus IX. (1465-1472),—and by Philibert I., who died in 1482.

### 3. GENOA, A.D. 1284-1453.

The power of Genoa was founded on its struggles with Pisa, from whom it wrested Corsica, and whom it entirely defeated in the battle of Molara in 1284. It had gradually acquired the rocky sea-coast of the Mediterranean from Nice to Spezzia, as well as the isle of Elba. Wars with Pisa and Venice. It then had to contend against Venice, with whom it fought the war of Chioggia, put an end to by the peace of Turin in 1381, after which time the decline of the Genoese republic began. The republic of Genoa had neither the good fortune nor the capacity to secure freedom for its citizens. The Genoese Constitution. Even as early as the twelfth century, the people were divided into eight companies, which included both patricians and plebeians and elected all the officials both civil and military. A nobility of public service arose which excluded the common people from the conduct of affairs. Membership of the great council was confined to a few, and the popular assembly lost its power. The city was torn by factions, the families of Doria and Spinola being Ghibellines, the Fieschi and the Grimaldi Guelfs. At the head of the government we find, in turn, consuls, then a podestà appointed from a foreign city, but the example of Boccanera, about 1261, showed that such an official might be dangerous to liberty. Henry VII. did something to check the strife of parties, and Robert of Naples became Signor in 1331. A popular rising in 1339 led to the creation of a Doge, of whom Simon Boccanera was the first, assisted by twelve councillors, six from the nobles and six from the people. The companies were assisted by guilds. When Boccanera laid down his office in 1344, and withdrew to Pisa, Giovanni di Murta was elected

in his place. But party quarrels soon came back, and between the years 1363 and 1527 the office of doge was held almost exclusively by the families of Adorno and Fregoso. The bank of St. George, in whose hands the finances of the republic lay, began to have great power at the beginning of the fifteenth century; the French, who had occupied the city to restore order, were driven out, and the government entrusted to a council of twelve *anziani*, with the marquis of Montferrat at their head. But Marshal Boucicault, the commander of the French garrison, returned, and the financial credit of the republic improved. In 1436, the Genoese, who had been under the power of Filippo Maria Visconti, again elected doges; but after the loss of Pera to the Turks, and the conquest of Constantinople by them in 1453, the republic came entirely under the influence of France.

Genoa and  
France.

#### 4. FLORENCE, A.D. 1250-1429.

In Florence, a great change took place after the death of Frederick II. in 1250; party quarrels raged fiercely between Guelfs and Ghibellines, Manfred, at the head of the second, becoming master of Tuscany by the battle of Montaperti, and the Guelfs returning to power after his death at Benevento. The citizens were divided into guilds, each with a consul, a captain, and a standard-bearer. Originally there were seven higher guilds, forming the *popolo grasso*, or wealthy people, and five representing the poorer, the *popolo minuto*, but they were gradually increased to twenty-one. In 1282, Florence was governed by *priori*, whose numbers rose by slow stages from three to twelve, and the Ghibelline Pisa fell into the hands of the Guelfic rival. Ordinances of Justice were passed in 1292, under the influence of Giano della Bella, to secure the people against the encroachments of the nobles, and a Standard-bearer, "Gonfaloniere," of Justice, was placed in the public palace to assist the *priori* in this respect. Under this régime, Florence gained a great prosperity. In the time of Dante, about 1300, the city was divided into the two parties of the Bianchi and Neri (Whites and Blacks), both Guelfs, but bitterly opposed to each other, represented by the families of Cerchi and Donati, the one being rich merchants, the other poor nobles. Dante was exiled in 1302 by Corso

The  
Florentine  
Constitu-  
tion.

Party Strife  
in the City.

Donati, who was killed in 1308. Florence now made a league with Naples, and the duke of Calabria became signor. His representative, Walter of Brienne, duke of Athens, made himself detested by his severity, and became worse on the death of Charles of Calabria on November 9, 1328. Indeed, he desired to make himself master of the city, but was driven out in 1343, on July 26, which always remained a day of popular rejoicing.

The government of Florence now came into the hands of the guilds, the noble families of Donati, Adimari, Cavalcanti, Frescobaldi, and Nerli being driven out. The labour party got the upper hand, a change which was assisted by the losses incurred by the great banking houses of Bardi and Peruzzi, who lent money for the wars between France and England. Florence fell gradually under the power of a Guelf oligarchy, all who did not belong to this party being carefully excluded. This oligarchy had almost unrestrained power, the families of Buondelmonte and Ablizzi being at its head. Against them the "Ciompi," the populace, rose on July 22, 1378, and gained a complete victory, being led by Michele Lando, a wool-comber, who went about with bare feet. But the insurrection was gradually suppressed by the wisdom of Salvestro de Medici, whose family acquired supremacy in the city for the first time in the person of Giovanni de Medici, who died in 1429. He protected the poorer citizens, but did not flatter them. He obtained his power by wise moderation, wisdom, and great unselfishness. At his death his power, founded on the wealth and business connection of a great banking house, passed to his sons Cosimo and Lorenzo.

**Nobles and Populace.**

**Rise of the Medici.**

## 5. VENICE, A.D. 1172-1457.

Venice owed its rise to the destruction of Aquileia, after which the population took refuge on a number of islands situated in a lagoon, protected from the sea by a strip of land called the Lido. After being governed by tribunes, they gradually came under the power of a doge, who was elected for life. Venice is an example of a pure aristocratic government threatened by the danger of becoming a monarchy on the one hand and a democracy on the other, and having to protect itself against both evils. The Venetians gradually succeeded in preventing the office of doge from being confined

to a particular family, which would have established a kind of monarchy; in attaching permanently to the doge certain advisers whom he was bound to consult; and finally in creating, in 1172, a Great Council, composed of noble families, which eventually got for itself all the powers of government which ought to have belonged to the popular assembly. So long as this aristocratic government was really patriotic, and thought more of the interests of the country than of its own power, Venice held a great position, which gave her a commanding voice in the councils of Europe. This was shown in the congress held at Venice in May 1177, and in the exploits of Dandolo in the near East. In 1297 a momentous change was made in the Venetian constitution, by which not only was the Great Council limited to certain families, but it was ordered that every member of these families should be admitted to it on attaining the age of twenty-five. The government was thus changed from an aristocracy to an oligarchy. This was called "Il Serrate del Gran Consiglio," the barring of the doors of the Great Council. Dissatisfaction with the change was shown by the conspiracy of Tiepolo in 1310, punished by the execution or banishment of those who took part in it. This gave rise to the creation of ten inquisitors, called the Council of Ten, whose duty it was to watch against any attempts to impair the constitution. Established at first as a temporary instrument for two months, they became permanent in 1335. In March 1335 an attempt made by the Doge Marino Faliero to destroy the oligarchical tyranny, by establishing either a seniory like that of other Italian cities, or else a doge who should really represent the people, was discovered by the Ten, and Faliero was executed on the staircase in the courtyard of the doge's palace, a tragedy immortalised in the verse of Byron. A war with Genoa, the chief rival of Venice, called the war of Chioggia, lasted from 1379 to 1381, and ended by the surrender into the hands of the Venetians of five thousand Genoese and thirty-two galleys, and the signature of the peace of Turin through the mediation of Count Amadeus of Savoy.

The  
Venetian  
Constitu-  
tion.

The Council  
of Ten.

War of  
Chioggia.

The beginning of the next century saw the extension of Venetian power on the mainland, by which Vicenza, Bassano, Feltre, Belluno, and Padua came under the control of the island city. But a little later it became necessary to make war against the Turks, who were pressing their conquests in

the East, and against the Emperor Sigismund. At the close of the first quarter of the fifteenth century all the coasts of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Po, through Venetia, Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia, down to Albania, together with Corfu and Negropont, belonged to the republic. Salonica was also in the power of Venice until it was conquered by the Turks. Under Doge Foscari (1423-1457) an attempt was made to make Venice mistress of the north of Italy and to crush the power of the Visconti in Milan, and for this purpose a league was formed with Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, and Ravenna. The forces of the league were commanded by Francesco da Carmagnola. When the operations of the league were not successful, Carmagnola was accused of treachery, and on March 5, 1432, was beheaded between the two columns in the Piazzetta of San Marco. The war continued until it was put an end to by the peace of Lodi in April 1454, when Constantinople had already, by the shameful divisions between Greeks and Latins, fallen into the hands of the Turks. Venice had not succeeded in crushing Milan, but she had secured a position of superiority in the affairs of northern Italy. This success was mainly due to Foscari, but his enemies triumphed over him, and on October 25, 1457, he was compelled to leave the palace in which he had lived and worked for thirty-four years, and died a few days afterwards of a broken heart.

#### EASTERN EUROPE.

##### 1. HUNGARY, A.D. 997-1437.

We must now turn our attention to the East, and first to Hungary, which learned something of Christianity under Geisa (972-997), but was not organised as a Christian state till the reign of St. Stephen (997-1038), who received the title of king from Pope Silvester II. Under him it became a Christian feudal state with a king at its head, and was strengthened by the addition of Transylvania. Stephen was succeeded by Peter I. (1038-1041), and eventually by Geisa II. (1074-1077), who was a contemporary of Gregory VII., by whose influence Hungary became attached to the Latin church instead of to the Greek. A very important king was St. Ladislaus (1077-1095), who energetically rooted out the remains of heathen worship. Under Kolman (1095-1114), Croatia was added to the Hungarian crown, and the reduction of Dalmatia was attempted. He was succeeded by Stephen II.

(1114-1131), who suffered much in wars with Austria and Constantinople, and died childless, and, in 1131, by Bela the Blind, who reigned till 1141, and was followed by Geisa III., a minor, who ruled for twenty years. He welcomed German colonists into Transylvania, who still flourish there. Geisa was a warlike prince, and his reign was occupied by quarrels with Constantinople. His son, Stephen III., succeeded at the age of twelve, but civil war broke out, and Hungary found itself with three kings, two Stephens and a Ladislaus, recognised in different parts of the kingdom. It was settled that Bela, brother of Stephen III., should be educated in Constantinople, and marry the emperor's daughter. When Stephen died at the age of twenty-three, Bela returned from Constantinople, but secured his crown with difficulty, as his Greek education and connections made him an object of suspicion. He proved, however, a wise and powerful king, and reigned till 1196. He did much to introduce European culture into Hungary. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Emmerich (1196-1204), Croatia and Dalmatia falling to his brother Andrew, who married an ambitious wife, Gertrude of Meran. Emmerich got his young son Ladislaus recognised as king, but he only wore the crown for a year, and Andrew II. obtained the object of his desires. Constance of Aragon, the mother of Ladislaus, who had fled to Austria to escape the jealousy of Andrew, eventually married the Emperor Frederick II.

Andrew II. (1205-1235) proved a very weak king. His wife was murdered in 1214, and Andrew consoled himself with Iolanthe of Auxerre. In 1217, he went on a crusade, and on his return quarrelled with his son Bela, who had governed the kingdom in his absence. In 1222, he published the so-called "Golden Bull," which long continued to be the corner-stone of the Hungarian constitution. He died in 1235, and was succeeded by his son, Bela IV., a powerful king, who reigned till 1270. In his reign occurred the terrible invasion of the Mongols, which entirely ruined his country, while he himself took refuge in Austria. His last years were saddened by the death of his son and his wife, and he died himself at the age of sixty-five, one of the best kings that Hungary ever had. His successor, Stephen V., reigned for two years (1270-1272), and was followed by Ladislaus IV. (1272-1290). The reigns of both coincided with the struggle between Rudolf of Hapsburg and Ottokar,

**Wars with  
Constanti-  
nople.**

**Bela III.**

**The Golden  
Bull.**

and Hungarian cavalry assisted the Germans in the struggle on the Marchfeld.

The race of Arpad was now nearly extinct. Stephen, brother of Bela IV., of doubtful legitimacy, had married Catherine

**Contest**

**for the**

**Hungarian**

**Crown.**

Morosini, a noble Venetian, and had a son named Andrew. Ladislaus summoned him from Venice to Hungary, made him duke of Slavonia, and designated him as his successor. But his claim to the throne was hotly disputed, first by the nobility of Croatia, then by Albert of Austria, whom Rudolf had invested with the fief of Hungary, then by Charles Martel, grandson of Charles of Anjou, son of Maria, the sister of Ladislaus, and, after his death in 1296, by his son, Charles Robert. When Andrew died in 1301, the greater portion of the Hungarian clergy and the magnates hesitated to receive a sovereign from the hands of the pope, and turned their eyes to Wenzel of Bohemia, whose mother was an Arpad. He was accepted as king, and took the name of Ladislaus, but died in 1306 in consequence of his evil life. In 1310, Charles Robert of Anjou was recognised as king, and reigned well till 1342, when he was followed by his son, Louis the Great, who occupied

**Louis the**

**Great.**

the throne for forty years (1342-1382). He was frequently engaged in Italy, but in his own country he subdued the Lithuanians, the Tartars, and the Dalmatians. He became king of Poland, so that his dominions extended from the mouth of the Vistula to the Adriatic, from the western coasts of the Black Sea to the Baltic, and, ruling over a motley crowd of nationalities, he was equally beloved and honoured on the Vistula and the Save. He was a good legislator, and exerted himself to extirpate heathendom and to put Christianity in its place. At the Diet held at Ofen in 1351, he confirmed the Golden Bull of Andrew II. His death was followed by a time of trouble and confusion, which ended by the reception as king

**Sigismund.**

of Sigismund, who had married Maria, daughter of Louis. He reigned from 1386 to 1437, and was, as we already know, emperor, king of Germany, and king of Bohemia.

## 2. POLAND AND RUSSIA, A.D. 862-1472.

The fortunes of Poland, Russia, and the Turks must be passed over lightly. The first came under the rule of the Piasts,

a family who, starting from the Warthe and the Neisse in the middle of the tenth century, gradually extended their power. The greatest king of this race was Casimir III., who was succeeded in 1370 by his nephew, **The Piasts.** Louis the Great of Hungary, of whom we have already heard. Louis' younger daughter, Hedwig, married Jagello, grand prince of Lithuania, and founded a new dynasty, which continued far beyond our period.

The earliest rulers of Russia were called Grand Princes of Kiev, and the first of these was Rurik, who reigned in Novgorod from 862 to 879. Vladimir, who was afterwards **The Grand** recognised as a saint, the true founder of the **Princes of** Russian empire, reigned in Novgorod from 972 **Kiev.** to 980, and in Kiev from 981 to 1015, having been baptized in 988. His dominions extended from the mountains of Volhynia to the gulf of Finland, to the White **Empire of** Sea and the northern Dvina, to the Oka and **Vladimir.** the cataracts of the Dnieper, and in the south were only separated from the Black Sea and the Crimea by the Petschenegen and the Chazars. After Vladimir's death, his crown was disputed by his two sons, Svatopluk, who reigned at Kiev, and Jarislav, who remained at Novgorod; but eventually Jarislav was recognised as the successor of Vladimir, and had a long reign, from 1016 to 1054. At his death he divided his kingdom amongst his five sons, the eldest, however, maintaining a position of superiority over the rest. He, however, proved an entire failure. The "Golden Horde" of the Mongols invaded the country, and became masters of it in 1241. But the race of Rurik survived, and **The Mongol** continued to assert its claims to the principality **Invasion.** of Kiev. At length, in 1328, Ivan Kalita, grandson of Saint Alexander Nevski, founded the principality of Moscow, which he held till 1340. He defeated the Mongols in the plain of Kulikov, on the upper Don, and **Ivan the** the horde was dispersed. Moscow now became **Great.** the capital of the new kingdom, and the power of the Mongols was finally broken by Ivan III., who reigned from 1462 to 1505. He gave unity to the Russian empire, making it one in language, religion, and government; and, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1456, made Russia the successor of the Byzantine empire by marrying Zoe (called in Russia Sophia) Paleologus, in 1472.



## 3. THE TURKISH EMPIRE, A.D. 1288-1453.

The Turkish empire was founded by Osman in 1288. He was the head of a conquering horde who, in the first half of the

thirteenth century, had, to escape the sword of the  
**The Turks.**

Mongols, wandered from Chorassan, where they had previously lived, to join their cousins, the Seljukian Turks, in Armenia. They numbered 50,000 souls. When Genghis Khan died in 1227, they attempted to return to their country, but Suleiman was drowned in crossing a river, leaving four sons. Two of them reached Chorassan, but the other two went westward, and found protection with Aladdin, sultan of Iconium. One of them, Ertughrul (1231-1288), was able to establish himself in Karahissar in Asia Minor, which became the cradle of the Turkish empire. Osman succeeded him in 1299. Osman

was a great conqueror. He obtained possession  
**Osman.**

of Chios, which he used for the subjugation of the other islands of the Aegean. Cenchrea, Philadelphia, Sardis, and Ephesus fell into his hands. He treated the Christians with great barbarity, from Thasos to Rhodes, from Troy to Cnidus. He even threatened Constantinople, which was weakly defended by its Emperor Andronicus. In 1326, Orchan, son of Osman, entered Brusa in triumph, and the news of its fall cheered the deathbed of the aged sultan. His body was buried in the palace chapel at Brusa, and the silver casket which held his remains was long an object of pious pilgrimage. Osman was a nomad prince of genius, who owed his success to his sword, his bravery, his religious zeal, and the nobility of his character. His son, Orchan, reigned from 1326 to 1359, and soon became master of Nicaea and Nicomedia.

Nicomedia fell in the year 1326, and, two years later, Andronicus III. became sole emperor of Constantinople, reigning

till 1341. He lost Nicaea by the battle of Philo-  
**Conquests of Orchan.**

crene in 1330, and from this time the Turks were masters of the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. Shortly afterwards, Bithynia fell into the hands of the Osmanlis, and Mysia, with Lydia and Ionia, followed the same fate. Orchan

founded the Janissaries, a body of converted young  
**The Janissaries.**

Christian soldiers, forming a brotherhood or religious order, who fought manfully for their new faith, but at last became too powerful, and the Spahis, the kernel of the Turkish cavalry. Andronicus III. was followed in

the government of Constantinople by Kantakuzenos (1341-1347), who acted as the guardian of John Paleologus, a boy of nine years old. He was opposed by the high admiral, Apokaukos, who conspired with Anna of Savoy, the empress-mother, so that the empire was distracted by civil war. An arrangement was made in 1347 by which Kantakuzenos was to keep the regency for ten years, and the young emperor was to marry his daughter. At the same time, his daughter Theodora was married to the aged sultan, by which he secured the assistance of the Osmanlis. Eventually, by the co-operation of the Genoese, Kantakuzenos was deprived of his power, and spent the rest of his life as a monk on Mount Athos, while John Paleologus held the Byzantine throne till 1391.

It is said that during the hundred years which preceded the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Turks crossed the Bosphorus twenty times. In the eighteenth of these expeditions, Suleiman Pasha, son of Orchan, conquered Gallipoli in 1356. He died in 1358, and two

**The Turks  
in Europe.**

months later was followed to the grave by his father. Murad, Orchan's second son (1359-1389), conquered Adrianople, and made Servia and Bulgaria tributary. He confirmed the Turkish possession of Asia Minor. In June 1389 was fought the fatal battle of Kossovo, the "blackbird" field, in which Christians fought against Turks for the possession of Eastern Europe, and the Christians were beaten.

**Battle of  
Kossovo.**

Lazarus, prince of Servia, commanded an army comprising Bosnians, Albanians, Wallachians, Herzegovinians, and a certain number of Hungarians and Bulgarians. No battle was ever fought with more personal energy and vigour. Man fought against man, breast to breast. Murad and his son Bajezid, with his iron mace, performed prodigies of valour. At last victory inclined to the side of the Turks, whose unity prevailed over the disunion of the Christians. But both the leaders perished. Lazarus fell in the battle, and Murad was murdered by a servant. He was buried in Brusa, and was honoured with the titles of lord and conqueror. Bajezid (1389-1403) was saluted as emperor on the field of Kossovo.

John Paleologus, being devoted to his second son Manuel, had excluded his son Andronicus and his son John from the succession in his favour, blinded them, and thrown them into prison. Hearing of Murad's death, they escaped to Bajezid and claimed his assistance. He gave them an auxiliary force of 6000 cavalry and 4000 infantry, by which John and Manuel were conquered

**Bajezid  
and the  
Byzantine  
Succession.**

and Andronicus was placed upon the throne. He refused to put his father and his brother to death as Bajezid advised, the consequence of which was that they also fled to Bajezid and persuaded him to effect their restoration. As Andronicus and John still retained some of their power, Bajezid was master of the situation, much as Napoleon was in his dealings with the court of Spain. All these events led to the battle

**Battle of  
Nicolopolis.**

of Nicolopolis, fought in September 1396, the decisive moment of a new crusade, preached by the pope, instigated and led by the future Emperor Sigismund, supported by French and Germans, English and Poles. The crusaders marched together to join Sigismund's Hungarian forces, which raised their numbers to something like 100,000 well armed troops. But the bravely contested struggle was decided in favour of the Turks, though, while the Christians lost 12,000 men, among them some of the noblest blood of France, the losses of the Turks numbered 20,000. Constantinople was in abject terror, but Manuel refused to capitulate to Bajezid, and in 1399 abdicated in favour of his nephew John, and journeyed to western Europe in a vain search for assistance.

Bajezid had now to withstand the onslaught of a more powerful enemy in the person of Timur the Mongol, called

**Tamerlane.** Tamur the Lame or Tamerlane, a successor of

Genghis Khan, whose empire he endeavoured to revive. Having conquered Chorassan and Kandahar, he set out in 1380 to reduce Persia. He occupied the Caucasus, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, and, in 1390, attacked southern Russia, and, in 1398, India. In 1400 he was recalled from the banks of the Ganges to put down a rebellion, and this time came into contact with Bajezid. In 1401, he marched into Syria, destroyed Aleppo, burned Damascus, and then, turning back to Persia, stormed Bagdad. At last a battle was fought between him and Bajezid at Angora, on July 20, 1402, in which Bajezid was defeated and taken prisoner; while Timur was preparing to carry him to Samarcand to adorn his triumph, he died on March 8, 1403, and was followed to the grave by Timur himself on February 19, 1405, when he was about to invade China. Timur's empire fell to pieces after his death, but he left a representative in India in the person of the Great Mogul.

Bajezid left several sons, who resided in their respective appanages, Suleiman in Adrianople, Mohammed in Tokat, Musa in Kutahia, and Isa in Brusa. Mohammed was the strongest, and, after ten years of strife, ruled alone from 1413 to 1421.

He may be regarded as the second founder of the Osman empire. His successor, Murad II. (1421-1451), began by attacking Constantinople, but without effect. John VII., Paleologus, son of Manuel, held the throne of Byzantium from 1425 to 1448. Murad II. pursued a career of victory. He conquered Thessalonica in 1430, came into conflict with the Venetians, and besieged Belgrade, the outpost of the Hungarian kingdom, in 1440. The Turks were driven back by John Hunyadi, who conducted a heroic struggle in 1441 and 1442. At this time a serious attempt was made to unite the Greek and Latin churches, and in 1438, John VII., Paleologus, went to Italy for this purpose. A council was held first at Ferrara and then at Florence, and Pope Eugenius IV. and the Greek emperor—the heads of the Greek and Latin churches respectively—were addressed by Cardinal Julian in Latin and by Cardinal Bessarion in Greek. The conference found the chief obstacles to union in the question whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from God the Father alone or from the Father and the Son, and in the papal claim to supremacy. A temporary union was secured by means of vague formulae, but the bitterness between the churches remained and prevented co-operation against the infidel.

**Conquests of  
Mohammed  
and Murad II.**

**John  
Hunyadi.**

**Council of  
Florence.**

Still an attempt at co-operation was made. Eugenius preached a crusade, but in this the political interests were more powerful than the religious. However, in 1443, an army, collected chiefly from the east of Europe, set forth accompanied by Cardinal Julian. The Danube was crossed, and Sophia and Nissa were conquered by Hunyadi on November 3, the Turks being defeated in a battle near the latter town. The war was closed by the peace of Szegedin, in July 1444, by which the Danube was fixed as the frontier between the Turks and the Hungarians. Murad now abdicated in favour of his son, Mohammed, who was fourteen years of age. This led to a breach of the peace of Szegedin, and to a new campaign, in which Castriota, prince of Albania, better known as Skanderbeg, was the leading figure. The western powers refused their assistance, so that the invading army did not exceed 30,000 men. It was attacked by Murad at Varna on November 10, 1444, and entirely defeated. In 1449, a second battle took place on the field of Kossovo, where, after a three days' conflict, the Hungarians were entirely routed by the Turks.

**An  
attempted  
Crusade.**

**Second  
Battle of  
Kossovo.**

Hunyadi and Castriota remained the only champions of Christianity. On February 5, 1451, Murad II. died, after having found a suitable wife for his son, Mohammed, who now became sultan.

The fall of Constantinople was not long delayed. The last emperor of Byzantium was Constantine XII., Paleologus, who succeeded in 1448. He at first attempted to renew friendly relations with the Turks, to which Mohammed was not averse. The young Sultan even went to Byzantium to make a truce with Hunyadi, but he knew that the fall of the great city could not be long delayed. Constantine did everything in his power to defend his capital: he sent for assistance to the pope and the other princes of Europe, who returned nothing but empty promises. The Western Christians were more enraged against the Eastern heretics than they were against the common foe of all Christendom. In the spring of 1453, Mohammed besieged Constantinople by both land and sea. He made use of a colossal cannon, cast in Wallachia, drawn by fifty pairs of oxen and two hundred men. His forces consisted of some 150,000 soldiers, his navy of 420 ships, to which the Greeks could only oppose 6000 of their own troops and 3000 auxiliaries. But, even in the crisis, the strife between the orthodox party and their opponents continued. At last the storm took place, on May 23, 1453. The brave emperor took his stand opposite the Janissaries, but he did not gain his desire of being slain by a Christian. At midday, the conquering sultan entered the town, and gave thanks for his victory in the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was soon after to become a mosque.

## CHAPTER XV.

FLORENCE, A.D. 1429-1492—THE END OF THE MIDDLE  
AGES, A.D. 1453-1519.

THE fall of Constantinople, in 1453, has by many writers been considered as the close of medieval history and the beginning of a new period of development. A large portion of the civilised world is henceforth cut off from the interests of central Europe, which is the chief object of our attention, and that portion of Europe begins to extend itself towards the west, creating new objects of interest and founding a new centre of gravity for the affairs of the world—a process which is still going on. But so much of the medieval spirit remained in life and in government that it is more convenient to fix the date of the transition some fifty years later—at the discovery of America, or the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, or even the accession of Charles V. It is impossible to embrace these years in a single view, and it is not the object of this book to give a detailed account of the states of Europe which now begin to form themselves, so we must hurry towards the end. But, before narrating the close of the Middle Ages, it will be convenient to describe the fortunes of Florence under the government of the Medici as an example of the transition which was taking place elsewhere.

We have already heard of the Medici—of Giovanni, who defended his city against the assaults of the Visconti of Milan in the north and of Ladislaus of Naples in the south, and died in 1429, leaving his power and fortune to his sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo. At this time, Florence, having subdued her rival, Pisa, was in undisputed possession of the whole course of the Arno from the Casentino to the sea, and controlled the commerce of Tuscany. Her love of freedom and commerce had so developed that she stood on a pinnacle of greatness when the other cities of Europe were losing their power. The city was full of splendid buildings, unrivalled works of art, of sturdy men and beautiful

**Prosperity  
of Florence.**

women. Arezzo and Volterra recognised her supremacy, and she cast longing eyes on Lucca and Siena. The most dreaded of the Condottieri, the commanders of bands of mercenaries, preferred the service of Florence to that of any other city, because she was always able to pay them their wages.

The Albizzi, who were the rivals and enemies of the Medici, determined to drive them out of the city, which was the usual

**The Albizzi** course taken in Italian political quarrels, and  
**and the** struck at Cosimo. They invited him to the  
**Medici.** Town Hall, which, under the name of the Old

Palace, still dominates the great square of the city, and, when he came there, deaf to the warnings of his friends, threw him into prison. He was in danger of poison and also of being condemned to death, but he succeeded, by bribery, in commuting his sentence to banishment, and was sent for ten years to Padua, his friends and relations suffering the same fate. This happened in 1433. Cosimo was received at Padua with the greatest honour, and the rulers of Venice, whither he soon removed, treated him not as a banished man, but as one of the highest rank. His friends in Florence were active in his favour, and when, in August 1434, the government of Florence was renewed, it was found that the ballot boxes were filled with names which belonged to

**Triumph of** the party of the Medici. A rising took place in  
**Cosimo de** the city which reached its height on September 26.  
**Medici.**

The aristocratic party, headed by the Albizzi and Peruzzi, were defeated, and would probably have been put to death if it had not been for the intervention of Pope Eugenius IV., who happened to be in Florence. As it was, they were either imprisoned or banished, and Cosimo and his friends and supporters were recalled from exile. He was greeted at the gates of the city by a joyous crowd, as the father of his people, and the saviour of the republic. Serious and magnanimous, he did not attempt to avenge himself, but endeavoured to secure

**His benefi-** the favour of the citizens by liberality and bene-  
**cent Rule.** ficence. The commercial operations of the Medici

extended over the whole world, and were the strength of Florence. By the wealth of the Medici, she was able to hold the balance between Milan and Venice on the one hand and the king of Naples on the other. She had also become the metropolis of western culture and a centre of enlightenment for the civilised world. To this period is due her majestic cathedral, dedicated to our Lady of the Flower, and consecrated by the pope himself. As we have heard, a council for the

reconciliation of the Western and Eastern churches was held in Florence, which was a great honour for the town.

Machiavelli, the historian of Florence, tells us that Cosimo was a man of middle height, of dark, olive complexion, and of noble mien. He was eloquent in speech, and, though with no learning himself, loved and honoured it in others. He introduced the study of Greek into Florence, and founded a Platonic Academy. The head of it was the great scholar Marsilio Ficino, whom he established in his palace, and also gave him a country house in the neighbourhood of his own villa at Careggi, where he might have more leisure to pursue his studies. Cosimo ruled the state for thirty-nine years, with honour and distinction. He died at the age of seventy-six, in 1464, and was succeeded by his grandsons Lorenzo and Giuliano, their father Pietro being alive, but weak in body and in mind, having always to be carried about in a litter.

Cosimo had a rival in the person of Luca Pitti, who built the great palace in Florence which now bears his name, and is the habitation of the king of Italy. An attempt of the Pitti to assert their power, in 1466, only made the Medici stronger than ever. The friends of the Pitti were banished, and the republic soon assumed the appearance of a monarchy. When Lorenzo was married to Clarice Orsini in June 1469, the festivities were celebrated with all the magnificence of a court. Pietro, the father of the two brothers, was released from his miserable life six months later, and Lorenzo, always called the Magnificent, was acknowledged as head of the family, and was regarded, together with his brother Giuliano, as a prince. The lordship of Lorenzo lasted for twenty-two years, from 1469 to 1492, a golden age for art and science in Florence. The form of republican institutions still remained, but the government was virtually a monarchy. But the exiles refused to accept the state of things, and worked hard for their return and for the overthrow of the brothers. For this, Bernardo Nardi was beheaded at Florence in April 1470, and the town of Volterra, which had joined their side, was captured in 1472, and was compelled to receive a Florentine garrison.

The conquest of Volterra increased the reputation of Lorenzo. Not only was the government entirely in the hands of the Medici, but they used their political position for great financial speculations which brought many people into their control. Almost the whole of the alum mines were in their hands; they had banking houses in many towns and countries, which were



branches of the head bank of Florence, and were directed by friends and clients of the central house. They treated the state income as if it were their private property. This success excited envy and hatred, and the attempts of Prato and Volterra were renewed in Florence itself.

Next to the Medici the most distinguished family in Florence was that of the Pazzi. They had, at one time, been members of the Medici party. Bianca, the daughter of Pietro,

**The Pazzi  
Conspiracy.**

was married to a Pazzi, and many of the family were placed at the head of the Medici banks; but this confidence gradually cooled, and turned into jealousy and hate. A cause for quarrel was soon found, and it was not difficult for the Pazzi to unite the enemies of the powerful house in a conspiracy for its destruction. Among them was Pope Sixtus IV., and Francesco de' Pazzi, who lived in Rome, came to Florence to stir up his cousins. Montesecco, a Condottiere engaged to assist Cardinal Riario, came also, to make the final arrangements. It was first intended to murder the brothers in their beautiful villa in Fiesole, well known afterwards as the Villa Mozzi, but the attempt was given up because Giuliano was not present. The crime was therefore consummated in the cathedral, at the very moment when the priest was elevating the host at the altar, and the whole congregation was kneeling. It had at first been arranged that one of the Pazzi was to murder Giuliano and Montesecco Lorenzo; but the Condottiere refused to commit sacrilege in a church, and the crime was entrusted to two priests named Antonio and Stefano, who would have less respect for the scene of action, but at the same time would be less experienced in assassination. It was intended that, after the deed, the conspirators should seize the palace of the government, and arrest the priors. On May 2, 1478, the deed was done. Giuliano fell, but Lorenzo escaped with a slight wound. The plot was an entire failure, and was punished with condign vengeance. Such was the conspiracy of the Pazzi, of which Machiavelli has left us an eloquent description.

The power of the Medici was vastly increased. Lorenzo had the authority of a king, but used his position for the advantage of the commonwealth. The ages of Pericles and

**Last Years  
of Lorenzo.**

Augustus seemed to revive in Florence. As Pope Sixtus IV. had been his enemy, Pope Innocent VIII., his successor, was his friend. Maddalena Medici married Franceschetto Cibo, of the pope's family, and her brother

Giovanni, who was afterwards Pope Leo X., received the cardinal's hat. At length, Lorenzo's life began to draw to a close. He had suffered long from gout, and withdrew himself from state affairs, living chiefly in his villas or in baths, where he sought alleviation from his pain. Assisted by the learned scholars Poliziano and Pico della Mirandola, in whose conversation he delighted, he gave the education of a statesman to his sons Giuliano and Pietro, to make them worthy of their inheritance. It is said that at the close of his life he sent for the great preacher and reformer Savonarola, to ask pardon for his sins, but Savonarola refused to give it unless he granted liberty to Florence. He died at his villa at Careggi on April 6, 1492, forty-four years old, and three weeks later Pope Innocent followed him to the grave. All Italy seemed to mourn for him. Two popes, Leo X. and Clement VII., sprang from his house, and two French kings took their wives from the Medici family.

#### THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES, 1453-1519.

The distinguishing mark of the Middle Ages is the authority held by the two great powers, the empire and the papacy,—sometimes striving for mastery, sometimes uniting for the benefit of civilisation, never attaining the high ideals formed in different ways by Otto III., by Hildebrand, and by Dante, of representing in harmony the material and spiritual forces of the world. We have seen how the papacy, tossed about on a stormy sea, raised to predominance by Gregory VII., and Innocent III., lost its power, first, by the removal to Avignon, and secondly by the Great Schism, not to be restored by the unspiritual culture of Pius II., or by the worldly strivings of Julius II. The empire was now to follow a similar course, and to yield to the inevitable influences of a new age. The Reformation destroyed for ever the bond by which the papacy had held together the spiritual forces of Europe. Charles V. was the last emperor who kept the countries of Europe in even outward unity, and all the time each was contending for individual independence and development. In Germany the struggle between old and new political conceptions imposed its influence and weakened the position of the empire. Germany oscillated between a republican and a monarchical institution. The empire, the territorial princes, and the towns and the peasant republic of

**Decay of the  
Empire and  
the Papacy.**

**Weakness  
of Germany.**

Switzerland were engaged in rivalry with each other, cherishing different ideals, unwilling to sacrifice any of them to obtain a new order of things. Nor were the relations of Germany to the other powers of Europe satisfactory. In the East, the Slavonic countries were increasing in power to the detriment of the Teutons. Something had been done by the creation of the German knights and the German conquest of Lithuania, but the Polish monarchy was supported by both Bohemia and Hungary. This led to a diminution of German influence, especially when it was realised that the Slavs and the Magyars were the best defence of Western civilisation against the invading Turks.

Pius II. attempted to remedy the loss of Constantinople by a new crusade, but times had changed, and religious interests had given way to political. The Genoese in Christendom and the Galata made a treaty with the sultan to protect Turks. their commerce in the Black Sea; the doge of Venice in vain attempted to declare war. A Diet was held at Regensburg in September 1453, where Turkish affairs formed a natural subject of discussion. But the apathy of Frederick III. and the disunion among the states prevented any common action. Aeneas Silvius, the most accomplished diplomat of his time, could not, even after (as Pius II.) he had mounted the papal throne in 1458, succeed in stirring up the powers of Europe against the Turks. The congress which he had summoned to meet at Mantua in 1459 only showed the impossibility of a common action; the southern Slavs were left to maintain their independence,—even their existence,—by their own strength.

Frederick III., threatened by a rebellion in Austria, had set free his ward Ladislaus of Bohemia, but Ladislaus died on November 13, 1457, which gave independence to The Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. Bohemia and Hungary, and dissolved the suzerainty which Austria had exercised over them. At the beginning of 1458, George Podiebrad was elected king of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus, son of John Hunyadi, king of Hungary. It happened that, at this time, Podiebrad was the prisoner of Corvinus, but he immediately set him free and entered into friendly relations with him. These two countries now became national kingdoms on an independent basis. Hungary turned her attention to the southern plains of Germany: Hussite Bohemia remained a thorn in the side of Catholic Germany. Podiebrad found

himself at the head of a powerful national army, and rich in mineral wealth. He gained influence in Germany by acting as arbitrator between the rival German houses, which were always quarrelling with each other. Two important German towns remained a firm defence of Teutonic influence. Breslau, German and Catholic, refused to bow its neck to Hussite Bohemia, and Dantzic set itself in opposition to the Teutonic Knights, who, in spite of their name, were becoming Slavic in character. Frederick III. dissolved the Order in September 1453, an action which was resisted by its mercenary soldiery, who were largely Bohemian and Polish. When the finances of the Order were exhausted, the mercenaries attempted to recover their pay by selling to their enemies the castles which had been pledged to them for it. Chief among them was the stately fortress of Marienburg. The Master of the Order took refuge in Königsberg, and in 1466 the war was put an end to by the peace of Thorn. The remains of the Order surrendered West Prussia to Poland, and received Samland and Pomerania as Polish fiefs. Lübeck, the capital of the Hansa, was delighted at the fall of the Order, as its members had become commercial rivals, bringing their own ships and sending their goods to Flanders, Holland, and England, and had thus made themselves unpopular.

At this time arose the Capetian monarchy of Burgundy, which originated in the grant of the duchy by King John to his son Philip, and now included the richest and most prosperous countries of western Europe, Brabant and Flanders, which had been since the thirteenth century great centres of commerce. There the Lombards and the Hansa exchanged their products. Also in the fourteenth century a new system of agriculture was developed in these countries, which gave them great wealth, and the whole of these possessions, consisting of large fiefs of land and trading towns, instinct with a republican spirit, fell into the power of the dukes of Burgundy. The Burgundian court was marked by the splendour of city architecture, by the development of painting in oils, by the genius of John van Eyck, and Philip de Comines, and by the establishment of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The creation of Burgundy not only threatened France but weakened Teutonic influence. Between 1439 and 1449, Philip the Good destroyed the power of town councils in Rotterdam, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. In 1465 he broke the independence of Liège, and in 1466 he

punished with terrible cruelty an attack on his possessions by her ally Dinant. When he died in 1467, he left to his son, Charles the Bold, an enormous treasure, which made him one of the richest and most independent monarchs of Europe.

Charles' dominions stretched, with occasional interruptions, from Friesland to Savoy,—and, while, as a French baron, he

**Projects  
of Charles  
the Bold.**

opposed the centralising policy of Louis XI., and “loved France so much that he wished her to have six kings instead of only one,”—in his own lands consolidation and centralisation were his dearest aims. He wished to acquire the territory necessary to connect all his French and imperial fiefs, and then to convert them into an independent centralised kingdom. He began in 1468 by annexing Liège. Then he took in pledge the Alsatian possessions of Sigismund of Austria, who hoped for his aid against the Swiss. In 1472 he made his last direct attack on France, ravaging Normandy, ostensibly to avenge Louis' brother Charles, whom he alleged to have been poisoned. Henceforward he devoted himself more and more to his German schemes. In 1473 he annexed Guelders, established a protectorate over Lorraine, with the right of garrisoning its strongholds, and visited Frederick III. to secure a royal crown and the succession to the empire, in return for betrothing his heiress, Mary, to Frederick's son Maximilian. He failed in these negotiations, and meanwhile the harshness of Hagenbach, his agent in Alsace, and his own attempts to obtain far more power there than Sigismund had possessed, drew together in a common alarm the free towns of Alsace,—Strassburg, Basel, and other Rhenish cities, and some of the Swiss cantons.

Trading on this alarm and on Sigismund's disappointment at Charles' failure to help him, Louis craftily united all parties in the League of Constance, to redeem Sigismund's lands. Charles, meanwhile, helping the archbishop of Cologne against his subjects, was authorised to garrison his towns, and in July

**Siege of  
Neuss.**

1474 began to besiege Neuss. But the siege dragged on for nearly a year: it drained his resources; it drew into the field against him a great imperial army, and even—at last—the reluctant emperor himself. Meantime Hagenbach was done to death by the League; the Swiss attacked Franche Comté; René of Lorraine deserted Charles for Louis; Louis invaded the Netherlands and the Burgundies; and Charles' promise to harass France in preparation for its invasion by Edward IV. became overdue.

So, in June 1475, Charles abandoned the siege and made peace with Frederick. But the English expedition proved a fiasco. Charles had no army ready to support it. The Constable St. Pol,—Edward's uncle by marriage and Charles' ally,—played them false. Louis offered a high price for peace. And Edward—disgusted with Charles and eager to save the balance of his war supplies—accepted the "Trêve Marchande" of Pecquigny, receiving an indemnity, a pension, a ransom for Margaret of Anjou, and the vain promise of the Dauphin's hand for his daughter Elizabeth.

Charles himself, though furious, made a truce with Louis which enabled him to conquer Lorraine. But his refusal to be content with this and renounce Alsace involved him in war with the hated and despised Swiss. Their pikemen easily outmatched his Burgundian knights and Lombard mercenaries, and Savoy only lost territory by aiding him. He was beaten at Grandson in March 1476, and at Morat in June. Then René attempted to recover Lorraine; the Swiss—hardly persuaded by Louis—gave their assistance; and at Nancy, on January 5, 1477, Charles' last army was routed, and Charles himself killed.

**Charles and  
the Swiss—  
His Defeat  
and Death.**

His death caused democratic movements throughout the Netherlands. Mary—distracted between the intrigues of Louis and the insolence of the Flemish towns—married Maximilian on August 18, 1477. He made peace with the Swiss, but the war with the French, who were defeated at Guinegate or Théroouenne in August 1479, went on till (on March 27, 1482) Mary died, leaving two children, Philip and Margaret. Then, backed by the Flemish cities, whose jealousy of Maximilian made them eager to see him weakened, Louis secured by the treaty of Arras the cession of the duchy of Burgundy, while both Artois and Franche Comté were assigned as the dowry of the child Margaret, who was betrothed and soon formally married to the Dauphin, who, however, when king repudiated the match and married Anne of Brittany.

Maximilian was elected King of the Romans in February 1486. At the outset of his career, he stood between opposing forces of great strength. He was not old enough or sufficiently mature to give effect to the ideal which he had conceived, and which his education had implanted in him. He represented two dynasties, whose union offered him a predominant position in Europe, but

**Maximilian  
and the  
Empire.**

their interests were in many respects discordant. He was bound to support the power of Austria, but it was difficult to obtain the money necessary for these purposes by laying burdens on the Netherlands. Teutonic influences had suffered severe

losses in the East, but this was largely compensated for in the West, by the fall of the power of

Italy. the papacy. Italy was divided into four governments, the feudal government of Naples in the south, Milan and Venice in the north, and the States of the Church in the centre. Between the despotism of the Sforza in Milan and the aristocratic commercial republic of Venice on the one hand, and the territory of the Roman church on the other, the banking house of the Medici had obtained a predominant position in Florence by their prudence, their wealth, and the political support which they had acquired. Their dynasty, founded on finance, brought a new factor into the old state system. It was at the same time a centre of culture and the leader in a new intellectual movement. Florence became the asylum for the

**Florence  
and the Re-  
naissance.**

classical learning which the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had driven towards the west. The court of the Medici, which has been already described, was the birthplace of the Renaissance. A new art and a new literature began to flourish, founded on ancient models, instinct with the best part of the pagan spirit, and developing a more or less constant opposition to the education of the cloister which had hitherto prevailed. Even the papacy was affected by this new movement, but what it gained in culture it lost in moral force, and Germany profited by the worldliness of the popes.

In the midst of these changes the government of Germany remained unaltered. The Diet still comprised about forty princes and about seventy or eighty imperial towns.

**Germany.**

These princes were beloved and obeyed by their subjects, but none of them had as yet developed the despotic power which characterised the tyrants of Italy. They were chiefly employed in administering peasant communities, and in increasing their revenues as much as possible. They were assisted by counsellors of gentle birth and by trained jurists. But the necessity of a better military organisation, caused by the Hussite wars, demanded the raising of new revenues. The richest princes were naturally the best armed, and the wealthiest of all were those of Saxony, who derived large revenues from the silver mines of the Erzgebirge. The military trains, the cannon,

and the horses of Saxony were the best in Germany. Duke Albert, who assisted Maximilian in his wars against the Netherlands, was the greatest commander and the richest speculator in mines of his age.

To meet the demand for money, which, at an earlier period, had been supplied by the Jews, large Christian banking houses were founded in southern Germany. Hans Fugger established a banking house in Augsburg, and on his death in 1409 left a property of 2000 gulden. In 1473 the Golden Counting House, as it was called, of the Fuggers was the largest banking house in central Europe, and managed the financial affairs of the house of Hapsburg. In 1480 the house of Roth in Ulm failed for the sum of 80,000

**The German Bankers.**

gulden. These Swabian bankers formed a connecting link between Venice and the Netherlands, and also took part in the new commerce which was arising between Portugal and the Indies. But none of these German houses attained a monarchical position like that of the Medici. The activity of the German banks was confined by the town councils on the one hand and the guilds on the other, and even when they had surmounted these obstacles they had little share in the government of the cities to which they belonged. As has been already said, they never produced a despot, and the German towns were spared the party conflicts which distracted Italian cities.

The Emperor Maximilian was essentially a despotic reformer. He was the organiser of German mercenaries, the creator of that type of military government called "Regiment," in which the principal offices were held by the standard-bearer, the captain, the sergeant, and the mayor. They had courts of their own, and, when judgment had been pronounced, the landsknechts stood around and stabbed the condemned prisoner to death with their spears. He helped to form the Swabian League, the object of which was to provide the empire with a more efficient army. This came

**The Swabian League.**

into existence in February 1488, but, just a month before, Maximilian had been taken prisoner in the market-place of Bruges. He was not released till May, when he had renounced the regency of Flanders and had sworn to dismiss his troops. The emperor, his father, soon came to his assistance with a large army collected by the Swabian League, upon which Maximilian recalled his oath, and proceeded to punish those towns which had treated him so badly. By the help of the Swabian League, Maximilian was able to strengthen his position both in the Netherlands and



Austria. In May 1490, Sigismund, count of Tyrol, abdicated in his favour; King Matthias Corvinus died on April 6, 1490; and, a few months afterwards, Maximilian, with the assistance of the army of the league, drove the Turks back again to their own country, and his title as king of Hungary was recognised by Ladislaus of Bohemia, who had been elected king of Hungary after the death of Matthias. This arrangement was confirmed by the treaty of Pressburg in 1491. In 1492, Albert of Saxony completed the pacification of the Netherlands. In May 1493, Maximilian concluded the treaty of Senlis, by which Charles

**Accession of  
Maximilian.**

VIII, having married Anne of Brittany, returned Franche Comté and Artois. When Frederick III. died on August 19, 1493, the power of the Hapsburgs was completely established both on the lower Rhine and on the Danube, and the result was greatly due to the Swabian League.

Outside Germany, Europe was governed partly by monarchs and partly by aristocracies. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary had aristocratic constitutions with very limited monarchies. On the other hand, the monarchies of France and England were strengthened by their struggles with the powerful families. In England the Tudors were at the head of a nobility which had been sorely weakened by the Wars of the Roses. The Valois kings of France had formed a standing army to keep down their vassals. They possessed a copious supply of mercenaries in the Swiss, and after the conclusion of the war with England, the fall of Charles the Bold, and the annexation of Provence, they ruled over a kingdom which presented a geographical and a national whole.

At the same time, the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, and the conquest of Granada, had created in Spain the mightiest monarchy in Europe.

**The Spanish  
Monarchy.**

The nobles sank under the power of the crown, now that the Moorish wars were at an end. The Inquisition, which had begun to act in 1480 against Moorish and Jewish heretics, became, under the protection of the crown, the most dangerous implement of Spanish absolutism against

**The States  
of the  
Church.**

every kind of opposition. In Italy, the States of the Church, under Pope Alexander VI., who reigned from 1484-1503, grew to be the seat of a military despotism, so that, with the exception of Venice, the whole of the peninsula was filled with monarchical governments. In the midst of this condition of things, Germany remained with her ancient antiquated constitution.

Just at this time, Charles VIII., king of France, marched over the Alps to invade Italy, crossing the mountains in August 1494, and entering Naples in 1495. The bastard house of Aragon, which since 1435 had taken the place of the Angevin dynasty in southern Italy, retired to Sicily on March 30, 1495; but Maximilian joined the powerful league which Ferdinand the Catholic now made with the pope, Milan, and Venice against France. At the beginning of April, he invested Ludovico Sforza, whose daughter he had married, with the fief of Milan, on condition that it should revert to the empire. Just before this, on March 26, he had opened his first Diet at Worms, and had obtained from the German Estates not only a supply of money for his journey to Rome, but funds for the creation of a standing army against the enemies of the empire. In the same year, Charles VIII., having left garrisons in Naples, returned to upper Italy. On July 6, he defeated at Fornovo the army of the league, which was lying in wait for him in the north of the Apennines, and the politicians in Worms were alarmed lest he should conquer Milan and attack the Netherlands. This fear brought about a closer union between the emperor and his Estates on August 7, 1495. It was settled that Maximilian should receive a new contribution from the empire, called the Common Penny, being partly a property, partly an income, partly a poll tax. A new Diet was to meet every year to control expenses, decide peace and war, and promulgate the judgments of the imperial courts.

**Charles  
VIII.  
invades  
Naples.**

**Maximilian  
and the  
Estates.**

This was the first serious attempt to reform the German constitution, but the circumstances of the country prevented it from coming into operation. The imperial knights clamoured for their ancient right of serving the empire with the sword, and objected to commute this service for a money payment. The Swiss refused to accept the decisions of the imperial courts, and remained firm in their connection with France. The Netherlands followed an independent policy of their own. Philip, the son of Maximilian, who, a short time before had married the Spanish princess Joanna, made a separate peace with France in 1498, to the great disgust of his father. Maximilian himself cared more about retaining the strength of the empire in his own hands in order to play an important part in European politics, than about establishing a new constitution. He opposed with a certain asperity of temper the movement for reform,

**Failure of  
Attempts at  
Reform.**

and he was irritated by successive failures in his foreign policy. At the same time, the Estates watched every movement of their sovereign with natural anxiety, being alarmed lest their liberty should be endangered by a successful war with an external foe. In this manner, Maximilian failed to gain a secure position for the imperial power against the Estates, and the supporters of reform were not able to find a permanent basis for the creation of the new constitution. The Swabian League, which was the chief support of the king, threatened to fail him, and the Swabian towns would have broken away from it if it had not been held together by the imperial knights. The weakness of its military organisation was shown in the war which it undertook against the Swiss in 1499. Maxi-

**Abortive Schemes of Maximilian.** milian suffered a double defeat by the French occupation of Milan in August of the same year, and by being compelled, a month later, to recognise the independence of Switzerland. Notwithstanding this, he would not give up his plans for the subjugation of Italy, and he made concessions to the Diet of Augsburg in 1500, in order to obtain supplies. But these arrangements came to nothing, and he was obliged to invest the king of France with the duchy of Milan.

During the next five years his position improved. He had many friends among the princes; his son Philip succeeded to the possession of Castile; he obtained a victory over the Elector Palatine; and the opposition in Germany was seriously weakened by the death of Berthold of Mainz, who was its principal leader. He was able, therefore, in 1505, to obtain from a Diet, held at Cologne, sufficient supplies for an expedition against Hungary, which was successful, and confirmed his hold on that kingdom. In 1506, Philip died, leaving two young sons, Charles and Ferdinand. This made it not improbable that a monarchy which would embrace the empire of Germany and the kingdom of Spain would be permanently established, and the result was that the emperor met with much opposition in the Diet held at Constance in 1507. When, the following year, he joined France in a war against Venice by the league of Cambrai, matters became worse, although in 1509 the Fuggers gave him a supply of 170,000 gulden. He held his last Diet in Augsburg in 1518. Here the electors declared that they would not submit themselves to the decisions of the imperial courts, thus opposing the very principles which they had before supported. The supplies

which he asked for an expedition against Turkey were refused, the princes saying that they must first discuss the matter with their Estates. Consequently, when Maximilian died on January 12, 1519, the constitution of the German empire was in a condition of complete disorder. Germany had failed in the attempt to form herself into a nation, while other countries had succeeded in doing so. The consequence was that the national energy was diverted from political struggles into the domain of religion, and questions of church reform occupied the attention of Germany for a hundred and thirty years.

**Death of  
Maximilian.**

We find that, at the close of the Middle Ages, the two great powers who ruled the European world—the empire and the papacy—had completely changed their character. Maximilian had assumed the title of emperor, not only without being crowned in St. Peter's, but without receiving the consent of the pope to the innovation. The efforts of the papacy under Julius II. were directed entirely to a military despotism in the centre of Italy. Under him as well as under his predecessor and successor, Alexander VI. and Leo X., the papal court was completely divorced from religious ideals, and was surrounded by an atmosphere of intellectual culture, which on the one hand destroyed the traditions of the faith, and on the other weakened the fundamental principles of morality. The monastic orders had entirely lost their ancient discipline. The state system of the western world no longer recognised the authority of the emperor or the pope, and the era of modern history may be said to have begun.



## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

#### CHARLES V. AND THE REFORMATION, A.D. 1519-1556.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Charles V., who united the possessions of Burgundy and the Hapsburgs, was in possession of an empire such as the world had not seen since Charles the Great. He was born at Ghent in the year 1500, a man of singular prudence, of acute intellect and untiring industry, eminent both in council and in the field. He was silent and determined, and carried out the policy which he had fixed, sometimes with more tenacity than scrupulosity. His body was weak, tormented with gout; his pale face and melancholy expression gave, at first sight, little promise of his genius. His possessions were enormous. Inheriting the Netherlands as a child on the death of his father Philip, he succeeded as a boy of sixteen to the monarchy of Spain, including the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, together with the new discoveries in America and the islands of the West Indies. At the age of nineteen, he became sovereign of the Austrian possessions of the house of Hapsburg, which he handed over to his younger brother, Ferdinand, first to govern and then to possess, and six months later, on June 28, 1519, he succeeded his grandfather, Maximilian, as emperor. With truth it might be said that he governed an empire over which the sun never set. It happened that he had two great rivals in Europe, Francis I., who was king of France from 1515 to 1547, and Henry VIII., who was king of England from 1509 to 1547. Seldom has the world seen three sovereigns of such singular capacity reigning together side by side. The two last mentioned were very like each other, but formed a singular contrast to Charles. They were passionate and impetuous, Charles slow and cautious. The morality of all alike was loose, but, while

**Empire of  
Charles V.**

**Charles,  
Francis, and  
Henry.**

governed by his mistresses, and Henry largely influenced by his wives, Charles sought guidance from experienced statesmen, the chief of whom was Granvella. Between Francis and Charles there ruled a bitter jealousy. Charles got the upper hand, but Francis was always a thorn in his side, and after the divorce of Catherine of Aragon Henry took the side of Francis.

The Reformation, begun by Luther in the little university of Wittenberg, in 1517, spread with surprising rapidity. It conquered the north of Germany, made great progress in Franconia and Swabia, on the Rhine in Germany. and the Danube, and extended itself from Frankfurt over Alsace and Lorraine. It was especially supported by the towns. In 1525, Albert of Brandenburg, Master of the Teutonic Knights, became a Protestant, and his example was followed in Curland and Livonia. The teaching of Luther made its way into Sweden under Gustavus Vasa—into Denmark, Norway, and Iceland under Christian III. It conquered in Bohemia and Hungary, where the reigning house remained true to the ancient faith, but the reformers obtained freedom of religion and equality before the law. Kings found the Protestant faith more favourable to their independence than the Catholic. The house of Wettin in Saxony was divided into two lines, the Ernestine and the Albertine, the royal house of England being descended from the latter. The princes of the elder line, Frederick the Wise, John the Steadfast, and his son John Frederick, were ardent supporters of the Reformation.

What Luther had effected in Germany, Zwingli began in Switzerland, but, while the first laid stress on the purity of religious belief, the second, a strong republican, paid more attention to social and political reform, and they differed hopelessly in their views of the Mass. The teaching of Zwingli took root in Zürich and Bern, and in the eastern cantons, and might have been accepted by the whole confederation had not its author perished in the battle of Kappel in 1431. Calvin, who agreed with Luther in his doctrines of predestination, but with Zwingli in his views about sacraments and the government of the church, occupied a middle position. From Geneva, which was entirely under his control, his teaching spread to Holland, to the south of France, and even to Italy and Spain, while it founded the presbyterian church of Scotland. In Germany it was represented by the Catechism of Heidelberg, which was bitterly opposed by the Lutherans. It also

**Zwingli in  
Switzerland.**

**Calvinism.**

laid great hold on the clear and logical intellect of France, though Francis I. had in 1515 concluded a Concordat with Pope Leo X., which gave the Gallic church a certain character of independence and placed it under the authority of the crown. The Inquisition made short work of the Reformation in Spain, its adherents being partly imprisoned and partly burned, in what were called Autos-da-Fé, or Acts of Faith. In Italy it was welcomed by the Humanists, and protected in Ferrara by the house of Este. In the Roman dominions it had not much chance, and was extinct before the end of the century. In Spain and Italy a new sect arose under Socinus, who died in 1561, and his nephew Faustus, who denied the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity, giving rise to the Socinians in Poland and the Unitarians in England. The Spaniard Servetus, who held similar opinions, was burned by Calvin in Geneva (1533).

**The  
Gallican  
Concordat.**

**Socinus and  
Servetus.**

Martin Luther, the originator of these divisions, was born at Eisleben in Thuringia on November 10, 1483, the same year as Raphael, which shows that the Renaissance and the Reformation were connected. He was educated for the law, first at Eisenach and then at Erfurt, but changed his mode of life, and became an Augustinian monk. After deep reflection, and many conflicts of the soul, he came to the conclusion that man was to be saved not by works but by faith, through the mercy of God in Christ. By the advice of his friend, Staupitz, the head of his order, he removed to the university of Wittenberg, recently founded by Frederick the Wise, where he gave theological lectures. He worked very hard in preaching and in the government of his convent, and, in 1511, came to Rome, where he lodged in the Augustinian church of the Piazza del Popolo. Some years later, Pope Leo X., in order to obtain money for the building of St. Peter's, issued a bull offering indulgences—that is, a remission of the pains of purgatory—for various sums of money, and the Dominican Tetzel was entrusted with the sale of these in Saxony. This aroused the anger of Luther, who resented the action with all the energy of his nature. On All Saints' Eve, 1517, he fixed on the doors of the Castle Church of Wittenberg ninety-five theses, in which he declared that the pope had no right to promise absolution on these terms, and that forgiveness of sins could come from God alone. In consequence of this, he was tried before the

**Luther.**

**The  
Question of  
Indulgences.**



Dominican Cajetan, in Augsburg, in October 1518. The result was uncertain. Luther appealed to a "better instructed pope," and took refuge with his protector, Frederick. The Emperor Maximilian died in January 1519, and it became necessary to choose a successor. Some of the electors were in favour of Frederick the Wise, but the pope, afraid of Charles, supported Francis I. of France, and Frederick took his side. The pope sent his chamberlain, Miltiz, to Germany, to offer to Frederick the Golden Rose. Miltiz tried to accommodate matters with Luther, admitted that there were abuses in the indulgences, and persuaded him to admit the supremacy of the Roman see. But John Eck, professor in Ingolstadt, summoned Luther to a disputation at Leipzig, which had the effect of driving him still further in the direction of reform. At this time, also, he was joined by the great scholar, Philip Melanchthon, who lived from 1497 to 1560, and whose activity in founding Protestant schools earned for him the title of the Preceptor of Germany. Eck now went to Rome, and persuaded the pope to issue a bull condemning Luther's principles, and ordering that his books should be burnt, and that he should retract within sixty days. This drove Luther to deny the infallibility both of the pope and the councils, and, on December 19, 1520, he marched with a number of students to the Elster Gate at Leipzig, and there solemnly burnt the pope's bull and some volumes of canon law.

When Charles was crowned at Aachen, at the beginning of 1521, he was advised by Hütten, Sickingen, and others to place himself at the head of the reforming movement, but the pope's legate, Aleander, persuaded him to take the other side. A Diet was held at Worms on April 16, 1521, which Luther attended, not without fears of suffering the fate of Huss. He boldly acknowledged himself the author of his writings, said that he could not retract unless it were shown that his opinions were opposed to Scripture, and ended with the memorable words, "Here I stand: I cannot do otherwise, God help me, Amen!" He left the Diet in safety, but, on May 26, his opinions were solemnly condemned by an imperial decree. Luther, under the protection of Frederick, lay hid in the Wartburg for nearly a year, under the name of "Gentleman George." During his absence, Carlstadt, who had assisted him at Leipzig, defended his principles at Wittenberg, but his cause was weakened by intemperate adherents, such as the Prophets of Zwickau and the Anabaptists. Yet the Reformation spread rapidly in Germany. Luther trans-

**Luther at  
Worms.**

lated the Bible, which he issued in parts, completing it in 1534. Hans Sachs, the shoemaker poet of Nuremberg, greeted him as the Nightingale of Wittenberg, whose coming announced the spring. Philip of Hesse joined the Elector of Saxony in supporting him. The imperial towns declared in his favour. Pope Hadrian VI., who had been the tutor of Charles V., did his best to reform the church and to remedy abuses, but he died in the second year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by Clement VII., a subtle Medici, who endeavoured to stifle the Reformation by acts of diplomacy. Germany was divided into two camps. Campeggio, the nuncio, persuaded the dukes of Bavaria and Austria and the greater number of the south German bishops to support the pope, while John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, together with a number of other princes and towns, took the other side. In the Diet of Spire, held in 1526, a compromise was agreed upon, by which the creed was to follow the territory, on the principle of "*cujus regio, ejus religio*." A rising of the peasants now took place in Germany, known as the Peasants' War, accompanied by great distress and destruction, and was put down with difficulty.

**The German Princes.**

Meanwhile Charles had other affairs to attend to. By the battle of Marignano, in 1515, Francis I. had acquired possession of Milan, Genoa, and a great part of Lombardy, which Charles determined to recover for the imperial crown. He made an expedition into Italy, supported by the pope, Venice, and Henry VIII. In 1521, Milan was conquered, and given to Francesco Sforza. Bayard, the French general, the knight without fear and without reproach, fell in battle. Charles's world-famous general was the Constable Bourbon, a Frenchman who had renounced his allegiance to the French king, against whom he swore revenge. He was at the head of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, whom he had welded into a formidable force. The battle of Pavia took place on February 24, 1525, in which Francis I. was defeated, and carried off to Madrid as prisoner. By the peace of Madrid, signed in the following year, Francis gave up his claim to Milan.

**Battles of Marignano**

**and Pavia.**

But no sooner had he returned to his own country than he was relieved from his oath by the pope, and formed, with Henry VIII. and some Italian princes, a Holy League against Spain. This led to a new attack upon Italy, led by the Constable Bourbon and Frundsberg. Rome was stormed on May 6, 1527,

and Bourbon fell in the moment of victory. The triumphant army, without its leader, committed every kind of excess, burning palaces and churches, while the pope shivered, with fever, a prisoner in the Vatican. Francis sent an army into northern Italy, under Lautrec, who penetrated as far as Naples. But Andrew Doria, with his Genoese galleys, went over to the emperor; Lautrec died; his army was decimated by the plague; and, at last, in 1529, the peace of Cambrai was signed, by which Francis surrendered his claims to Milan, and paid Charles a ransom of two million crowns for his sons, who

**Sack of  
Rome.**

**Peace of  
Cambrai.**

had been kept as hostages in Madrid, but remained in possession of Burgundy. Pope Clement VII., disturbed by the spread of Lutheranism in Germany, and enraged with Florence because it had expelled the Medici, made peace with the emperor for the suppression of heresy. On December 20, 1530, Charles received both the Lombard and the imperial crowns at the hands of Clement in Bologna, after which he laid siege to Florence, deprived it of its republican constitution, and placed it under the domain of a Medici duke.

A Diet was held at Spires in 1529, which altered the position of the emperor towards the Lutherans. Against this, a protest was signed, which gave the reformers the name of Protestants. To support this at the Diet of

**The "Pro-  
testants."**

Augsburg in June 1530, a document, drawn up by Melanchthon and approved by Luther, was accepted which defined the position of the reformers in matters of belief and received the name of the Augsburg Confession. The Diet having decided against the reformers, they made a defensive league at Schmalkalden in Thuringia, which led to the peace of Nuremberg in 1532, putting an end to religious conflicts for a time. John Frederick, elector of Saxony, became, in 1532, leader of the Protestant cause in place of his father John, a position which he held till his death in 1554.

**Peace of  
Nuremberg.**

It was not possible that Charles should attain such an eminence of distinction without having to fight for it. Francis I. married his son Henry to Catherine of Medici, the pope's niece, in order to attack Charles in Italy, but, in the same year, 1535,

**Charles at  
Tunis.**

Charles increased his reputation by the capture of Tunis and the destruction of the pirate, Hairaddin Barbarossa, who made the seas unsafe. Twenty thousand Christians were liberated from his prisons. The death of Francesco Sforza induced Francis to renew his

claims upon Milan, and as a preliminary he overran Savoy and Piedmont. Charles hastened to Provence, where he was opposed by the Constable Montmorenci, who flooded the low country, and by the obstinacy of Marseilles. However, by the exertions of Pope Paul III., a truce was concluded for ten years in 1538, which enabled Charles, in the following year, to pass through Paris to put down a rising in Ghent. In 1541, Charles, in his enthusiasm for civilisation, undertook an expedition against the Saracens of Algiers, which ended in complete disaster. This gave Francis an opportunity of renewing his attacks, and led to a fourth war against Charles, who was now allied with England, which began in 1543 and was ended by the peace of Crespy in 1544. Francis died on March 31, 1547. He was one of the most brilliant of the kings of France, which has been generally unfortunate in its sovereigns. He was a fine handsome man, full of the splendour and the enjoyment of life, fond of dress and of every kind of pleasure. He helped literature by founding the Collège de France and art by protecting Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini, but he set no bounds to his passions. He represented, only too faithfully, the strength and weakness of the French character, and this has made him one of the heroes of his country.

**Third  
French War.**

**Charles at  
Algiers.**

**Fourth  
French War  
—Death of  
Francis I.**

In the meantime the Reformation in Germany was pursuing a victorious course. Luther, worn out with the struggle of a tempestuous life, died at his birthplace, Eisleben, on February 18, 1546, and was buried at Wittenberg. A few months before, on December 13, 1545, Pope Paul III. had summoned a general council at Trent, which has remained as a landmark in the history of Christendom. The result was to confirm and harden the resistance of Catholic doctrine, and to destroy all hopes of accommodation and peace. Charles nerved himself for the struggle, and prepared for war. He obtained the assistance of the duke of Bavaria, who induced Maurice of Saxony to join the Catholics. He had succeeded his father Henry in 1541, as head of the Albertine line, and through hatred of his cousin, John Frederick, the supporter of Luther, had deserted the league of Schmalkalden, although Philip of Hesse was his father-in-law. At the Diet of Regensburg, held on March 28, 1546, which was attended almost exclusively by Catholics, he did homage to Charles, and received the decrees of

**Death of  
Luther.**

**End of the  
Religious  
Peace.**

Trent, under the condition that in his protected dominions the doctrine of justification by faith, the reception of the cup by the laity, and the marriage of the clergy should not be interfered with. The war of Schmalkalden now broke out, the leader of the Protestants being Schärtlin of Burtenbach, and fighting taking place on the Danube and the Elbe, the details of which need

**Battle of  
Mühlberg.**

not concern us. The Catholics won a great victory at Mühlberg on April 21, 1547, in which John Frederick was taken prisoner. He was condemned to death, but the penalty was commuted to imprisonment for life, and by the capitulation of Wittenberg on May 10, 1547, his dominions and his electorate were transferred to Maurice, so that the supremacy in Saxony was transferred from the Ernestine to the Albertine line, the last remaining Catholics in a Protestant country. On June 19, 1547, the Protestant leader, Philip of Hesse, together with Moritz and Joachim of Brandenburg, was invited to dinner by the Duke of Alba and treacherously captured. Thus Charles conquered, and his brother Ferdinand set himself to reduce Bohemia. Prague was occupied, Bohemia lost her liberties, and the Estates were deprived of their power of electing their kings.

The council which had met at Trent on December 13, 1545, continued to hold its sittings. Although intended for Germans, it consisted almost entirely of Italians and Spaniards, which gave it a character hostile to Protestantism. It declared the Vulgate to be the

**The Council  
of Trent.**

only authorised translation of the Bible, and gave tradition an authority equal to holy writ. It maintained justification by works, the authority of the priesthood, and the seven sacraments. Charles was disappointed, as he wished for peace between the two confessions, and desired the decisions to be

**Action of  
Paul III.**

kept secret. But Paul III., who was afraid that Charles would diminish the power of the papacy, not only published the decrees, but, under the pretext of a pestilence, removed the council into his own dominions at Bologna, broke his alliance with the emperor, and joined France. A minority of prelates remained in Trent, faithful to the emperor, so that the council was split into two divisions. Just at this time Charles had established his authority in Germany, which was a serious blow to the pope. A brilliant Diet was held at Augsburg on February 24, 1548, where the emperor induced the Protestant princes to accept the decisions of the council of Trent, provided that the dis-

cussions were renewed in that place. The pope could not accept this, but in May 1548 a truce was made, which bore the name of the Augsburg Interim, drawn up by **The Pflug** acting for the Catholics, and **Agricola** for the **Augsburg Protestants**, a compromise between the two confessions on the principle of Home Rule. When Charles attempted to enforce this, a number of dissenting clergy took refuge in Magdeburg, which was under a papal ban, and an attempt of Melancthon to establish another compromise under the name of the Leipzig Interim was no more successful.

On September 1, 1551, Pope Julius III., who was devoted to the emperor, brought back the council again to Trent, and there seemed some chance of its decrees being accepted, **Julius III. not only by the Catholic electors, but by Protestant and the Trent states such as Saxony and Würtemberg, in which Council.** case the emperor would have become the secular head of a united Christian church, and this distinction would have remained in his family. But these plans were rendered vain by the conduct of Maurice of Saxony. The aggrandisement of the empire threatened the power of the princes with destruction; south Germany was oppressed by the presence of Spanish and Italian troops, and there seemed a danger of Germany being converted into a Spanish province. Matters were brought to a head by the execution of the imperial ban against Magdeburg by Maurice of Saxony in October 1550. **Maurice of Saxony.** Maurice met with universal opposition. He became convinced that his position was untenable, and he determined to change his policy. But he acted with a diplomatic cunning which is scarcely distinguishable from duplicity. Still continuing the siege of Magdeburg, he made alliances with the friends of the Protestants. He even made a treaty with Henry II. of France. He then offered Magdeburg freedom of religion on the condition that it should recognise his suzerainty. He contrived a conspiracy against Charles, who was at Innsbruck, busied with the affairs of the council, attacking him from every side. Augsburg was occupied in April 1552, her religious freedom was restored to her, and the garrison of the emperor expelled. Metz was attacked by a French army, which penetrated to Lorraine, Alsace, and the upper Rhine; Maurice himself stormed the defiles of Ehrenberg and approached Innsbruck, so that Charles, to escape capture, fled over the mountains and took refuge at Villach in Carinthia. It was now the duty of Ferdinand to make peace, and, on August 22, 1552, the treaty

of Passau was concluded. It established complete religious freedom on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, abrogated the Interim, arranged that the council of Trent should have no authority over Protestants, and set the landgrave of Hesse at liberty. This was a great victory for the Protestants, to whom a second amnesty was conceded, all who had been imprisoned for their religious beliefs being set at liberty. John Frederick of Saxony died two years later, in March 1554, and Maurice died in the previous July of a wound which he had received in the battle of Sievershausen. He died the hero of the Protestants. He was succeeded in the electorate of Saxony by his brother Augustus (1553-1586), whose more famous grandson, John George (1611-1656), bore so prominent a part in the Thirty Years' War.

The recognition of religious freedom entirely shattered the plans of Charles V., with regard to both the empire and the church, and he was induced to leave the affairs of Germany more and more in the hands of his brother Ferdinand. A final arrangement was made by the peace of Augsburg, signed on September 26, 1555, by which the Protestant states who accepted the Augsburg Confession were granted not only entire freedom of conscience and religion, but also complete political equality with the Catholics. The subjects who did not agree with the religion of their prince were allowed to remove to another province, and were granted toleration if they remained. If this liberty settled the question of the disestablishment of the ancient faith, the more difficult question of disendowment remained, and became the cause of bloody conflicts, so that the peace of Augsburg was not a final solution of difficulties, but a temporary compromise. Still, the principle of the religion following the territory (*cujus regio, ejus religio*) established that authority of the German princes on which the constitution of Germany was afterwards based, the power of the emperor being correspondingly weakened. The emperor, who saw his great object, the unity of the western church, now entirely destroyed, lost his interest in the affairs of the world, and, his constitution being ruined by gout, determined to withdraw to the seclusion of a monastery and to prepare for death. In October 1555, in a brilliant assembly held at Brussels, he solemnly invested his son, Philip, with the government of the Netherlands, and in the following year with that of Spain and Naples, leaving Germany in the hands of his brother Ferdinand. On

**Treaty of  
Passau.**

**Treaty of  
Augsburg.**

**Abdication  
and Death  
of Charles.**

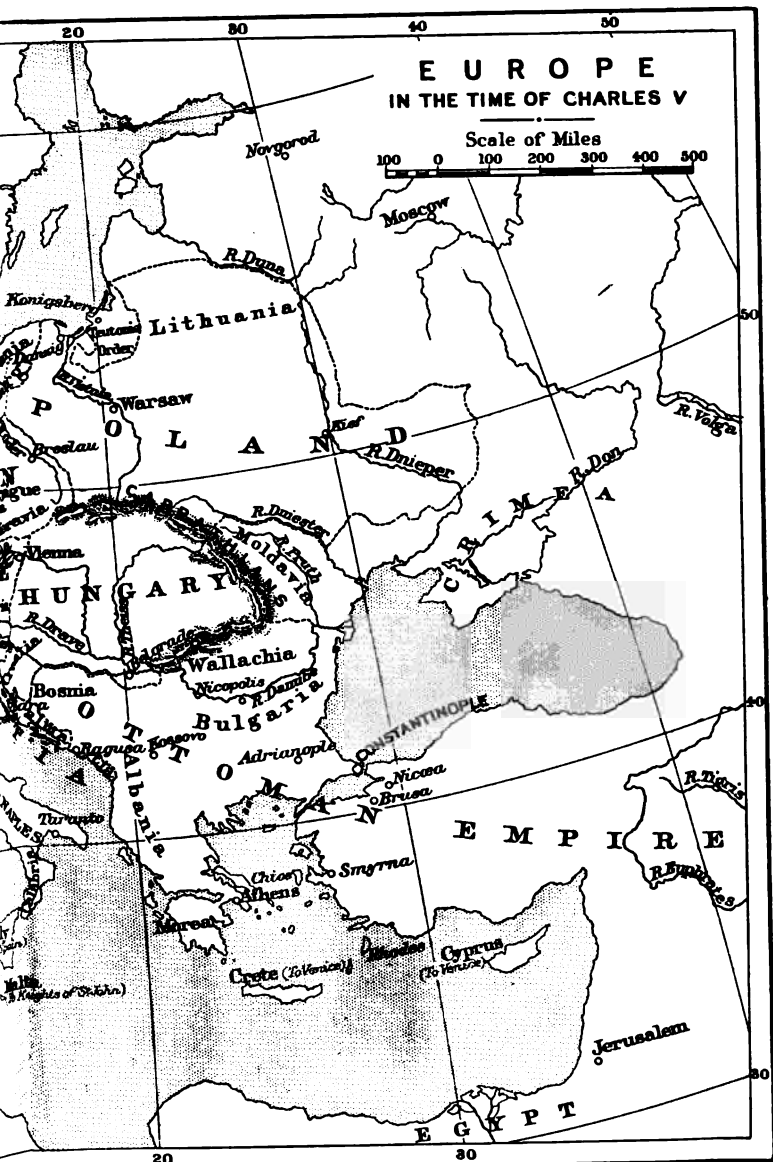






**E U R O P E**  
**IN THE TIME OF CHARLES V**

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September 7, 1556, he laid down the imperial crown, and retired to the monastery of San Juste, in the neighbourhood of Placencia, where he lived for two years in complete retirement, still, however, taking an interest in public affairs. He died in 1558, having solemnly rehearsed his own funeral. Ferdinand I. succeeded him as emperor, having solemnly engaged himself to preserve the religious peace, and a similar policy was followed by his son, Maximilian II.

We have thus far followed the fortunes of Lutheranism, but Calvinism now claims our attention. William Farel of Dauphiné and his friend the eloquent Viret fought vigorously for the new faith. Their doctrine was received in the Pays de Vaud (wrested from Savoy by Bern),

**Spread of  
Calvinism.**

in Neufchâtel, and above all in Geneva, which also, liberated from the authority of its duke and its bishops, was lying as unclaimed property waiting for its master. The task was taken up by John Calvin, born at Noyon in Picardy on July 10, 1509, who, beginning as a jurist, turned his attention to theology, was persecuted as an adherent of the Reformation, was compelled to fly, and settled in Geneva, where he administered

**Calvin at  
Geneva.**

the republic, reformed morals, and founded a church. His tyrannical government led to a second expulsion, but he was restored, and up to his death on May 27, 1564, he exercised a commanding influence in every department of the government, so that Geneva became for the south what Wittenberg was for the north. He was supported by able assistants. Theodore Beza (1519-1605), a gifted French nobleman, became head of the Geneva Seminary; the printer Stephanus circulated reforming literature. Geneva became a frontier fortress of religious freedom, a liberty strictly restrained by Calvin's personal opinions. Calvin had little imagination, but great intelligence, and was fanatically severe in both thought and action. He was strict with others as with himself, and cared nothing for popularity. He took a central position on the sacramental question, but was an ardent supporter of predestination and of the narrowest view of the atonement. He opposed all ritual, pictures, ornaments, organs, candles, and crucifixes. Worship was to consist of prayer, preaching, and psalmody. Goudimel was the Palestrina of this new movement. The Sabbath, strictly kept, was the only feast day. The government of the church was presbyterian, the presbyters or elders chose the clergy, administered strict discipline, morals, and almsgiving. Discipline was very severe: sinners were to be punished

in this world to escape worse punishment in the next. Amusements such as the theatre and the dance were strictly forbidden. Calvinism was better received by the wealthier and more educated citizens than by the common people. The doctrines of Calvin soon spread over French Switzerland, and found a home

**Huguenots.** in France, especially in the south, where the Albigenses had left behind them an example of endurance. The Calvinists received here the name of Huguenots. Persecution and death could not extinguish them. The faith

**Presbyterians.** spread into Holland, and gave rise to the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Puritans in England. It found many adherents in Germany, its chief

supporter being Frederick III., Elector Palatine, the author of the Heidelberg Catechism. It also made way in Hesse, in Anhalt, in Bremen, and even in Brandenburg.

**Calvinism in Germany.** Melanchthon was kindly disposed towards it, and at the close of his life was the willing or unwilling author of sects called Philippists or Cryptocalvinists, which at the end of the sixteenth century were violent opponents of Lutheranism.

## CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND, A.D. 1509-1558—THE COUNTER REFORMATION—THE  
REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS, A.D. 1556-1609.

THE Reformation in England is inextricably bound up with the mind and character of Henry VIII., and it is impossible to describe the spiritual movement without recounting the unworthy material policy which apparently caused it, although, in truth, the causes of this revolution, like those of so many others, lie beyond our powers of investigation. Henry VIII., who ascended the throne in 1509, and married Catherine, the sister of Joanna, mother of Charles V., in the same year, was a man of affability, good looks, courage, and kingly presence, of great ability, skilled in French, Latin, and Spanish, an excellent musician, well versed in theological controversy and a patron of the learning of the Renaissance. In early life he wrote a book against Luther, in defence of the seven sacraments, in which he defended, amongst others, the sacrament of marriage, and received from the pope, as a reward, the title of Defender of the Faith, which is still held by English sovereigns, although with a different meaning. In 1515 he appointed to the chancellorship his chief adviser, Thomas Wolsey, perhaps the ablest man who ever held that office. Wolsey desired that England should take a predominant position in the rivalry between the three young potentates of Europe—Charles, Francis, and Henry—and in this he partially succeeded. He was an ardent patron of learning, and wished to reform the abuses of the Church, without any great alteration of doctrine, or weakening the connection with the papacy. He was an admirable chancellor, and administered the office with impartiality and justice. His blind devotion to the king, who treated him with the most cruel ingratitude, prevented him from conciliating the support of the people, and it is said that he was deficient in spirituality, but he is hardly to be blamed for being more of a statesman than an ecclesiastic. England was not much affected by the earlier movements of the

Henry VIII.  
and the Re-  
formation.

Wolsey.

Reformation. In 1518, Wolsey was made papal legate, and, on the death of Maximilian in the following year, Henry supported the claims of Charles to the empire. The

**Henry and  
Charles V.**

year 1520 was memorable for the visit of Charles V. to England, and the meetings of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and of Henry and Charles at Gravelines. In 1521, Henry joined the allies of Charles and the pope against Luther, and received, as we have before noticed, the title of Defender of the Faith. Five years later, when Charles married Isabella of Portugal instead of Mary of England, Henry joined Francis against him, but this did not prevent Charles from sacking Rome, making the pope prisoner, and becoming the master of Europe. Henry now began to desire a divorce from his wife Catherine, a dignified

**Henry's  
Divorce  
Question.**

and estimable lady, of whom he was getting tired, and he used the pretext that she had been previously married to his brother Arthur, who had died at the age of fifteen. Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio were appointed by the pope to try the case, but forbidden to give a decision, Clement VII. reserving this to himself. Thereupon Wolsey was dismissed from office, and Sir Thomas More appointed chancellor in his place. A Parliament met, which sat for seven years, and is known as the Reformation Parliament.

**The Re-  
formation  
Parliament.**

In 1529 it passed an act which regulated the fees payable to the clergy, and forbade non-residence and engagement of the clergy in secular business. In 1530, Wolsey was arrested on a charge of treason, and died at Leicester, and in 1531, the clergy recognised Henry as head of the church "as far as the law of Christ should allow." In 1532, the first Act of Annates was passed, by which the first year's income of bishoprics, called annates, was taken from the pope and given to the king, and the clergy promised not to meet in convocation and not to pass new canons without the king's consent. On January 25, 1533, Henry married Anne Boleyn. Cranmer, a Catholic, but in favour of the creation of a national church, independent of Rome, was made archbishop of Canterbury, and in that capacity pronounced a sentence of divorce against Catherine. The Act of Appeals was passed, by which appeals to Rome, both in spiritual and temporal matters, were made illegal.

The year 1534, during which the badge of Henry was formed by the letters H and A, united by a true lover's knot, was memorable in the progress of the Reformation. A second

Act of Annates ratified and enlarged the first, and the church was deprived of the power of electing bishops, which was practically given to the king, although the form of election was still preserved. Convocation was rendered powerless: Peter's Pence and all payments to Rome were put an end to. The marriage with Anne Boleyn was pronounced lawful, and her children were recognised as heirs to the throne. More and Fisher, who supported the legality of Catherine's marriage, were thrown into prison, and the first Act of Supremacy was passed, which abolished the authority of the pope in England, and gave Henry the title of Supreme Head of the Church in England. In 1535, Thomas Cromwell, the "**Malleus Monachorum**," the Hammer of the Monks, was made vicar-general. He had been secretary to Wolsey, and rose in favour at court by his master's fall. Able and unscrupulous, he did his best to make the king absolute both in church and state. He began an inquiry into the condition of the monasteries, which were the principal supporters of papal authority in the country. More and Fisher were executed for refusing to admit the king's supremacy, upon which Pope Paul III. prepared a bull of excommunication against Henry, which was issued in 1538. In 1536, the Reformation Parliament came to an end, after completing its work by the dissolution of the smaller monasteries.

**Complete  
break with  
Rome.**

**Thomas  
Cromwell.**

Henry was now supreme in church and state, and we shall see how he used his power. His first acts were to divorce Anne Boleyn, who was executed, and marry Jane Seymour, and to summon a new Parliament which gave him the power of naming his successor. Ten articles were passed by Parliament and Convocation defining religious dogma. Coverdale's translation of the Bible was authorised, and was ordered to be placed in all churches. These revolutionary changes were not submitted to without resistance, and a rising called the Pilgrimage of Grace took place in the north of England, partly in defence of the ancient faith.

**King Henry  
supreme.**

**The  
Pilgrimage  
of Grace.**

It was suppressed in 1537, and resulted in the establishment of the Council of the North, a court for the maintenance of order, which lasted till 1641, and in the dissolution of the larger monasteries. In this same year also Queen Jane Seymour died a natural death, after giving birth to a son, who afterwards became Edward VI. In 1539, the suppression of



the larger monasteries was completed, the king's proclamations were given, under certain restrictions, the force of law, and six articles were passed,—known as the Bloody Articles,—harshly enforcing the doctrine of transubstantiation, the refusal of the cup to the laity, the celibacy of the clergy, vows of perpetual chastity, private masses, and auricular confession.

In 1540, Henry married Anne of Cleves, but, as he did not like her, she was divorced, and he next married Catherine

**Fall of  
Cromwell.** Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk and cousin to Anne Boleyn. Thomas Cromwell was driven from power and executed, Henry delighting in

getting rid of his instruments as soon as he had no further use for them. A more conservative party, led by Gardiner and Norfolk, administered the kingdom. In 1541, Henry became king of Ireland and head of the Irish church, but Ireland continued to be Roman Catholic, although the state church was Protestant. In 1542, Catherine Howard was executed, and in the following year the king married his last wife, Catherine

**The Act of  
Succession.** Parr, who survived him. A Succession Act was passed in 1544, which left the crown, first, to

Edward and his heirs, then to Mary and her heirs, and then to Elizabeth and her heirs, but, by his will, if these heirs should fail, as they eventually did, Henry left his crown to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, duchess of Suffolk. Henry died in 1547, his last act being to order the execution of the duke of Norfolk and his chivalrous son the earl of Surrey, though Norfolk was saved by Henry's death.

Edward VI., the son of Jane Seymour, was nine years old at the death of his father. He received a strange education,

**Edward VI.** being full of an erudition which was too oppressive both for his mind and body, and inspired by an intolerant hatred of the old learning. It is idle to speculate as to what kind of a king he might have become. He was extremely conscientious and very devout, but he might have developed a tyrannous disposition like that of his father. The government was conducted by his uncle, the duke of Somerset,

**Somerset  
Protector.** under the title of Protector, who did his best to perform his duties. He favoured the Reformation, was desirous of a union between England and Scotland, and was devoted to the interests of the poor, who revered his memory. But he was not a born statesman, and he followed the example of Henry VIII. in enriching himself out of the spoils of the old church. His first acts were to

defeat the Scots at the battle of Pinkie, to repeal the six articles of 1539, to send commissioners round the country to remove pictures and images from the churches, and, while severely punishing vagrants, to inquire into the best means of relieving the poor. In 1549, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. was published, and an Act of Uniformity passed by which all were compelled to use it. This produced a rising in Cornwall, while a rebellion under Ket took place in Norfolk, to protest against the enclosure of common lands. Both were suppressed, and measures were taken for preventing trouble in future by increasing the powers of the lords-lieutenant in the counties and by remodelling the militia. But the disturbances produced the fall of Somerset, who was sent to the Tower, his brother, Lord Seymour, having been previously executed for high treason.

**Act of  
Uniformity.**

Somerset was succeeded in the protectorship by the earl of Warwick, who was made duke of Northumberland. He made peace with Scotland and France, restoring Boulogne to the latter, and, two years later, sent Somerset to the scaffold. Northumberland's religious convictions were weaker than his desire for his own aggrandisement. In 1552 was published the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., which was much more Protestant than the first, and a second Act of Uniformity was passed. At the same time, the personal zeal of Edward VI. for education was shown by the founding of more than fifty grammar schools out of the wealth of the monasteries and the chantries. Meanwhile economical changes, due partly to the destruction of the monasteries, were producing great unrest. Sheep farming became so profitable that large tracts of corn land were turned into pasture, which deprived many labourers of work and multiplied vagrants, who had to be suppressed. Also the new landlords had a desire to enclose lands which would have remained common under the monasteries. At the same time the opening up of new mines in America depreciated the value of gold, and the Tudor sovereigns were not ashamed of increasing the revenues by depreciating the coinage, a process the economical danger of which was not at that time fully understood. All this made the reign of Edward less successful than it otherwise would have been, but it will always remain remarkable as a period of stimulus to education.

**Northum-  
berland  
Protector.**

**Economic  
Unrest.**

Although the country was devoted to the old religion and cared little for the Reformation, the government was unwilling

to see a Catholic sovereign on the throne, and in his last days Edward was induced to leave the crown to his gifted and pious

**Lady Jane Grey.** cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who, alone among the sovereigns of England, deserves the name of Saint.

She was the daughter of Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, who had married Frances, daughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII., who, after marrying Louis XII., king of France, had made a second union with Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Lady Jane had married Dudley, the son of Northumberland, and by his influence she was proclaimed queen on Edward's death. The rightful heir was Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, who was naturally a Catholic, and was proclaimed queen on July 19, nine days after her cousin.

**Accession and Marriage of Mary.** On the following day, Lady Jane Grey was arrested, together with her husband and his father Northumberland, who was beheaded. The

Catholic bishops were reinstated, and the church legislation of Edward VI. was repealed. In the following year Mary was betrothed to Philip II. of Spain, son of Charles V. Discontent against this Spanish marriage caused a rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent, and of the duke of Suffolk in the Midlands, which led to the execution of Lady Jane Grey, her husband, her father, and others, and the imprisonment of Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, in the Tower. No fairer or purer head than Lady Jane's ever fell upon the scaffold. Mary, having now rid herself of her chief opponents, duly married Philip.

Mary was, perhaps, not so bad as she is generally represented. It must be remembered that her mother was cruelly persecuted,

**Catholic Reaction.** and that she had five stepmothers. She was a strong Papist, and surpassed in bigotry even

her husband, who compelled her to make an alliance with Spain against France, but probably deprecated her harshest measures against the Protestants, though in Spain he freely used burning as an instrument of conversion. Mary was devoted to her husband, but he had no love for her whatever. Immediately after her marriage, he left England for two years. The principal advisers of Mary were Renard, the Spanish ambassador; Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been neglected under Edward VI.; and Cardinal Pole, a scion of the house of York, who had come to England as papal legate, and after Gardiner died became Mary's chief counsellor, and, in 1556, was made archbishop of Canterbury. The Marian perse-

cutions of Protestants began in 1555, and produced two hundred and seventy-seven victims, the principal of whom were Rogers, Hooper, Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. A large proportion of them came from the diocese of Bonner, bishop of London. The reign of Mary was short and miserable: she was always hoping for a child which never came, and she yearned for the love of her husband, who had none to give her. He had married her as prince, but in 1556, by the resignation of his father, he became ruler of Spain, the Sicilies, the Netherlands, and the Indies,—the most powerful sovereign in the world. In 1557, he compelled her to make war with France, which resulted in the loss of Calais, a calamity which contributed to her death. She said that Calais would be found imprinted on her heart. The next year both she and Cardinal Pole died.

Meanwhile the Reformation had spread to Scotland, where religion and politics became inextricably interwoven. James V. had died at war with England in 1542, leaving only an infant daughter, the famous Mary Queen of Scots. The union of England and Scotland by her marriage with Edward VI. was the aim first of Henry VIII. and then of Somerset; but the battle of Pinkie and Mary's retreat to France put an end to the project, and strengthened the old Franco-Scottish alliance. In 1554 her mother, Mary of Guise, became regent of Scotland, but here the Protestant nobles, styling themselves "Lords of the Congregation," and supported by many of the people, opposed her as a French woman and a Catholic. In 1558 the Queen of Scots married the Dauphin, but the same year the accession of Elizabeth enabled the Scottish Protestants to seek in England a natural ally against Popery and French domination.

**The  
Struggle in  
Scotland.**

### THE COUNTER REFORMATION

The advancing tide of Protestantism was met by vigorous efforts on the other side, which are comprised in the general name of the Counter Reformation. The first of these was the creation of the order of the Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola, born at a village of that name in the Basque country. The order was recognised by Pope Paul III. in 1540. Ignatius died in 1556, but before this the order had been wisely organised by his helper and successor, Lainez, who died in 1564. The leading principle was

**Loyola and  
the Jesuits.**

absolute submission to the authority of the General of the order, who obtained the popular name of the Black Pope. In this obedience, each member was to be "*tanquam cadaver*," like a corpse, as if he had no life or spirit of his own. One important work of the Jesuits was in education, on which they had a powerful effect, being perhaps the foremost educating body in the world: their educational system, organised by Aquaviva in 1594, had great influence in determining the curriculum of our English public schools. They also defended the church by maintaining intercourse with the highest classes in every country, their members being trained in courtly manners and address, and being drawn from good families. Further, they not only preached the gospel at home but also sent missions abroad—to India, China, and Japan (mainly by the efforts of St. Francis Xavier), to Africa, and to South America, where Paraguay belonged to the Jesuits entirely; and they had great authority in Brazil and the Spanish colonies. For the purpose of these missions, the great college of the Propaganda was founded in Rome.

A second weapon of the Counter Reformation was the Council of Trent, which still continued its sittings. Begun for the purpose of reuniting the divisions of the church, its first two sittings, from 1545 to 1548, and from 1551 to 1552, were ineffectual for this purpose.

A third period began under Pope Pius IV. in January 1562, in which all idea of reconciling the church with Protestantism was given up, and the organisation of a new and stricter form of Catholicism was alone considered. Twenty-five sessions were held, and their decisions were confirmed by the pope in 1563, and were generally accepted by the Catholic world, with the exception of France.

New orders were founded in the church in accordance with the new spirit which animated it—the Theatines by the powerful Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV.; the Oratorians, a more democratic branch of the Franciscans, especially devoted to the work of foreign missions, by Philip Neri; the Brothers and Sisters of Mercy, blessed in every hospital and on every battlefield, by John of God and Vincent de Paul; the Ursulines, devoted to female education; and the Lazarists. These activities were greatly assisted by the saintly Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, who died in 1587, and Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva, who died in 1622.

## THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS.

Philip II., who succeeded Charles V. in 1556 and reigned till 1598—an almost exact contemporary of our English Elizabeth, who came to the throne two years and died five years later—was a sombre, cold, and suspicious **Philip II.**

nature, a great contrast to his illustrious father. His chief objects were the increase of his power, the extinction of Protestantism, and the destruction of democracy. For these objects he sacrificed everything—the happiness and prosperity of his dominions, the love of his people, and the sanctity of family ties. The war with France which he found proceeding at his accession was put an end to by the peace of Câteau Cambrésis in 1559. But almost immediately after this broke out the Revolt of the Netherlands, a notable factor in the history of modern Europe. The Netherlands were governed at this time by Margaret of Parma, half-sister of **The Inquisition in the Netherlands.**

Philip, a woman of masculine intelligence and character. She suffered from the fact that Cardinal Granvella, son of the famous chancellor of Charles V., a narrow, crafty nature, was at the head of the council of state, and that the country was occupied by a Spanish garrison. In order to strengthen the Catholic faith and to extirpate heresy, fourteen new bishoprics were founded and placed under Granvella as archbishop of Malines, whereas four had hitherto been considered sufficient. The Inquisition was introduced from Spain, inquisitors were appointed for each bishopric, and Granvella was made chief inquisitor. Petitions for the removal of the hated ecclesiastic were presented to Philip, but received little attention, until they were powerfully supported by William of Orange, the Statholder of Holland, by Lamoral, count Egmont, Statholder of Flanders, and by Count Hoorn, who had withdrawn himself from the sittings of the council of state. In 1564, the decisions of the Council of Trent were introduced into the country, and attempts were made to reduce all the provinces to a uniformity of religion, both the Protestant north and the Catholic south, Philip saying that he would rather die a thousand deaths, and lose every inch of his territory, than allow the slightest alteration in religion. Imprisonments and executions of heretics followed in such numbers that William of Orange, although he had been born a Catholic, now admitted himself a Protestant.

The new belief was supported mainly by the middle classes: the nobles remained in the old faith, but they were strongly opposed to the proceedings of the Inquisition. In

**The  
"Gueux."**

November 1565, four hundred nobles signed a petition against it which went by the name of the Compromise. When they presented their petition to Margaret on April 5, 1566, she was astonished at the number of distinguished persons who supported it. Some one said that she had no reason to be afraid of "these beggars" (*gueux*). The name was taken up, the petitioners called themselves Gueux, and hung around their necks a medal with a portrait of Philip and a motto, "Faithful to the king, even to the beggar's wallet." The petition had no effect, and the persecution continued. But evangelical doctrines spread, hymns were sung, sermons were preached in the open air, monks and images were derided. A

**The Revolt  
begins.**

storm was evidently brewing, which broke out on August 14, 1566, in St. Omer, Ypres, Antwerp, and Brussels. In three days four hundred churches and chapels were destroyed, and the streets covered with broken pictures and images and articles of church furniture, costly works of art not being spared. This violence estranged the more educated amongst the reformers, and Margaret used her statesmanship to utilise this discord, while the Spanish troops reduced Valenciennes and Antwerp to order.

But the court of Madrid was opposed to Margaret's moderation. The Duke of Alba, the despotic servant of a tyrannical nation,

**The Duke  
of Alba.**

was sent to the Netherlands, with a picked army of Italians and Spaniards in August 1567. The inhabitants fled in terror, more than a hundred thousand tradesmen and artisans taking refuge in England and other homes of freedom. William of Orange, justly called William the Silent, returned to Germany, the country of his birth, to await events. He took leave of his friend Egmont at a village called Wilbroek, between Antwerp and Brussels, warning him in vain against Spanish treachery. The darling of the people, with his bosom friend Hoorn, was captured, and they were executed in the market-place at Brussels on June 5, 1568. Margaret, in despair, resigned her position and returned to Italy. Alba set himself to carry out his bloody work; the scaffold and the rack claimed their victims. The citizens of Antwerp were compelled to build a citadel for their own subjection. The son of William of Orange was carried off from Liège to Madrid, and brought up in detestation of his father.

Alba also made alterations in the taxes, which were beneficial to trade, but were unauthorised by local law and were hated by the people. The Estates protested: the Brusselers shut their shops, but were hanged for their pains. The exiles called themselves Sea Beggars, and occupied the port of Brill and other places in Holland and Zeeland. In 1572 William of Orange returned, and attempted to unite the northern provinces. He was elected statholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friesland. The opposition to Alba took a more serious complexion. Alba replied by murdering the rebels without distinction of sex, and plundering their houses. His soldiers, having satisfied their cruelty and lust, burned down the houses and the churches until even the court of Madrid became weary of their excesses, and, in December 1573, Alba was recalled. His successor, Louis of Requesens and Zuniga, adopted milder methods, but he did not remove the taxes and could not restrain the troops, nor could the well-intentioned emperor, Maximilian II., bring about peace. In the battle of Mookerheide, near Nymwegen (1574), two brothers of the prince of Orange fell, but Leyden still continued to be a centre of resistance. The town was besieged, and suffered the extremity of famine, but the citizens cut their dams and the Spaniards fled lest they should be drowned like Pharaoh in the sea. When the town was at last relieved, a Protestant university was founded. Orange's offer of the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland to Elizabeth was refused, but on the death of Requesens in 1576 those provinces conferred it on Orange himself, and "the Spanish Fury"—the sack of Antwerp by Spanish soldiers—enabled him to unite all the Netherlands in the Pacification of Ghent. Requesens' successor, Don John of Austria, had to accept the Pacification and dismiss the Spanish troops. But he soon turned round, and—while Orange was hampered by the arrival of Archduke Matthias as sovereign of the Netherlands on the invitation of the Catholic party—Don John obtained the aid of an army under his nephew Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, which defeated the rebels of Gemblours. Orange induced the duke of Anjou to become "Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands," and allied also with Elizabeth and with the German Calvinists, and he gained some successes. But Don John, dying in 1578, was succeeded by Parma, and his politic diplomacy, playing on religious sentiment, gradually won back the Catholic south to its old allegiance to Spain.



Orange, to oppose him, formed in 1579 the Union of Utrecht, which joined Holland, Zealand, Guelders, Utrecht, Ober-Yssel, Friesland, and Groningen in a confederacy founded on absolute freedom of religion. In 1580, Anjou accepted the sovereignty, but alienated his subjects

**The Union of Utrecht.** in 1583 by "the French Fury" in Antwerp, and died next year. A far worse blow to freedom was the murder of William the

**Murder of William the Silent.** Silent by the fanatic Gerard on July 16, 1584, at Delft. His second son, Maurice of Nassau, was elected his successor, and the Estates were controlled by the strong hand of Olden Barneveld. But Parma succeeded in occupying Ghent, Brussels, Malines, Nymwegen and, at last, Antwerp. The United Provinces turned for help, first to Henry III. of France, who declined for religious reasons, and then to Elizabeth of England, who sent the earl of Leicester to their assistance in 1585. He received the name of General Statholder, but he only held the office two years, during which Sir Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew, the most gifted Englishman of his day, fell at the battle of Zutphen.

Philip now prepared a final attack on England in the shape of the Invincible Armada, consisting of 136 ships, provided at the cost of about ten millions of money. The destruction of the fleet commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia and supported by Parma belongs to the history of England. Parma died in 1592, broken-hearted at the failure of his plans. Just before his death, Philip had determined to make over the Netherlands and Franche Comté to his daughter Isabella, who had married Albert of Austria, with the provision that if they had no children the provinces should revert to Spain. The southern provinces, the modern Belgium, accepted the arrangement: but Holland, backed by the northern provinces, whose independence had been recognised by several courts, continued its struggle for religious freedom. The Spanish General Spinola made head against Maurice, and took Ostend after a three years' siege, but the United Provinces held the sea and laid the foundations of an extensive commerce. A twelve years' truce was made by the contending powers, by the mediation of Henry IV. of France in 1609, but the independence of the United Provinces was not fully recognised by Europe till the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

**The Spanish Armada.**

**The United Provinces.**

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## CHAPTER III.

FRANCE, A.D. 1560-1610—THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH,  
A.D. 1558-1603.

IN the year 1560, Henry II., the chivalrous king of France, a worthy son of Francis I., died of a wound received in a tournament, and was succeeded by Francis II., who had married the lovely queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, whose mother, belonging to the house of Guise-Lorraine, was daughter of René II., duke of Lorraine. The Guises were a very powerful and pushing family, who soon obtained great influence at the French court.

**Death of  
Henry II.**

Their most prominent members were Francis, duke of Guise and prince of Joinville, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine. They were staunch adherents of the pope, and eagerly anticipated the succession of their niece, Mary, to the English crown. They exhibited their Catholic zeal by burning a councillor of Parliament, Dubourg, a man of noble character, for heresy, although the Count Palatine did his best to save him by summoning him to the university of Heidelberg. The mother of the two Guises was Antonia of Bourbon-Vendôme, sister of Anton of Bourbon,

**The Guises.**

who had married the heiress of Navarre and was father of Henry of Bourbon and Navarre, afterwards king of France, while his brother was prince of Condé. Another powerful family, closely related to those already mentioned, were the Châtillons, whose most prominent member was Admiral Coligny. There was a strong rivalry between the Guises and, the Bourbons, and, as the Guises were keen supporters of the old faith, so their adversaries placed themselves at the head of the Huguenots, having the advantage of being born Frenchmen while the

**The  
Bourbons  
and  
Châtillons.**

Lorrainers were regarded as interlopers. The conspiracy of Amboise formed by a Calvinistic nobleman, La Rénaudie, in 1560, with the view of setting the king free from the influence of the Guises, and placing

**The Con-  
spiracy of  
Amboise.**

the government in the hands of the Estates. The plot failed, La Rénaudie was killed, and his companions fell on the scaffold. This only caused the increase of the power of the Guises, and helped to give them an opportunity for severer measures. A meeting of the States-General, summoned at Orleans for the purpose of bringing about a religious peace, was used by the Guises for the destruction of the Bourbons, who were suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy of Amboise. Condé and Anton of Navarre were arrested, and were only rescued from a horrible death by the sudden demise of the king on December 5, 1560. Francis was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX., who was largely under the influence

**Catherine  
de Medici.**

of his mother, Catherine of Medici. Anton of Bourbon, who ought to have been regent, had to content himself with a lower position. The Guises lost their authority, and retired with their niece, Mary Stuart, to Lorraine, which she soon left for Scotland—a fatal journey.

Three religious wars ensued, which dated from 1562 to 1570. Catherine, in her heart a devoted Catholic, took up a middle position, and agreed to a conference being held at Poissy in 1561, in which Theodore Beza and Peter Martyr held an argument against the cardinal of Lorraine and Lainez, the head of the Jesuits. They attempted to get the persecuting edict unwillingly issued by the chancellor, l'Hôpital, modified, and freedom of preaching, prayer, and worship granted to the Calvinists, on the condition that their doctrines were in accordance with the Bible, and with the council of Nicaea, and that no synods were held by them without the royal authority. There seemed a likelihood of Protestantism gaining a surer position for itself, and at the same time the States-General at Pontoise threatened to endow France with a liberal constitution.

**The Poissy  
Conference.**

The Catholics became frightened. The clergy voted a large subsidy to the new king. The duke of Guise, the Constable Montmorency, and the Marshal St. André formed a triumvirate for the protection of the ancient faith. Anton of Navarre, a man of weak character, whose wife, Jeanne d'Albret of Béarn, daughter of Margaret, sister of Francis I., had allowed Beza to introduce the reformed doctrines into his dominions, and had educated his son Henry in that faith, was now persuaded, with the help of the Spanish court, to join the Catholics, and the massacre of the Calvinists at Vassy, in March 1562, gave the signal for the First Religious

**The First  
Religious  
War.**

War. France was divided into two hostile camps. On May 16, 1562, four thousand Huguenots were treacherously murdered at Toulouse. Where the Calvinists conquered, they destroyed pictures and ornaments in the churches, threw down crucifixes and altars, and profaned relics, while their opponents burned the Bibles and compelled the evangelicals to be rebaptized. The Catholics were supported by Spain and the pope, the Huguenots by Elizabeth. Mercenary soldiers were supplied by Germany and Switzerland. Death was rife among the leaders of the two parties. Anton of Navarre died before Rouen, in the battle of Dreux. Montmorency was taken prisoner by the Huguenots, Condé by the Catholics, and St. André was killed. Francis, duke of Guise, was murdered, and the murderer Poltrot falsely charged Coligny and Beza with being privy to the crime. Henry of Guise succeeded his brother. At last, in 1563, the peace of Amboise allowed the Calvinists freedom of worship in all towns, with the exception of Paris, and all feudal lords were to permit freedom of religion to their subjects.

**The Vassy  
Massacre.**

**Peace of  
Amboise.**

When, after the peace, the young king and his mother travelled through France, and saw the mischief wrought by the Protestants, and had met the duke of Alba at Bayonne, they became more bitter against the new faith. The Edict of Amboise was frequently

**Second  
Religious  
War.**

violated, and in 1567 the Protestants again took up arms in self-defence. Condé formed a plan of seizing the king and his mother, which, failing, enraged them still more, and the Calvinists were defeated in the battle of Saint Denis, in which Montmorency was killed. The Calvinists, however, held possession of La Rochelle. But the cardinal of Lorraine, assisted by Spain and the pope, had great authority, and the chancellor, l'Hôpital, was dismissed from his office. The conduct of the war was committed to Henry, duke of Anjou, the younger brother of the king, his mother's darling. Anjou

**Third War.**

attacked La Rochelle, which was defended by Condé, who had nearly met with the fate of Egmont, and was sustained by English gold. This began the third war in 1568. The day of Jarnac, next year, was fatal to the Huguenots, and Condé was shot after having surrendered. His place was taken by Henry of Navarre, with Coligny as adviser at his side. The reformers suffered another defeat at Moncontour in October 1569, but, in

**Peace of  
St. Germain.**

1570, both parties being weary of the struggle, the peace of St. Germain gave religious equality to the Huguenots.

Now followed the terrible night of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572. Charles IX. invited Coligny to the court, and treated

**Marriage of** him as a trusted adviser; he talked of making war  
**Henry of** against Spain in favour of the Netherlands; he  
**Navarre.** urged on the marriage of his sister Margaret of

Valois to Henry of Navarre, now the head of the Huguenots. How far Charles was sincere in this, we do not know, but Catherine and Anjou were implacable. They hated the admiral and dreaded a war with Spain; they remembered the advice of Alba, and joined the Guises in a plan to exterminate their rivals. Jeanne d'Albret died just before her son's marriage, it is believed, by poison, and, on August 18, an attempt to murder Coligny failed, as he was only wounded in the arm. The excitement of the marriage feast secured a favourable opportunity for the execution of their plans, which, after the attempt on Coligny, it was impossible to conceal any longer. At midnight on August 24, the great bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois gave the signal for the slaughter. Coligny, the first victim, was murdered in his room with the greatest

**Massacre of** barbarity. The revel of butchery continued for  
**St. Bartho-** three days; the example of Paris was followed by  
**lomew.** other towns, and it is said that at least 25,000 Hu-

guenots perished. The king is thought to have been carried away by the excitement, and to have shot victims from the windows of the Louvre. At any rate, he spared the murderers and condoned what had been done. Rejoicings were rife in Spain; a solemn Te Deum was sung in Rome. The Protestants fled from France, and sought a refuge in Switzerland, the Palatinate, and England. Henry of Navarre saved his life by a temporary abjuration. La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes defended themselves to the death. Elizabeth refused to speak to the French ambassadors who appeared before her throne. Charles IX., tortured by an avenging conscience and by evil dreams, died miserably on March 13, 1574, at the age of twenty-four,

**Accession of** and was succeeded by his brother Anjou, under  
**Henry of** the title of Henry III., who had, a year before,  
**Anjou.** been elected king of Poland. He reigned for

fifteen years, and showed himself a weak, vain, and self-indulgent sovereign, living with unworthy friends, neglecting public affairs, and, at the end of his life, seeking absolution for his sins by exaggerated repentance. The spirit of the Huguenots

still survived. Supported by the new party of the Politicals, and with the sword in their hand, they had defied all attempts at reconciliation and rendered the crime of St. Bartholomew useless.

To remedy the weakness of Henry III., a Holy League was formed in 1576, with Henry duke of Guise and Philip II. at its head, to defend their threatened religion.

Henry III. met the danger half way by calling himself the head of the league, which for a time

**The Holy League.**

interfered with its operations, and a peace was made at Poitiers in 1577, which allowed religious worship to the Huguenots and admitted them to all public offices. After a few years of uncertain peace, by the death of Henry III.'s only remaining brother, Henry of Navarre, a determined Protestant, became heir to the throne. This called the league again into life, as its supporters could not endure the prospect of a Protestant king of France. Henry of Navarre was placed under the papal ban by Pope Sixtus V., and declared unworthy of succession to the throne. Henry III. was forced to recall all the concessions he had made to Huguenots and to support the operations of the league. The War of the Three

**War of the Three Henries.**

Henries ensued, in which the league asserted its superiority. Henry of Guise hoped to obtain the throne for himself, declaring that he had the best right to it as a descendant of Charles the Great. In Paris, a league of sixteen was formed, consisting of an inner circle of the most fanatical members of the League, and it was determined to drive Henry III. from the throne and to put him to death. Henry, warned in time, defended himself by Swiss mercenaries. Guise went to Paris, where he found himself surrounded in a short time by 30,000 adherents. He had an interview with the king which produced no effect. It was reported that the heads of the League were going to be murdered, and on May 12, 1588, the Day of Barricades, the streets were defended by the people against an attack of the royal mercenaries. The king fled to Chartres, and left the capital to Henry of Guise, who assumed a position like that of the mayor of the palace under the Merovingians. At length, on Christmas Eve 1588, after a States-General held at Blois, in which the Guises showed their superiority, the king took the decisive step of murdering Guise and his brother, the cardinal, and seizing the heads of their parties. This hastened the death of Catherine of Medici, who expired on January 5, 1589.

**Murder of Henry of Guise.**

This violent action did not bring peace. The duke of Mayenne took his brother's place as head of the league. The king, deserted by his friends, excommunicated by the pope, despised by the people, without army or money, was forced to make an alliance with Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots

**Siege of  
Paris.**

in July 1589. He besieged Paris, and threatened to destroy it, when the dagger of a fanatical Dominican monk, James Clement, put an end to his life and avenged the murder of the duke. The last Valois died on August 1, 1589, and was succeeded by Henry

**Murder of  
Henry III.**

of Navarre and Béarn, descended from the fourth son of Saint Louis. Henry IV. had to fight for his throne. The League was supported by Spanish troops under the duke of Parma; it would prefer to receive a king from the hand of Philip II. than to suffer a Calvinist to occupy the throne of Saint Louis. Henry, however, defeated Mayenne at the battle of Ivry in 1590, and blockaded Paris. Still his victory was incomplete; Spain increased her forces, Mayenne openly claimed the throne, and was supported by many princes of France, so that the unity

**Henry IV.  
becomes a  
Catholic.**

of the kingdom was threatened. Henry IV. came to the conclusion that Paris was "worth a mass," and on July 25, 1593, was received as a member of the Catholic church in the cathedral of Saint Denis. Upon this, Paris opened her gates, the heads of the League came to terms, the pope removed his ban, and Philip II. made peace in the treaty of Vervins, 1598.

Henry IV. is justly regarded as the founder of a new French monarchy. On April 13, 1598, the Edict of Nantes was issued,

**The Edict  
of Nantes.**

by which Catholics and Protestants were placed in a position of complete equality. The reign of Henry was a time of peace, and stands in the annals of France as a golden age. Assisted by his admirable minister, the duke of Sully, the royal exchequer was always full and the people were relieved from taxes. The fondness of Henry for the female sex was scarcely regarded by his subjects as a crime, as Sully took care that France should not be governed by the king's mistresses. Henry's marriage with Gabrielle d'Estreys was prevented by her death. His marriage with Margaret of Valois having been dissolved by the pope, he took a second wife in the person of Mary of Medici. He was attempting to use his powerful position to bring about a union between the powers of Europe, to make

peace between the three confessions of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, in order to oppose the rising predominance of the house of Austria, when he was murdered by Ravallac on May 14, 1610. He was especially a king of the people, living with them and beloved by them. He engaged in manly sports, partly from the impulse of an exuberant nature, partly to escape from gout. At the same time, the apparent simplicity of his nature did not prevent him from being a distinguished diplomatist. He was every inch a king, and no devotion to pleasure or conviviality ever induced him to forget his duties as a monarch.

**Murder of  
Henry IV.**

#### THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, A.D. 1558-1603.

We must now take up the story of the great Elizabeth, who reigned from 1558 to 1603—in spite of internal troubles, civil and religious, one of the most brilliant periods in English history. Her accession came at a critical period in the history of the world. The Counter Reformation was making great progress on the continent, and in the reign of Mary had been accepted in England. It threatened not only the religion of England, but the crown itself, because one of its doctrines was that no heretics could occupy a European throne. During the reign of Mary, England had been practically a province of Spain. Philip, anxious to continue the state of things, offered marriage to Elizabeth, which was firmly declined, as Elizabeth desired above everything an independent position for her country. Pope Paul IV. had been a violent opponent of Spain, and his death in 1559 altered the relations between that country and the papacy, but the danger of alliance between Spain and France against England was removed by the death of Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth was able to ward off the influence of the Counter Reformation from England by keeping up friendly relations with France, though these were threatened by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and by secretly assisting the Netherlands against Philip. The Counter Reformation grew in strength till 1570, when the pope took the violent step of absolving the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance. But this action caused dissensions between the Catholic powers of Europe.

**Elizabeth  
and the  
Counter  
Reforma-  
tion.**

The reign of Elizabeth falls naturally into three divisions,



the first ending with the bull of excommunication issued by Pius V., the second with the beginning of the war against Spain in 1585, and the third with her death in 1603.) The

**William Cecil.**

chief minister of Elizabeth was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the founder of a family which has, ever since, rendered great service to the country. The main object of his life was to preserve peace. He was born in 1520, and was educated at Cambridge. By his marriage he became connected at court with the party which was favourable to the new learning and Protestantism. He was first appointed as secretary of state in 1550, but retired from political life after three years, and again became secretary of state in 1558. He was created Lord Burghley in 1571, and became lord treasurer in 1572. He died in 1598. His chief characteristics as a statesman were caution and moderation: he was deficient in initiative, but, as before said, he was a passionate lover of peace. He was before his age in possessing sound knowledge of commerce and finance: he reformed the coinage, encouraged maritime commerce, put down the irregular piracy which was rife at that time, and asserted the right of England to trade in the New World. His eminently cautious character tended to develop the same qualities in his sovereign, to which her temperament gave her a natural inclination, and which have sometimes been the cause of accusation against her.

In 1559 an Act of Supremacy was passed similar to that passed by Henry VIII. in 1534, which severed England from papal jurisdiction and established the Court of High Commission. This was accompanied by an Act of Uniformity which ordered the clergy to use a revised version of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI.,

and imposed a fine of a shilling upon the laity for absence from church without reasonable excuse. The Protestant exiles returned and received the name of Puritans, and other religious refugees arrived during the progress of the reign. Matthew Parker, a high churchman, who had received Catholic ordination, was made archbishop of Canterbury. The year was also remarkable for the return of John Knox to Scotland. In 1560, the treaty of

**Relations with Scotland.**

Berwick made between Elizabeth and the Scotch lords, who had expelled Mary of Guise from the regency, provided that the English queen should drive the French garrison from Scotland, on condition that the lords acknowledged Mary as their queen, and, in the same year,

after the conspiracy of Amboise and the fall of the Guises, by the treaty of Edinburgh, Mary was pledged to surrender her claim to the throne of England, and not to employ foreign troops without the permission of the Scotch Estates. But in 1561 Mary, returning to Scotland after the death of her husband, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

Mary Stuart was one of the most gifted and brilliant women known in history. She was beautiful, charming, and affable, well educated, accomplished in music and poetry, full of fun, and calculated to win all hearts. The **Mary Stuart.**

French poems which she has left us show the warmth of her feelings and her mastery over the language. Nothing is more touching than the poem in which she expresses her sadness in leaving her beloved France and returning to the fatal and repellent shores of her own country. Elizabeth also wrote poetry, but her compositions express rather reason and reflection than spontaneity and charm. She also impressed the hearts of men, but rather by masculine strength of character than by charms which inspired passion. Elizabeth had spent her youth in stern seclusion, which had trained her in self-command and had initiated her in the art of caution and even of duplicity. Mary's youth had been free, open, and cheerful. Fond of splendour and representation, she followed the impulse of the moment. While Mary sought to bend all events to her personal desires, Elizabeth had learnt to subordinate her own gratification to higher objects. But the circumstances of the time demanded characters like Elizabeth's rather than like Mary's. It was the mission of England, regardless of her ruler's personal tastes, to stand amongst the states of Europe as the vindicator of the Protestant cause and of political independence. In Scotland the situation was even less to the sovereign's mind. The Scotch had no sympathy with Mary's devotion to the Catholic religion or with her light foreign ways. The predominant part of the Scotch character was displayed in John Knox, and it is difficult to imagine a stronger contrast to Mary Stuart. The struggle between the two remarkable queens represented in its character the antagonism of the age, one of those epochs which stand out brilliantly in history, like the age of Pericles or the seething rivalries of the last years of the Roman republic—a time when personal qualities are permitted to shape the destinies of the world. It is a pity that such a subject was not illustrated by the genius of Shakespeare, but it has received attention from the inferior talent of Schiller.

In 1561, the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., made offers of reconciliation with England, which were rejected by the queen. She met Elizabeth them by a stricter repression of Romanism, and by imposing an oath acknowledging the royal supremacy over the church on every member of the House of Commons, on all persons taking a university degree, and on others similarly situated. She also gave help to the Huguenots, and in the following year the Thirty-Nine Articles were drawn up. But in 1564 a reconciliation was made between France and England by the signature of the peace of Troyes. In the following year, the fatal marriage took place between

**Marriage of  
Mary.**

Mary queen of Scots and Darnley. He came of a Catholic family settled in England, a branch of the Stuarts descended from Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., by her second marriage with the earl of Angus. He was a man of twenty, tall and well made, with personal attractions which might fascinate a woman like Mary at first sight. She fell in love with him. The union was pressed on by his ambitious mother, and Henry was married and proclaimed king. But his true character soon became apparent to his wife. He was vain and weak; his manners were rough; he had no love of literature or art. He found congenial companions in the wild aristocracy of his country, who delighted in the chase and tumultuous living. Elizabeth was soon informed that Mary had lost her love for her young husband. She insisted upon his being regarded as consort instead of king, and omitted his head from the coinage on which it had previously appeared. Darnley was angry at this, and attributed it to the influence which an Italian favourite, David Rizzio, exercised over his wife. A conspiracy was formed, and Rizzio was murdered in the queen's apartments. Darnley was certainly cognisant of the plot, if he did not take an actual part in it. Mary, who was deeply wounded in her feelings both as a woman and as a queen, said, with foreboding sullenness, "The time for tears has passed,—we must now think of vengeance." Less than a year later, on February 10, 1567,

**Murder of  
Darnley.**

Darnley was murdered in the Kirk of Field. Bothwell was the chief author of the crime, but it is impossible to doubt Mary's complicity in it, although the so called "casket letters," which are held to establish it, may be to a great extent forgeries. Bothwell was tried for his life, appearing before the court attended by an armed throng and riding Darnley's favourite horse. He was

acquitted, and the verdict was ratified by Parliament. Mary exhibited an infatuated passion for him, and said that she would sooner lose France and England, and wander in her shift to the ends of the world with Bothwell, than desert him in his time of need! On April 24, Bothwell was divorced from his wife, and on May 15, he married Mary at Holyrood, according to the rites of the Protestant church, and was created duke of Orkney and Shetland. This was too much for the Scottish lords. On June 15, 1567, was fought the battle of Carberry Hill, in which Mary and Bothwell were entirely defeated. Bothwell escaped to the Hebrides, where he led the life of a pirate, was taken prisoner by the Danes, and died in confinement as a lunatic. Mary was brought in triumph to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the island castle of Lochleven, where she was compelled to renounce the crown and to appoint her half-brother Moray regent, during the minority of her son, James VI. Mary contrived to escape, recalled her abdication, and, assisted by the powerful family of Hamilton, fought the battle of Langside, on May 13, 1568. Here, however, she was again defeated, and fled to England, to place herself under the protection of Elizabeth.

**Dethrone-  
ment and  
Flight of  
Mary.**

Elizabeth refused to have an interview with Mary so long as she lay under the accusation of having murdered her husband, but promised that she would restore her to her throne if she could refute the charges which were brought against her by Moray and other accusers.

**Mary in  
England.**

Mary protested that Elizabeth had no right to try her, as she was an independent sovereign, and Moray was unwilling to admit the authority of the queen of England in this respect. Mary continued to live in England in a condition of half imprisonment, but there is no doubt that her existence there was a danger to Elizabeth's throne and life. The duke of Norfolk had designs on Mary's hand, but in consequence lost first his liberty and then his head. The old faith had many supporters in the northern counties, and the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland raised the standard of rebellion, in order to persuade Elizabeth to set Mary free and to declare her right to the throne. They also proclaimed the restoration of the Catholic church, and sought help from foreign powers. Northumberland, betrayed by the Scots, with whom he had taken refuge, died on the scaffold; Westmorland escaped to Flanders.

Michael Ghislieri, a narrow-minded fanatic, held the papal

throne under the title of Pius V. from January 6, 1566 to May 1, 1572. He was a reincarnation of Paul IV., the embodiment of the Tridentine spirit. His one pleasure was

**Pope Pius V.** devotion; his delight was to walk in processions with bare feet and bare head, with a long white beard. But he was a cruel tyrant; he was obeyed everywhere, but obeyed with terror. He supported the Jesuits against England, Philip against the Netherlands, Catherine of Medici against the Huguenots, whom he hated so much that he ordered that they should never be made prisoners but immediately killed. On February

**The Papal  
Bull of  
1570.**

25, 1570, the pope issued a bull depriving Elizabeth of her kingdom, releasing her subjects from their allegiance, and forbidding both nobles and people to obey her any longer. The bull was handed to the cardinal of Lorraine, who was to publish it in England. It was intended to support the rebellion in the north, but it arrived too late for the purpose. It was eventually published in London by a devoted Papist named Felton, who was tortured and executed for his pains. It was met in 1571 by an Act of Parliament which made it treason to impugn the queen's title to the throne, followed by another which forbade the performance of Roman services, reconciliation with Rome, or the publishing

**Elizabeth  
and the  
Puritans.**

of bulls in England, under heavy penalties. But, although Elizabeth was stern against the encroachment of Rome, she was equally severe against Puritans. Strickland, a Puritan, who proposed to amend the Prayer Book, was forbidden to attend Parliament, and Cartwright, who professed the same opinions, was expelled from Cambridge. In 1576, the more moderate Grindal succeeded the high churchman Parker as archbishop of Canterbury, but, in the following year, he was suspended from his office for not being severe enough against the Puritans, and died in 1583.

Pope Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., had been, in his youth, devoted to the pleasures of the world, but, crowned

**Gregory  
XIII.**

with the tiara, he endeavoured to emulate the piety of his predecessor. He gave to the world, on February 15, 1582, the Gregorian calendar to take the place of the Julian; it was, however, rejected by Protestant countries as a papal invention. He showed great favour

**Rebellion in  
Ireland.**

to the Jesuits and in 1579 founded a Jesuit college in Rome, with the special object of converting England. Their activity was not long delayed. A rebellion in Ireland, stirred up by FitzMaurice, executed

by Desmond, and blessed by the pope, failed, and the foreign troops sent to assist surrendered at Smerwick. A more formidable attack, led by Campion and Parsons, was made upon England. They began by modifying the bull of Pius V., explaining that it only referred to Elizabeth and her councillors; that the English Catholics might obey Elizabeth so long as she was queen *de facto*. If she were deposed or killed, it would be their duty to obey the bull. It was declared to be no sin to obey a *de facto* sovereign, but the bounden duty of Catholics to support any efforts made to change the government. The example of Judith and Holophernes was recommended for imitation. Mendoza, who had made himself conspicuous in France, was sent to occupy the post of Spanish ambassador in England, which had been vacant for six years, and he gave every support to the Jesuit mission. He reported to his government that the nobles of the north, the supporters of Norfolk and Northumberland, were ready for a rising. Walsingham, the most powerful assistant of Burleigh, was charged with the task of defeating the designs of the foreign priests. They were denounced, seized, tried, and condemned for high treason. Campion, Sherwin, Bryant, and many of their companions were executed in November 1581. At the same time, the Puritans were sternly repressed by Elizabeth's third Archbishop, Whitgift, and the court of High Commission was vigorously used for this purpose.

**The Jesuits  
in England.**

**Execution  
of Campion.**

The blood of Campion did not cease to bear fruit. Francis Throgmorton, an emissary of the Jesuits, was executed in 1584 for his share in a Spanish plot. William Parry, who had been a favourite at court, returned from Rome with the intention of murdering his former benefactor, and even became a member of Parliament, and at his trial a letter was found written to him by the archbishop of Como giving the blessing of the Holy Father to his enterprise. These designs on Elizabeth's life and the murder of William of Orange, which happened at the same time, led to the expulsion of Mendoza from England in 1584, and the foundation in 1585 of an association to protect the life of the sovereign. A so-called bond was disseminated throughout the country and exposed for signature in the churches, binding everyone who signed it to contend personally against any attempt upon the life of the queen, so that if he violated his oath he would be guilty of perjury. All this threatened the position of Mary. She corresponded with the statesmen and

**Renewed  
Plots  
against  
Elizabeth.**

sovereigns of Europe, not as a prisoner, but as a proud and independent sovereign: "Two things," she said, "you cannot take away from me—my royal blood and my devotion to the religion of my fathers." The conspiracy of Anthony Babington

**Babington's  
Conspiracy.**

was formed in 1586. He was a young man of fortune and education, who had been Mary's page at Sheffield, and had conceived an enthusiastic admiration for her. Inspired by John Ballard, a friend of Campion, he came to England, found means of seeing Mary, who was then imprisoned at Chartley under Sir Amyas Paulet, and promised her that, with the help of a hundred trusty men, he would set her free and place her on the throne. Mary listened with favour to his proposal, but it is doubtful whether she had any knowledge that the murder of Elizabeth was part of the design. The plot was betrayed to Walsingham by Gilbert Gifford, who treacherously served both sides, and, just when Mary was expecting the day of her freedom, Babington, Ballard, Savage, and Tichborne were arrested, imprisoned in the Tower, and executed. Mary's correspondence was seized at Chartley, and her secretaries, Nau and Curle, arrested. Mary was removed to Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, where she was kept in close confinement.

It was determined to place her upon her trial. Her cause was heard in the great hall at Fotheringay, and, although she pleaded that as a sovereign she was not subject to the jurisdiction of any court, she was condemned to death. The verdict was laid before Parliament, which begged the queen to give effect to the sentence, for the maintenance of religion, the peace of the kingdom, and the security of her person. Elizabeth was in great difficulty; for weeks and months she could not make up her mind. It is said that she endeavoured to induce Mary's keeper, Sir Amyas Paulet, to poison her, which he indignantly refused to do. The sentence and the vote of Parliament were published in London on December 26, 1586, and led to a demonstration of popular feeling. At length, on February 1, 1587, hard pressed by her advisers, she signed the fatal document, but said that she would defer its confirmation by the great seal. Burleigh determined to dispense with this necessary formality, and gave orders for the queen's execution. On February 18, Mary passed from her apartments into the hall where she had been tried, clothed in black satin, an ivory crucifix in her hand, and met her fate with the dignity of a queen. She was now fifty-three years old,

**Trial and  
Execution  
of Mary.**

having been a prisoner for eighteen years. Her hair was grey with age and sorrow, but she died as she had lived, instinct with regal majesty, and faithful to the doctrines of her church. The news was received in London with acclamation, bells were rung and the streets were illuminated; but Elizabeth burst into tears, and was filled with wrath. She complained that her authority had been violated; she would not speak to Burleigh, and threw the Secretary Davidson into the Tower. The anger which Mary's son James ought to have shown was, however, entirely appeased by the promise of the succession and copious sums of money.

Two years before Mary's death, war had broken out between England and Spain. The cause of the war was obvious. Philip had determined to extirpate Protestantism and to make Spain supreme in western Europe, and he laid claim to the exclusive possession of the New World, a pretension which was not likely to be tolerated by seafaring Englishmen, the countrymen of Drake and Raleigh. Elizabeth made a treaty with the Netherlands, and Leicester was sent to help them. Raleigh founded a colony in Virginia, and Drake destroyed San Domingo and Carthage, and, in 1587, burned the Spanish shipping at Cadiz. But the culmination of the struggle lay in the preparation of the Great Armada, which was to bring victory to Philip, and the destruction of which is still one of the foremost glories of our country's history.

**War with  
Spain.**

The Great Armada was a collective enterprise of the Catholic world to ruin England as the champion of Protestantism. Pope Sixtus V., the famous Felice Peretti, cardinal of Montalto, the most powerful pope of the century, occupied the papal throne from April 24, 1585 to August 24, 1590. He had accumulated in the castle of St. Angelo a larger treasure than any other sovereign possessed. His money enabled Philip to build his huge fleet in the harbours of Lisbon and Cadiz. Cardinal Allen wrote to Philip: "With the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, with which you have crushed the Turks and triumphed over your rebellious subjects, you will also chastise the English heretics and that cursed woman, hated by God and men, and bring our noble nation back to its ancient glory and freedom." A manifesto, issued by Allen and Parsons, called upon all English Catholics to take up arms against the excommunicated queen. The losses inflicted by Drake at Cadiz had been healed; more than 130 ships lay at anchor in that harbour fully equipped. So powerful a naval

**The Great  
Armada.**



armament had never been witnessed in the western seas. A huge army of horse and foot, recruited in the Catholic provinces of the Netherlands and other places, was collected on the coasts of the Channel to support the fleet. Transports had been prepared in Antwerp, Nieuport, and Dunkirk. Success seemed certain. The appearance of the Armada in the Channel would be the signal for a rising of Catholics in Ireland, Scotland, and England herself. The expedition was to have set sail in the autumn of 1587, but the Admiral Santa Cruz represented that so stormy a season would be disastrous to the expedition, and it was put off. Santa Cruz died in the winter, and the command was given to Medina Sidonia. This breathing space was utilised by England for vigorous preparations. The whole country set itself to provide a navy. Howard of Effingham was made lord admiral, Drake and Hawkins lent their aid, the queen reviewed her troops at Tilbury, and the Catholic families declared that they would stand by their country in the hour of need.

The Armada left Lisbon in the second half of May 1588, but the weather was stormy, and the expedition did not reach the Channel till the middle of summer. It had been arranged that the fleet should meet the transports off Margate, and that, while Medina Sidonia sailed up the Thames, Alexander of Parma should march to London. The Armada was sighted off Plymouth on July 31, and was immediately attacked by a crowd of light ships, who worried it as a crowd of terriers might bait a bull. They could not, however, stop it, and, on August 6, the admiral reached the Straits of Calais. A landing was impossible without the help of Parma, and he lay idle in his harbours. At midnight a swarm of fireships was let loose from Dover against the unwieldy galleons of the Spaniards. A panic seized them, they weighed their anchors to escape the danger, and a south-west wind drove them towards the coast off Gravelines. Next day the English attacked them in full force, and the work of destruction was completed by a storm: "God blew with His winds and scattered them." Nothing remained for the defeated Armada but to return to Spain, and the only path lay by the coasts of Ireland and the north, and remains of the shipwrecked fleet are still found upon the iron-bound coasts of the sister island and in the fiords of Orkney and Shetland. England had for the first time in her history recognised her strength and the heroic character of her population. [ The defeat of the Armada is the beginning of England's greatness and the

triumph of her national consciousness. It justifies and explains the reputation of the reign of the Virgin Queen as the most brilliant epoch in our history.

The remainder of the reign need not detain us long. An expedition undertaken by Drake and Norris against Philip in Portugal failed. In 1591, George Raymond and James Lancaster made a voyage to the East Indies, which led to the foundation of the East India Company. The death of Sir Richard Grenville at Flores in the Azores, celebrated in poetry and music, belongs to the same year. Elizabeth continued to take a middle course between different conflicting religions, and, in 1593, Acts of Parliament were passed against the separatist Puritans who had left the Church of England and formed bodies of their own, their leaders Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry being hung on the charge of sedition, while a law was passed against Popish recusants. The last year of Elizabeth's life also saw the reduction and pacification of Ireland, which, by its Catholic religion, was a danger to the English throne. In 1595, the rebellion of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, who was assisted by Philip, was put down by Sir John Norris; a second Armada equipped for the relief of that country was destroyed like the first, for England is well defended by the stormy seas and tempests which break upon her shores; and Ireland was at length systematically reduced by Mountjoy. In 1598, as already mentioned, the long war between Spain and France was put an end to by the treaty of Vervins, and Philip also died in the same year, feeling that his attempt to establish a Spanish and Catholic supremacy over the neighbouring country had failed. Rather, in the course of history, Spain was to be subordinate to France.

In England, meanwhile, monopolies were abolished, and a poor law was passed, which remained for a long time a guide for our treatment of poverty, and by which, in every parish, the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor were empowered to levy a poor rate to be used in giving work to able-bodied persons out of employment, in relieving deserving but destitute poor, in building houses of correction, and in apprenticing suitable children. Elizabeth never recovered the shock of the execution of her favourite Essex, to which she had reluctantly consented, and the conviction that her power and influence were not what they had been. She spent days and nights lying on the floor

**Last Years  
of Elizabeth.**

**The Poor  
Law.**

supported by cushions, speechless, refusing medical aid. She rallied sufficiently to summon to her side Cecil, Egerton, and Howard, and declared to them that the king of the Scots should be her heir. Then she died on March 24, 1603, Archbishop Whitgift kneeling at her bedside, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign. She had fought and won a victory memorable in the history of the world. The independence and power of England are inseparably bound up with the annals of her rule.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, A.D. 1608-1648—ENGLAND,  
A.D. 1603-1649.

THE Thirty Years' War, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, and which now claims our attention, was a direct product of the Reformation struggle. The Protestants, clamouring for a trustworthy religious peace, persecuted in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, where the Jesuits were supported by the Archduke Ferdinand, formed in the year 1608 an Evangelical Union under the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV., who was a strong supporter of the Reformation. It was joined by the princes of Neuburg, Hesse, Cassel, Brandenburg, Baden, and Württemberg, but not by the elector of Saxony. To oppose this a Catholic League was formed in 1609, under Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. They came to blows over the disputed succession in Jülich, Berg, and Cleve, but soon made peace. The Emperor Rudolph II. was a clever and learned man, but he was no statesman, and he was unfitted to rule. He lost Transylvania, and would have lost Hungary too, if his brother Matthias had not insisted upon his delivering the country to him, together with Moravia and Austria. He was afraid of losing Bohemia also, and attempted to suppress the Protestants in that country; but, when they threatened him with arms, he gave in and issued in their favour a "letter of majesty," in which he allowed them, as adherents of the confession of Augsburg, a free exercise of their religion. The Bohemian Estates assembled and chose Matthias for their king, while the German princes compelled him to summon a Diet for the election of a successor. This insult caused his death in 1612, and Matthias received the imperial crown without opposition. As he was already advanced in years and without children, he was persuaded to nominate as his successor, his cousin Ferdinand, a descendant of Maximilian II., who was acknowledged by

Bohemia in 1617, and by Hungary in the following year. But the violent action of Ferdinand against the Protestants in his hereditary dominions caused the Protestants of Bohemia to fear similar persecutions, notwithstanding the protection of the letter of majesty, and they resolved, if possible, to prevent his succession.

At this time, party spirit was stimulated by the celebration of the Jubilee of the Reformation in 1617, the threats of the Jesuits to root out heresy, and the appointment of two men whom the Protestants specially detested, Martinitz and Slavata, as members of the imperial commission sent by Matthias to Prague. These things made the Bohemian Protestants more distrustful than ever. Matters were not improved by the treatment by the emperor of two new Protestant churches, one of which, at Klostergrab in the see of Prague, was pulled down, while the other, at Braunau, was ordered to be closed. The remonstrance of the Protestants was met by threats. In consequence, their leading representatives made their way into the council chamber, where four of the imperial council were sitting, and threw two of them, Martinitz and Slavata, as well as the secretary Fabricius, into the castle ditch—a deed known in history as the “Defenestration of Prague.”

Seeing that a breach was now inevitable, the Protestant estates took possession of the government, drove out the Jesuits, and occupied some fortified towns. In this manner, the Thirty Years' War began in 1618. Ferdinand, who had, in the meantime, been crowned king of Hungary, invaded Bohemia with two armies, while the other party sought the protection of the Union, which had, since 1610, placed the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., at its head, and had received the support of Brandenburg, Anhalt, several counts, and sixteen imperial towns. It began to open negotiations with Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, holding out to him the prospect of the imperial crown. He could not accept these offers, but sent money to raise mercenaries, and Count Ernest of Mansfeldt to command them, who had recently defeated the imperial troops at Czaslau. Mansfeldt conquered Pilsen, and forced the imperial generals to treat for peace. But on May 20, 1619, the Emperor Matthias died suddenly, upon which Ferdinand seized his hereditary territories, the inhabitants, however, refusing to do him homage. Lower Austria took the part of Bohemia, and Count Thurn,

supported by Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, marched upon Vienna, but, when Mansfeldt had been defeated at Budweis, he was obliged to retreat.

Ferdinand II. was unanimously elected emperor at Frankfurt, upon which the Bohemian Estates declared the throne of their country vacant and elected Frederick V., Elector Palatine, as their king. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, a princess who possessed, in great measure, the beauty and charm of her grandmother, Mary Stuart, and won all hearts,—and whose praises English poets like Sir Henry Wotton sang. Urged by the arguments of the court preacher Scultetus and of Christian I. of Anhalt-Bernburg, Frederick at last agreed to accept the precarious dignity offered to him. On November 29, 1619, he received the homage of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and renewed the treaty with Bethlen Gabor, who had become master of Hungary. He was recognised by Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and the Evangelical Union. He did not, however, conduct himself with wisdom, and became less powerful than his rival Ferdinand, who was supported by the wise and powerful statesman, Maximilian of Bavaria. Ferdinand received assistance from the pope and from Spain, the government of Poland sent him 8000 Cossacks, and John George of Saxony, although a Lutheran, was induced to take his side by the promise of Lusatia.

Maximilian marched into Upper Austria with the forces of the empire and the League, reduced the Protestants there to obedience, invaded Bohemia, and entirely defeated King Frederick in the battle of the White Mountain, close to Prague, on November 8, 1620. Frederick, who has always borne the name of the "Winter King," gave up all resistance and fled, first to Silesia and then to Holland. He now came under the ban of the emperor, who deprived him of his position as elector, seized the places occupied by Mansfeldt, reduced Moravia, and compelled Bethlen Gabor to make peace and to renounce his pretensions to the Hungarian crown. Bohemia was forced to become Catholic, the Union was dissolved, and the struggle was reduced to a conflict between Tilly and Mansfeldt. Tilly was beaten by Mansfeldt at Wiesbach in 1622, but soon afterwards took his revenge at Wimpfen and Höchst, overran the Palatinate, and plundered Heidelberg and Mannheim. The cause of Frederick was entirely lost; Mansfeldt and his faithful

The  
"Winter  
King" of  
Bohemia.

Battle of  
the White  
Mountain.

Victories  
of Tilly.

supporter Christian of Brunswick took service in Holland. Maximilian received for life the rank of elector, forfeited by the conduct of Frederick. Tilly was made an imperial count, and commanded the forces of the League.

After a short interval, Mansfeldt and Christian appeared in the field with fresh forces, enlisted with Dutch money, and the assistance of William and Bernhard of Weimar. But Christian was defeated by Tilly at Stadtlohn in 1623, so that he was obliged to return to Holland, where he was soon followed by Mansfeldt.

**Richelieu  
intervenes.**

At this time, France, under the control of the illustrious Cardinal Richelieu, becoming jealous of the success of Austria and Spain, made a secret alliance with England, Holland, and Denmark, and sent assistance to the Protestants in Germany, although Richelieu was persecuting them in his own country. Christian IV. of Denmark also came forward as a leader of the Protestant cause, while the

**Wallenstein.**

emperor accepted the support of Albert of Wallenstein, who raised an army at his own expense, and offered it in defence of the empire. This remarkable man, more properly called Waldstein, was born in 1583, the younger son of a rich Bohemian nobleman, educated by the Jesuits at Olmütz, and also at Altdorf, Padua, and Bologna. In his youth, he fought in Hungary against the Turks, in Italy against the Venetians, and received the title of count. Becoming wealthy by an inheritance from his uncle and a rich marriage, he raised a regiment of cuirassiers at his own expense, with which he helped the emperor to subdue Moravia, and fought against Bethlen Gabor in Hungary. He was created duke of Friedland in Bohemia, and afterwards prince. He now commanded an army of 50,000 men. Richelieu, pressed by the Huguenots, was obliged to retire from the confederacy, of which the pope had never approved, and this gave new strength to the Catholic cause.

The war reopened with a struggle between Mansfeldt on the one side and Tilly and Wallenstein on the other, until Mansfeldt, worn out with his exertions, died on November 20, 1626. It is said that, when he felt his end approaching, he put on his armour, and, supported by two aides-de-camp, died standing. Even before

**Wallen-  
stein's  
Victories.**

this, Christian of Brunswick had reached the end of his wild, passionate life at the age of twenty-seven, and King Christian of Denmark had been conquered by Tilly. Wallenstein occupied Silesia, and, uniting with Tilly, conquered Mecklenburg, and drove out both its

dukes. He then advanced to Holstein, and laid waste Schleswig and Jutland, not sparing Brandenburg and Pomerania. In 1628, he was created by the emperor duke of Mecklenburg, attempted to get possession of the coast of Pomerania, and, with this object, laid siege to Stralsund, which was, however, successfully defended by the help of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who now enters upon the scene. Wallenstein now found himself opposed by Sweden and Denmark, who were supported by England, France, and Holland, so that, in 1629, he thought it advisable to conclude the peace of Lübeck with the king of Denmark. Yet the cause of the Protestants was in evil case. Bohemia had, by harsh measures of persecution, been driven to become Catholic; Maximilian had procured for himself the hereditary possession of the Palatinate; and the emperor had induced the Catholic Estates to pass an "Edict of Restitution," by which all the property which had fallen to the Protestants under the treaty of Passau was to be restored, including the bishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg. The Jesuits, moreover, were masters of the situation, and the conditions of the religious peace were no longer observed. The terms of the edict itself were frequently changed so as to include property which had been Protestant before the peace of Passau. Augsburg, the cradle of the Lutheran creed, was placed under a Catholic bishop. Other imperial towns were forced to submit, but Magdeburg boldly withstood Wallenstein's Croatian troops. The emperor was, however, forced to mitigate his severity, because the German electors, led by Maximilian of Bavaria, became jealous of Wallenstein, and pressed Ferdinand in a Diet held at Regensburg, in 1630, to deprive him of his command. He had, indeed, assumed the arms of an independent prince, and the expense of his luxury had become enormous. His soldiers were guilty of great excesses: they destroyed churches, plundered indiscriminately, and reduced the peasants of the countries they occupied to such straits that they had to eat grass, and sometimes, it is said, the flesh of their own children. Ferdinand said that he would grant the electors' request if they would consent to the nomination of his son Ferdinand as his successor. They refused, but the emperor was compelled to dismiss Wallenstein, though he left him in possession of Mecklenburg.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, now took a leading part, landing on June 2, 1630, with 15,000 brave Swedish soldiers, on the island of Usedom, and occupying the coast of

**Sweden and  
Denmark  
intervene.**

**The Edict of  
Restitution.**



Pomerania, whence he issued a manifesto to the Protestant princes to assist him in maintaining the cause of their religion.

**Gustavus  
Adolphus.**

He possessed the soul of a hero in a powerful body, and was in the flower of his age. He united deep seriousness of character with friendliness and affability. He was versed in science, spoke four languages, and illustrated theological learning by heartfelt religion. He had exhibited great bravery in wars against Denmark, Russia, and Poland, and he now came into Germany, leaving the regency in the hands of a council of which his faithful minister Oxenstiern was president, and having persuaded the Estates to do homage to his only daughter, Christina, who was still a child.

Gustavus Adolphus, assisted by Duke Bogislav of Pomerania, drove the imperial troops out of part of that country, advanced into the Marches, and made preparation for the defence of Magdeburg, which was threatened by Tilly. Having made an alliance at Leipzig with several German princes, who were reluctant to trust him as a foreigner, he liberated Mecklenburg, took Frankfort on the Oder by storm, obtained leave to occupy Spandau as a place of arms, and asked John George of Saxony to permit him to march through his country to the defence of the beleaguered city. But while the elector was hesitating as to whether he should grant this request, on May 10, 1631,

**Sack of  
Magdeburg.**

Tilly and Pappenheim conquered and destroyed the town of Magdeburg, fifteen thousand of the inhabitants perishing in the storm. The storming of Magdeburg and the terrible cruelties which accompanied it are without parallel in any event of modern history, and rest as an indelible disgrace on the characters of Pappenheim and Tilly, whatever pains have been taken to repel the charge. On September 7, four months later, Gustavus Adolphus exacted vengeance for this crime by completely defeating Tilly and

**Battle of  
Leipzig.**

nearly killing him in the battle of Leipzig, which also bears the name of Breitenfeld. This caused the whole of Protestant Germany to regard him as their leader, and the wavering John George was compelled to take his side. Gustavus now marched through Franconia, established a Swedish governor in Würzburg, threatened Frankfort, crossed the Main at Oppenheim, took Mainz, and frightened the elector of Trier into seeking safety in neutrality. As in the meantime Tilly had captured Bamberg, Gustavus, committing the defence of the Rhine territories to Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, advanced through Nuremberg,

which received him with joy, to the frontiers of Bavaria, crossed the Lech, where Tilly was mortally wounded, and was solemnly received in Augsburg as conqueror on April 5, 1632. He then entered Munich in triumph just as the elector of Saxony was obtaining a similar honour in Prague. Tilly, who had conquered in thirty-six battles, died of his wounds at Ingoldstadt, leaving, in contrast to Wallenstein, only a small fortune. Ferdinand was now obliged to turn for assistance to this haughty general, who would only grant it on the condition of being endowed with absolute command, which Ferdinand was forced to concede. Wallenstein tried to recover the lost territories of Bohemia and Bavaria, and established himself at Eger on the frontiers of both. The armies lay opposite to each other for eleven weeks, at the end of which Gustavus stormed Wallenstein's camp with the loss of 2000 men. But on November 6, 1632, was fought the fatal battle of Lützen, in which the hero Gustavus Adolphus was killed, his faithful Swedes avenging themselves by a complete defeat of Wallenstein, under Bernhard of Saxe Weimar. He would not have been killed if he had not fallen from his horse and revealed his name to the imperial cuirassiers, who shot him through the head.

**Death of  
Tilly.**

**Battle of  
Lützen.**

The death of the Swedish king was a terrible blow to the Protestant cause. His place was taken by Axel Oxenstiern in civil and by Bernhard of Saxe Weimar in military matters, but the situation was made better by the murder of Wallenstein at Eger on February 25, 1634. Finding that the Emperor was again jealous of his power, he had entered into negotiations with France and Sweden. The emperor was not in any way responsible for the murder. An Irishman named Butler had promised the two imperial generals, Gallas and Piccolomini, that he would deliver Wallenstein to them, alive or dead, and the latter alternative seemed the easier of the two. His life and death have been immortalised by the genius of Schiller. His great fortune was confiscated, and divided amongst his enemies. After the departure of the two protagonists, the war loses its interest. The Swedes were defeated in the battle of Nördlingen in 1634, and Saxony made a separate peace with the emperor in 1635. The war dragged on till 1648, but was now a struggle between France and the empire for mastery in Europe rather than a conflict

**Murder of  
Wallenstein.**

**Battle of  
Nördlingen.**

between two religions. The Emperor Ferdinand II. died on February 16, 1637, at the age of thirty-nine, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. During these weary years, neither party gained any special advantage, but Germany suffered from both, and was exposed to a devastation from which it is sometimes said that she has not even now recovered. Movements towards peace were begun in 1642, but the peace of Westphalia, a great European settlement, was not concluded till October 24, 1648.

The peace of Westphalia stands on the same level as the treaties of Utrecht, Vienna, and Berlin. By it, France was confirmed in the possession of Alsace, and of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Sweden obtained considerable possessions in Germany, which were of little use to her and eventually proved her destruction, together with an indemnity of five million thalers. Bavaria retained her electorship, but an eighth electorship was founded for Charles Louis, the son of the unfortunate Frederick. Switzerland and the Netherlands obtained the acknowledgment of their independence. Quarrels about property between Catholics and Protestants were settled on a reasonable basis. The pope, indeed, declared the treaty null and void, but the bull in which this judgment was pronounced was never published in Germany. The Thirty Years' War entirely destroyed the prospects of Germany, as it existed at that time. Half its inhabitants perished by the sword, fire, and plague; many towns were annihilated, all suffered loss; countless villages disappeared; the land was turned into a desert; music, art, and literature ceased for a time to exist. It is said that in the war 10,000,000 human beings lost their lives. The population of Augsburg was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000. In Hesse there were burned 300 villages, 17 towns, 47 castles; in Würtemberg 158 manses, 65 churches, and 3600 other dwellings. Worst of all, the war produced a terrible deterioration of German manners and morals. Until the rise of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, the place of Germany in civilisation was entirely occupied by France.

The Thirty Years' War was nearly contemporaneous with the Civil War in England, of which we must give some account, but the plan of this book does not admit of much detail in English affairs, which ought to be studied in special histories.

## ENGLAND, A.D. 1603-1649.

The reign of James I., the successor of Elizabeth, lasting from 1603 to 1625, may be regarded as a prelude to that of Charles I., which ended in 1649. The ruin of the empire and the debasement of the papacy upset **James I.** the idea that royal power was derived from the one and consecrated by the other, and sovereigns were driven to claim divine right independently for themselves. James made himself conspicuous and even ridiculous in this respect, and he attempted to preserve the balance between the two religions by marrying his daughter to a Catholic prince, his son to a Catholic princess, having himself wedded the daughter of a country which was passing from catholicism to protestantism. He, however, preferred the subservience of the high church bishops to the brutal frankness of the Presbyterians. Although the Thirty Years' War broke out in his reign, and was closely concerned with members of his family, England took little share in it, partly from the national distrust of Buckingham and partly from want of money. For the first nine years of his reign, James was advised by Cecil, but after his death he fell into the hands of unworthy favourites. The year of his accession, which formed a personal union between England and Scotland (changed into a complete union in the reign of Anne), is marked by the Millenary Petition asking for relaxation in ceremonial observances; and two plots, the Main and the Bye, the first intended to overthrow Cecil, and probably place Arabella Stuart, descended from the second marriage of Margaret Tudor, on the throne, and the second to secure toleration. In the following year, a conference was held at Hampton Court between the bishops and the Puritans, which brought about the breach between the two parties, and produced the Authorised Version of the Bible, published in 1611, a masterpiece of English literature. James held four Parliaments in his reign—the first in 1604, the second, called the Addled Parliament, in 1614, the third in 1621, and the fourth in 1624. The first was marked by the peace with Spain, the Gunpowder Plot, and the persecution of Roman Catholics, and the quarrel between King James and Parliament with regard to the right of imposing customs. The Addled Parliament, elected by the influence of agents of the court called "undertakers," was so called because it was dissolved before passing any laws. Six years of arbitrary

government followed, marked by the influence of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whose friendship was so disastrous to Charles I. This period contains the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1618, the sailing of the *May Flower* in 1620, and the foundation of New England by the Puritans. The third Parliament was summoned to obtain money to assist James' son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, which was refused, although the Commons were in favour of an anti-Spanish and anti-catholic policy. The Commons, in opposition to the king, asserted their right to discuss all matters of state. James tore the protest out of the journals of the house, and dissolved Parliament. The fourth Parliament declared monopolies illegal, approved of a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria of France, which brought about a breach with Spain, and contemplated a war with that country for the recovery of the Palatinate, giving Mansfeldt 12,000 soldiers to help the Dutch, which ended in failure. In 1625 James died, and was succeeded by Charles I.

Charles was certainly an admirable man, and, in many respects, an excellent sovereign. During recent years, historical research has turned public opinion in his favour, and few would now approve of his execution. He believed in the divine right of kings, and had little sympathy with popular government. He led a pure life, was deeply religious, and was devoted to art, and stands, perhaps, alone amongst our sovereigns in the last respect. His reign came at a time when the powers held by the crown and those claimed by the Parliament came into conflict, and Charles had not sufficient intellectual ability to cope with the difficulty. Consequently, as might be expected in that position, he was more obstinate than firm, yielding when he ought to have been severe, and refusing to change when he ought to have given way. He believed in the right and duty of a sovereign to govern, and said, upon the scaffold, that king and people were "clean different," which describes his fundamental principles of conduct. During the first four years of his reign, 1625 to 1628, Buckingham was his minister, and three Parliaments were held, of which the first and third had two sessions. A dispute immediately arose about money. The Commons voted two subsidies, but would only give tonnage, which was a tax upon every ton of liquor, and poundage, which was a tax on every pound of dry goods, for one year instead of for life. Charles objected to this, and they were not given at all. In the

**First Dis-  
putes with  
Parliament.**

second session, Parliament attacked Dr. Montague, the king's chaplain, and Buckingham, showing that the troubles of the reign had both a religious and a political side. Parliament was dissolved. In the second Parliament, Sir John Eliot came to the front, a very strong man, who held the opinion that Parliament, and not the king, should govern the country, a view which was not supported by legal precedent. To carry out this principle, committees were appointed to investigate the evils which existed in the government, and were certainly inherited from the time of James. At the same time, both Montague and Buckingham were impeached, and Charles, to save Buckingham, dissolved Parliament. He had to raise money by a forced loan, and by the collection of tonnage and poundage without a grant; he also offended people by billeting soldiers in private houses. In 1627 Charles went to war with France, taking up the cause of the Huguenots against Louis XIII., his wife's brother. Buckingham led an expedition to La Rochelle, the stronghold of the French Protestants, which entirely failed. The third Parliament held two sessions, one in 1628 and one in 1629, in which the conflict between the two divergent principles of government began in earnest. Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, though a strong supporter of the power of the crown, did not approve of the policy of Buckingham, which he saw was weakening the principles that he desired to secure. He therefore joined Buckingham's adversaries and introduced a bill for reform. His policy was not accepted by Charles, and the battle had to be conducted by Eliot, assisted by Coke and Selden, who were distinguished lawyers. They introduced a bill entitled a Petition of Right, demanding, on the ground that they were asking for ancient rights, that forced loans and taxes without the consent of Parliament should be considered illegal, that imprisonment without cause shown should be declared contrary to law, that soldiers and sailors should not be billeted in private houses, and that martial law in time of peace should be abolished. As England has never had a written constitution, and precedents can be cited on both sides, it is difficult to draw a distinction between legality and illegality, and some claims asserted by the reformers were certainly disputable; but it has been greatly for the advantage of England that the popular party won, and those who fought for it deserve honour. Charles reluctantly assented to the petition, and then prorogued Parliament and made Laud bishop of London, for he

**The Petition  
of Right.**

took decidedly the side of the high church clergy. Wentworth, not being able to follow Eliot, joined the king; Buckingham was assassinated; and tonnage and poundage continued to be collected without the sanction of Parliament.

In the session of 1629, three resolutions proposed by Sir John Eliot were forcibly passed, the Speaker being held down in his chair. They declared that all who favoured innovation in religion, or advised the collection of tonnage and poundage without parliamentary authority, or voluntarily paid such taxes, were enemies to the kingdom. This was undoubtedly a great advance on previous action, and partook of a revolutionary character. Charles first adjourned and then dissolved the

**Personal  
Government  
—Went-  
worth and  
Laud.**

Parliament. Eleven years of personal government without a Parliament followed, lasting from 1629 to 1640, during which time the king's chief advisers were Wentworth, Laud, and Weston. Wentworth was made president of the Council of the North and afterwards lord deputy of Ireland. He was a conscientious believer in government by a king, and was personally devoted to Charles. He was an excellent ruler and administrator, and estranged the nobles by his independence and impartiality. His plans failed because they were opposed to the spirit of the age; this was no time for an autocracy. Laud was a conscientious but narrow-minded high churchman, who supported uniformity of religious ceremony. He would allow no divergence from his own principles and practice, and naturally drove England into a revolt. Weston held the post of treasurer till 1635; he was a high churchman, but a good financier.

Charles ruled the country by means of Councils—the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Court of High Commission—the first two dating back to mediæval times, the others being Tudor creations. Eliot was imprisoned in 1629, and died in the Tower three years afterwards. Peace was made with France and Spain. In 1633, Wentworth became viceroy of Ireland and Laud archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth governed Ireland well, introduced the cultivation of flax, and formed a standing army. In 1634, ship money was levied in the maritime counties and towns,

**Ship  
Money.**

for the defence of the country against pirates, which was perfectly legal, but in 1635 it was extended to the inland counties of the kingdoms, and John Hampden refused to pay it. At the same time Laud's attempt to impose a new liturgy and canons in Scotland

called into existence the National Covenant in 1638, in consequence of which Episcopacy was abolished and Presbyterian government restored. In 1639, Charles, in defence of Laud's scheme, fought what is called the "First Bishops' War" against the Scots, which was ended by the peace of Berwick. This policy required money for its execution, and Wentworth, now created earl of Strafford, advised the summoning of a Parliament, so that the fourth or Short Parliament was called in 1640, in which Pym was leader of the popular party. The House of Commons refused to grant supplies unless grievances were redressed, and Parliament was dissolved. The "Second Bishops' War" now took place, in which Charles was defeated by the Scots at the battle of Newburn, and by the Pacification of Ripon was compelled to pay the expenses of the Scotch army until terms could be finally arranged. Charles, in his difficulties, now summoned a Great Council of peers to meet at York, a body resembling the council of the notables before the French Revolution, and they advised the calling of a Parliament.

**The First  
Bishops'  
War.**

**The Short  
Parliament.**

**Second  
Bishops'  
War.**

The fifth Parliament of Charles, called the "Long Parliament," met in 1640. The Commons at once impeached Strafford and Laud and the lord chancellor, Finch. It being impossible to prove that Strafford was guilty of treason against the king, to whose interests his life was devoted, it was sought to establish that he was collecting an army in Ireland with the view of coercing Parliament in England. Next year, finding that the impeachment was likely to fail, his enemies in the Commons introduced a bill of attainder against him—a violent and forcible action which it is difficult to defend. He was eventually condemned, and executed on May 12, 1641, Charles deserting his interests in a weak and cowardly manner. In this year, also, a Triennial Act was passed,

**The Long  
Parliament.**

**Execution of  
Strafford.**

providing that Parliament should be summoned at least every three years, and should not sit longer than three years: from distrust of Charles, however, it was afterwards enacted that the existing Parliament should not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent, and the Long Parliament did not actually come to an end till the Restoration of 1660. Other acts passed in 1641 abolished the Star Chamber, High Commission, Council of the North, and other courts; also ship money, distraint of knighthood, and tonnage and poundage not



granted by Parliament. Finally, the "Grand Remonstrance," a vote of censure on Charles' government, passed the Commons

**The Grand Remonstrance.** by a small majority. It denounced the acts of the king, recounted the good deeds of the Long Parliament, sketched a programme of further reforms, and demanded the appointment of ministers "in whom Parliament might have cause to confide," the removal of bishops from the House of Lords, and the settlement of church matters by the king and Parliament on the advice of an assembly of Protestant divines, English and foreign. In 1642, Charles answered this by attempting the arrest of five members of Parliament, Hampden, Pym, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode; and when this action failed and the members were protected by the city of London, and it was certain that public opinion was against the king, he left London, and the civil war broke out which ended by his execution in 1649.

The disputes which occasioned this war were both civil and religious. The conflict on the civil side was whether the country should be ruled by king or Parliament, and on the religious side whether Puritanism or the High Anglicanism of Laud should be the religion of England. During the struggle the Houses put before the king various schemes for a settlement—the Nineteen Propositions, and the Propositions of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newcastle—at first demanding practically the transfer of sovereignty from the crown to Parliament—then, as their political demands relaxed, increasing correspondingly their religious claims from the settlement of religion by a Synod to the abolition of Episcopacy, the establishment of Presbyterianism, and the taking of the Covenant by Charles himself. Speaking very roughly, the gentry took the side of the king, the middle and commercial classes supported Parliament; the north-west of England was Royalist, the south-east Parliamentarian. In the first two years of the war, the king was successful. He set up his standard at Nottingham, and, having recruited his army in the west, marched to London. On the way the battle of Edgehill was fought. The result was indecisive, and the march continued; but Charles was repulsed at Turnham Green and retreated to Oxford, which became his headquarters during the war. An Eastern Association was formed, to support Parliament, comprising the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Hertford, while the king depended on his army at Oxford, and on the forces of the earl of Newcastle in the north, and of

**The Civil War.**

Sir Ralph Hopton in the west. A number of battles took place in 1643, the result of which was generally in favour of the king, but he was unable to effect his main purpose of capturing London. In 1644, the war entered on a new phase, the king being assisted by an Irish army and by Montrose in Scotland, and Parliament by the Scots. On July 2, the battle of Marston Moor was fought, in which the victory was won largely by Cromwell's Ironsides, a body of men which he had specially trained and organised on principles of strict piety and morality. The result of this was that York fell into the hands of Parliament, and the north of England was lost to the king. At the end of this year, Cromwell determined to remodel the army, and, owing to the growth of his influence, Independency threatened to outweigh Presbyterianism in the Parliamentary party.

**Battle of  
Marston  
Moor.**

In 1645 Laud was executed on January 10, and in February the parliamentary army was remodelled, officers being chosen for efficiency and soldiers receiving regular pay, but the majority of the officers were Independents. On June 14, Cromwell and Fairfax defeated Charles at Naseby, the royal army was destroyed, and letters were discovered which made it possible to accuse Charles of treasonable correspondence with France, just as Louis XVI. was accused in the French Revolution. The war continued, but the results were generally against the king; on May 5, 1646, he surrendered to the Scots at Newark; and on June 20 the war came to an end by the surrender of Oxford. There was now an interval of peace. In 1647 the Scots handed over the king to the Parliament, and he was confined in Holmby House. But a division broke out between the Parliament and the army, as violent as

**Battle of  
Naseby.**

**Charles a  
Prisoner.**

that between Parliament and the king, Parliament being in favour of Presbyterianism and a more oligarchical government, the army in favour of complete religious toleration and democratic government. Parliament voted that the army should be reduced in numbers and that all the officers should take the Covenant. It also opened negotiations with the king for his restoration. The army refused to disband, and seized the person of the king, confining him first at Newmarket and then at Hampton Court, and made proposals for a settlement based on a temporary limitation of the royal authority, the revival of Episcopacy, with toleration of all sects except Roman Catholics, the establishment of triennial parliaments, and the reform of

the electorate. Charles temporised, and fled to the Isle of Wight. Discussions between the king and Parliament took place at Newport, but, at the same time, Charles was corresponding with the Presbyterian party and with the Scots, endeavouring to obtain better terms for himself. He was certainly guilty of duplicity, but his position was extremely difficult, and great allowances should be made for him. The

**Renewal of  
the War.**

result was a renewal of the civil war in 1648, caused by an incursion of the Scots under Hamilton, in favour of Charles, and Royalist risings in the west and in Kent. The Royalists were defeated by Fairfax at Maidstone and the Scotch by Cromwell at Preston. The result of this was that the army, led by Cromwell, determined to put Charles to death for stirring up civil strife. By what was called Pride's Purge, the Presbyterian members favourable to Charles were expelled from Parliament,

**Pride's  
Purge.**

and what remained of it was called the Rump. In 1649 the Rump appointed a special court of justice for the trial of the king, consisting of 135 commissioners, of whom only 67 attended, the charge being high treason for levying war against his subjects. The acting members of the court were all personal enemies of the king, and the consequence was that he was condemned, and, on

**Charles  
tried and  
executed.**

January 30, he was taken on a cold winter's morning from St. James' Palace to Whitehall, where he was beheaded on January 30, 1649—an action certainly illegal and probably disastrous, although this conclusion will be always a matter of controversy.

## CHAPTER V.

FRANCE A.D. 1610-1659—ENGLAND A.D. 1649-1660.

THE Thirty Years' War, which was closed by the peace of Westphalia in 1648, left France in a predominant position in Europe, which she well knew how to use to gratify her ambition. The man to whom she chiefly owed her triumph was Cardinal Richelieu, whom Louis XIII. had placed at the head of the French government after he had discarded the favourites who served him at the beginning of his reign. By genius and strength of character, he consolidated the unity of France; by putting down the overweening power of the nobles, by crushing the Huguenots—so that France might not be split up, as Germany was, by the quarrels of two religions—and by fortunate wars and other transactions, he succeeded in weakening both Spain and Austria, who might well have been serious rivals of his own country. For the first nine years after the death of Henry IV. in 1610, Louis was entirely in the hands of his mother, Mary of Medici, assisted by foreign favourites, the chief of whom was the Florentine Concini, better known as the Maréchal d'Ancre. The result of this was that the heads of the lower branches of the royal house, the prince of Condé and the Guises, withdrew into their own provinces, and made war against the crown. They insisted on the king's being declared of age, hoping that when he was free from his mother they would be able to control him. But Mary retained her power, and married Louis to Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III. of Spain. Condé now endeavoured to upset the power of d'Ancre, but the wily Maréchal got the better of him, arrested him, and made war against his adherents. In 1617, d'Ancre was murdered by another favourite of the queen, Luynes, upon which she retired from Paris with all her counsellors, and left the king to govern by himself. His first act was to summon an assembly of notables, in which he passed a number of reforms, which were never carried out. Luynes remained chief minister of the

First Years  
of Louis  
XIII.

king, but he was unable to curb the nobles in their attempts to make themselves independent of the crown, to protect the commons from their oppression, or to put an end to the disastrous struggle with the Huguenots. But, when Luynes died, the king, finding that he could not govern without a minister, by the advice of his mother, appointed Armand Jean du Plessis,

**Richelieu.**

bishop of Luçon, afterwards cardinal and duke of Richelieu, who was born in 1585. Richelieu's strong will soon asserted his authority over the king, the queen, and even the queen mother herself. He effected this by his statesmanlike genius, but also by determining that he would be no mere favourite, that he would not attach himself to any prominent party, and that he would seek no exceptional favour either for his family or for himself. He became minister in April 1624, and soon gave evidence of his qualities. The marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria was determined upon, the alliance with Holland renewed, and a firmer attitude adopted against Spain. In August he got rid of his patron Vieuville, and became president of the council. He set himself to reduce the Huguenots to obedience, and made a treaty with them at Barcelona on May 10, 1625. A plot was made against the cardinal by the Maréchal Ornano, governor of the brother of Louis, Gaston, duke of Orleans; but Ornano and his confederate Chalais were imprisoned, Chalais being executed and Ornano dying in confinement before the end of the year. La Rochelle, the last refuge of the Huguenots, was finally conquered in November 1628.

The two queens, Mary of Medici and her daughter-in-law, impatient of the influence of Richelieu over the king, attempted to drive him from the court, but the cardinal managed to make their efforts fatal to themselves, and Mary was compelled to leave Paris, and died in exile at Cologne. A more serious conspiracy against the cardinal's authority was that

**Conspiracy  
of Cinq-  
Mars.**

of the marquis of Cinq-Mars, a young favourite of the king. It was formidable because among the conspirators were Gaston of Orleans, the duke de Bouillon, and the parliamentary councillor de Thou, son of the famous historian, and, worst of all, the king was aware of the plot, and yet said nothing about it. The conspirators had engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Spain, and when this was laid before the king he could not refuse to consent to the execution of Cinq-Mars and de Thou, but the two dukes were pardoned. During these trials, Richelieu was so weak in

health that he had to be carried in a litter, and he died in Paris on December 4, 1642. Richelieu was a truly great minister. Asked upon his death-bed to pardon his enemies, he said that he had never had any enemies except the enemies of the government and the king, and this was true. Like Wolsey, he loved splendour in his mode of life. He was surrounded by a bodyguard of young nobles; he built a palace at Rueil, where he lived in greater splendour than the king, received foreign ambassadors, and granted innumerable audiences. His principal palace in Paris was afterwards known as the Palais Royal. He surrounded himself with artists and men of letters, and paved the way for the brilliant epoch of Louis XIV., while he took great interest in the development of the French language. The French Academy, founded in 1635, was his creation, and four years earlier Paris saw the publication of the first weekly newspaper, the *Gazette de France*.

Louis XIII. died himself on May 14, 1643; he was a prince without conspicuous merits or serious faults, not without goodness of heart, but easily influenced by those he liked, a puppet in the hands of Richelieu. By his will, he appointed a council of regency for his son, who was five years old, consisting of the queen—called Anne of Austria, although she was really a Spaniard—his brother Gaston, his uncle Condé, and five other councillors, to whom was added Cardinal Mazarin, a Sicilian by origin, who had been specially recommended for the post by Richelieu. He had held the position of papal nuncio, and had shown great capacity for business. He soon acquired supreme power, not so much by the commanding qualities which distinguished Richelieu as by astute diplomacy and his power of making himself agreeable to the queen. He diverted the attention of Frenchmen from internal affairs by cleverly keeping up a condition of war on the frontiers, and in all the quarrels and intrigues which marked the commencement of the reign managed to extract advancement for himself from the strife of others. His diplomacy determined the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, and gained for France valuable possessions on the Rhine.

The civil war called the Fronde followed in 1649. Fronde is a sling, and the Frondeurs were Davids slinging stones against the Goliath Mazarin. All who were discontented joined hands to overthrow the minister. It was a personal movement with very little principle at the root of it.

**Accession of  
Louis XIV.**

**Mazarin.**

**The Fronde.**

The leader of the Fronde was Paul Gondi de Retz, coadjutor of his uncle, the archbishop of Paris, and eventually cardinal. He was of Florentine origin, and his family had risen under the protection of the queen. He at first attempted to make Condé the head of the movement, but, when that failed, he turned to his younger brother Conti, and his sister the duchess of Longueville. The court moved for safety to St. Germain, while the leaders of the Fronde remained in Paris. The Parliament asserted its independence, and withstood the tyranny of the court, and was assisted by the great nobles, Bouillon, Beaufort, Conti, Longueville, and Turenne. A war of skirmishes took place, and Condé defeated the Fronde at Charenton on February 8, 1649. Conferences for peace took place in Richelieu's palace at Rueil. The execution of Charles I. of England disposed the court to moderation, and with the help of Matthieu Molé, the president of the Parliament, an outward appearance of peace was secured. As the war with Spain was still protracted, how could success be hoped for if the two great generals Condé and Turenne were at strife? But Condé was not popular, and understood better how to win battles than hearts. His quarrel with de Retz and other Frondeurs divided Mazarin's enemies; Mazarin saw his opportunity; and on January 18, 1650, Condé, Conti, and Longueville were arrested in the Palais Royal and imprisoned at Vincennes. An attempt being made to release them, they were brought for safety to Havre, and Mazarin wrested Réthel from the Spaniards, and defeated Turenne, who came to relieve it. This success, however, increased the hatred against the minister, so that all parties united against him, and at the beginning of 1651 he was driven into exile. He left Paris in the night of February 6, went to Havre de Grâce, set free the prisoners, who returned to Paris, and sought refuge in Cologne, where the Elector was a friend of his. A state of anarchy ensued, but Mazarin never lost the favour of the queen, and continued to conduct the war from his exile in Cologne.

**Flight of  
Mazarin.**

On September 7, 1651, Louis XIV., who was in his fourteenth year, was recognised by the Parliament as of full age, and, in spite of the opposition of Condé and of the fact that the Parliament set a price on his head, Mazarin joined the king's army at Poitiers on January 29, 1652, and assumed the conduct of affairs, supported by Molé. A civil war ensued, in which Turenne took the side of the court. A battle took place in the very

suburbs of Paris, in the quarter of St. Antoine, afterwards so prominent in the Revolution, on July 2, 1652, in which both sides fought with heroic bravery. But Condé was defeated, the court was able to return to Paris in October, and the Fronde was at an end. On February 8, 1653, the king met Mazarin at the gates of Paris, and conveyed him in his own carriage to the Louvre. Condé's star sank, and his brother Conti married a niece of the cardinal. Condé continued the war, with Spain, but Louis was crowned at Reims on June 7, 1654. As the opposition of the Parliament still continued, the king summoned a bed of justice, and coming suddenly from Vincennes, with his riding whip in his hand, addressed them with the memorable words, "L'Etat, c'est moi" ("I am the government"). Retz had had to take refuge in Italy, and could not return to Paris till 1662, where he lived till his death in 1669. Thus Mazarin made himself master of France. He was equally successful in his foreign policy. In March 1657 he made an alliance with Cromwell, the conditions of which were that the Stuarts should be expelled from France, freedom of religion granted to the French Protestants, and Dunkirk surrendered to England. With the help of Turenne and the English, not only Dunkirk but Gravelines, Oudenarde, Ypres, and other places were wrested from the Spaniards. In 1659 Mazarin ended the war, which had lasted for twenty-five years, by signing the peace of the Pyrenees, the crowning work of his life. By this Spain lost Perpignan and Roussillon, and the Pyrenees became the boundary between the two countries. Spain also ceded to France Artois, part of Flanders, Hainault, and Luxemburg. The death of Cromwell on September 3, 1658, made the peace easier to conclude.

**End of the  
Fronde.**

Louis XIV. was deeply in love with Maria Mancini, the niece of Mazarin, but Anne of Austria would not hear of the union; the young lady was sent off to La Rochelle, and Louis was induced to marry Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV. Condé, by Mazarin's influence, was reconciled with the king; Beaufort was made an admiral; Conti had married one of the nieces of the cardinal, the duke de Mercœur, younger son of Vendôme, married another, and a third, Olympia Mancini, married the prince of Savoy—Carignan, the comte de Soissons—and became the mother of Prince Eugène. Mazarin died on March 9, 1661, reconciled with his enemies, the possessor of enormous wealth, and of all the prosperity which an

**Marriage of  
the King.**

**Death of  
Mazarin.**



ambitious man could possibly desire. We must now return to England, and bring the history of that country down to the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660.

### ENGLAND, A.D. 1649-1660.

Oliver Cromwell, one of the most remarkable of Englishmen, was born at Huntingdon on April 25, 1599. He was related to

**Oliver  
Cromwell.**

Thomas Cromwell, the Hammer of the Monks in the reign of Henry VIII., and it has been surmised that through one of his maternal ancestors, a Stewart, he was also a very distant cousin of Charles I. At the age of seventeen he became a fellow commoner of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, a centre of Puritanism. He entered as a law student at Lincoln's Inn, and married, at the age of twenty-one, Elizabeth Bourchier, a cousin of the Hampdens. For twenty years after his marriage he lived as a Cambridge-shire country gentleman at Huntingdon, St. Ives, and Ely, where the house he occupied still exists unaltered. He was member for Cambridge in the Short and the Long Parliaments, and warmly supported the passing of the Grand Remonstrance. He took part in the civil war, and in 1643 formed the company of horse which was generally known as the Ironsides, raised by the Eastern Association, of which he was the soul—men of religion and strictness of life, animated by a democratic spirit, to oppose men of honour and courage. He fought with distinction and success at Winceby, Marston Moor, and Naseby, and conducted negotiations with Charles I. in 1647, but eventually brought about his execution in 1649. His character and career will always form the subject of dispute. He was certainly no fanatic, and exercised a moderating influence on the surging passions of his time, but his home government was not a success, and if it had been so the reaction which followed his death would have been less violent. He raised England to a very high position in Europe, and it has been said that he held the key of Europe in his girdle.

Cromwell made peace with the Protestant states of Europe, but he did not succeed in uniting them into a league. He

**Cromwell's  
Foreign  
Policy.** made peace with Holland, formed an alliance with Sweden, forced Denmark to open her waters to English ships, and obtained from Portugal freedom of trade in Portuguese colonies. He protected the Waldenses from the oppression of the duke of Savoy in the

valleys of the Maritime Alps, a service immortalised in the verse of Milton, and forced France to interfere on their behalf. He made war with Spain, refusing to admit her exclusive possession of the New World, thus anticipating the policy of William Pitt. Finding France tolerant and Spain persecuting, he made an alliance with France against Spain, and defeated her in the battle of the Dunes, dealing her a blow from which she never recovered. He gave great attention to the navy, which under Blake obtained for England the supremacy of the sea, though she lost it under Charles II.

The first step after the death of Charles was to abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords. The Commons, reduced to a House averaging 56, and nicknamed the Rump, continued to sit, and appointed a council of state to carry on the government. Ireland and Scotland

**Royalism  
finally  
Crushed.**

still continued Royalist, but the Irish were defeated at the battle of Rathmines, Cromwell himself storming Drogheda and Wexford, and acting with great cruelty. In 1650 Montrose, who was a great Royalist, was defeated at Corbiesdale and executed by the Presbyterians, and the Royalist opposition was completely crushed by Cromwell's victory of Dunbar on September 3. Prince Charles, who had signed the Covenant in 1650, and was crowned at Scone in 1651, was defeated at Worcester on September 3, the anniversary of Dunbar, and the Royalists might then be regarded as entirely subdued both in England and in Scotland. But Parliament now passed the Navigation Act of 1651, with the object of encouraging English shipping, which provided that no goods could be imported into England except

**The Navigation Act.**

in English ships or in ships belonging to the country in which the goods were produced,—and this was an alarming threat to the carrying trade of the Dutch, and naturally led to a war with Holland, the quarrel being intensified by the claim of England to search neutral ships, and to be treated with special honour with regard to its flag.

**War with Holland.**

The naval commanders on either side were Blake and Tromp, and numerous engagements took place. In the year 1652 Ireland may be considered to have been finally settled by Cromwell. The Irish Catholics were deprived of a large portion of their lands, varying from one-third to two-thirds, many being banished to Connaught, and in the vacant territory a number of Cromwell's soldiers were settled. Cromwell, having subdued his

**Settlement of Ireland.**

enemies, had now to establish a government which might take the place of the monarchy which had been abolished, and in this he found great difficulty. The whole government of England was founded on kingship, and when this was taken away the corner-stone of order disappeared. Cromwell found the remains of the Long Parliament, called the Rump, impossible for the purpose, and in 1653 turned it forcibly out of the Parliament house, telling his soldiers to "take away that bauble," meaning the Speaker's mace.

He first nominated a Parliament himself, which is known by the title of the Little Parliament, or Barebones Parliament, from the name of one member, but, after a short time, finding it impossible to work with Cromwell, it resigned, placing its power in his hands. The Council of Officers then drew up a written

**The Instru-  
ment of  
Govern-  
ment.**

constitution, called the Instrument of Government, which deserves attention as an attempt to codify the principles of the constitution, which had never yet been reduced to writing. The head of the government was called Protector, and by his side there was placed a Council of State, which he was obliged to consult on all important occasions. A Parliament representing England, Scotland, and Ireland was to be held at least once in three years, and to sit for not less than five months unless it consented to adjourn or dissolve. It was to have control over legislation, and over extraordinary taxation, but the ordinary revenue was to be raised without it. The Ministry, or, as they might be called, the

**The  
Protector.**

chief officers of state, were to be appointed by the protector, but approved by Parliament. The protector was to have a fixed revenue, out of which the army, navy, and the ordinary expenses of government were to be paid. The Instrument thus established a kind of constitutional government, but many questions were left unsettled, and it was obvious that all powers not definitely defined, but left uncertain, would come into the hands of the protector. It lasted, however, for about four years. In the first year of the new government, peace was made with Holland. Scotland and England were united by ordinance, not by act of Parliament, and free trade was established between the two countries. The court of

**The Re-  
publicans.**

Chancery was also reformed by ordinance. The first Parliament met in 1654, and it soon quarrelled with its creator, as a considerable number of Republican members were returned. Sir Henry Vane, who was a Republican, questioned the legality of Cromwell's rule,

and Cromwell met his arguments by the well-known words, "Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane!" The result was that a hundred Republicans were expelled from Parliament, and the house itself was dissolved at the end of five lunar months, possibly earlier than was intended by the Instrument.

Cromwell, being now free from the trammels of Parliament, conquered Jamaica from Spain, the only result being that the ravages of the buccaneers came to an end, and a proper government was established in those parts. At home he divided the country into eleven military districts, placing a major-general over each. This arrangement was approved by Milton, who was Cromwell's secretary, and worked fairly well, but it was scarcely compatible with constitutional government. Cromwell showed his power on the Continent by protecting the Waldenses in Piedmont, and making a treaty with France which secured the exclusion of the Stuarts. However, the treaty with France led to war with Spain, and in 1656 a second Parliament was summoned. This had to undergo purification by the exclusion of many Republicans and Presbyterians, with whose opinions Cromwell did not agree. In the following year, an offensive and defensive alliance was formed with France against Spain, and on April 20 the Spanish fleet was destroyed by Blake in the harbour of Santa Cruz, the capital of Teneriffe.

Four years' trial had shown that the constitution established by the Instrument was impossible. The simplest plan would have been to make Cromwell king, just as Napoleon was made emperor, but although this was urged upon him he hesitated to take the step, but he accepted the amendments to the constitution suggested in what was called the Humble Petition and Advice. By this, Cromwell was allowed to name his successor, but he was forbidden to exclude anyone from Parliament who had been duly elected. There were to be two chambers, one hereditary, the other elective; religious toleration was to be accorded to all except Papists, Prelatists, and Socinians. This form of government did not succeed any better than its predecessor. After discussion about the conflicting powers of the two houses and debates which raised the formidable question of Cromwell's authority, Parliament was dissolved by the protector on February 4, 1658, with the words, "God be the judge between you and me!"

**Military  
Govern-  
ment.**

**Cromwell's  
Constitu-  
tional  
Difficulties.**

The last year of Cromwell's life was gilded by the battle of the Dunes, in which the combined English and French gained a brilliant victory over Spain, the result of which, as has been said, was that England got possession of Dunkirk. But such honours could not revive the spirits of the wearied sovereign; worn out with toil, disappointed at his failure to endow England with a strong government of liberal complexion, his life threatened with plots, so that he was never left unguarded and lost his power of sleep, harassed by Republicans on one side and Royalists on the other, amongst whom was his favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, he died, like Napoleon, in a great storm, on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, finding at last that rest which he so eagerly desired.

His son Richard, the new protector, though a well meaning and virtuous man, was entirely unfit for a position of this kind. He summoned a Parliament, but from the old constituencies, including the small boroughs, not from his father's reformed electorate. The burning question of the relations between the civil and military power came immediately into prominence, and Richard was forced by the army to dissolve the Parliament. England was now without a constitutional government, and the officers found that they had no alternative but to recall the Rump, and on May 7, 1659, forty-three survivors of the Long Parliament met in the Parliament house, with Speaker Lenthall at their head. The executive power was placed in the hands of a "Committee of Security," consisting of eight generals and the three chief Republicans, Vane, Haselrig, and Scott. Besides this, a Council of State was formed of thirty-one members, sixteen from the army and fifteen from Parliament, amongst whom were Bradshawe and Whitelocke. They used a new Republican shield in place of that of the protector. Fleetwood was entrusted with the command of the army. Upon this, Richard retired into private life and died in 1674, Henry, Cromwell's second son, long surviving him.

Even then the old strife continued, and the country was in a condition of anarchy, until a trustworthy general, who had won the reputation and position which he deserved, determined to restore the monarchy. George Monk, a country gentleman of Devonshire, had, under the orders of Cromwell, reduced

Scotland to order, and had governed it peaceably for eight years, holding himself aloof from the disputes by which England was distracted. His sympathies were with the Presbyterians and the Parliament, and he de-  
General  
Monk.

tested military rule. At the beginning of 1660 he marched from Scotland to London, and, on January 11, was joined by Fairfax at York. Arriving in London, he declared in favour of a free Parliament, and summoned the surviving members of the Long Parliament, including the Presbyterians who had been expelled by Colonel Pride, in his famous Purge of 1648. Monk was now completely master of the situation. He took care to say nothing about the return of the king, which, although the city equally desired it, would probably have produced a civil war. In March the Long Parliament, after an existence of nearly twenty years, dissolved itself, and there was now no doubt that the king would be recalled. Monk sent a letter to Charles, who was at Brussels, by a fellow-countyman, Sir John Grenville, to assure him of his devotion. Charles immediately proceeded to Holland, and issued from Breda a Declaration, promising an amnesty, toleration of religion, confirmation of confiscated property, and payment of arrears to the army. A Parliament irregularly elected, called a Convention Parliament, met on April 25. An invitation to return was sent to Charles, and on May 29, 1660, his thirtieth birthday, long observed as a church festival, and even now remembered as Oak Apple

Return of  
Charles II.

Day, Charles entered the capital amongst the triumphant acclamations of the people. He received in Westminster the oaths of allegiance and of supremacy in the church, and promised to respect the privileges of both Houses of Parliament and to work for the happiness of his people.

## CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS XIV., 1661-1681—AUSTRIA AND THE TURKS, 1664-1699

—LOUIS XIV., 1682-1697—ENGLAND, 1660-1685.

LOUIS XIV., with St. Louis and Napoleon, one of the greatest sovereigns that France ever possessed, began his independent reign after the death of Mazarin in 1661. He was a man of strong will, of distinguished ability, of rare dignity of character, and of indefatigable industry. The splendour of his court and his love of representation have given a false impression of him. His idea was to consolidate the unity of France, and thus to make her the most powerful state in Europe, and this he could only do by personal government. He built the palace of Versailles as the seat of majesty, and attracted the provincial nobles to it, thus preventing provincial particularism, which might at any time have split France up into the component parts from which she had been laboriously formed, although he may at the same time have weakened her by destroying the force of the smaller political units of which she was composed. He befriended literature and art in all its branches. The splendour which attaches to the age of Louis XIV. is due more than anything else to the genius of the *Roi Soleil*, the Sun King. Great as he was in prosperity, he was greater in adversity, and nothing is nobler than his conduct in the troubles which beset him at the close of his reign in the disasters and disappointments of the war of the Spanish Succession. He never flinched under disaster; he would have made peace if peace could have been obtained on honourable terms; but he regarded honour as the first of virtues, and would do nothing to smirch it. He refused to turn his arms against his grandson, and his correspondence with him shows a delicacy which contrasts with the somewhat brutal assertion of control which is found in the correspondence of Napoleon with his brothers. He was an admirable diplomatist, and held the thread of all negotiations in his hands, while he made his will prevail not so much by self-assertion as by the

industry which had made him master of the controversies he dealt with, and the acuteness with which he divined the proper course of action. He may occasionally have been guilty of duplicity and harshness in dealing with weak states, but the more deeply his reign is studied, the more his greatness will be appreciated. He is no more responsible for the vices of Louis XV. and the incapacity of Louis XVI. than Caesar and Augustus were responsible for the madness of Caligula or for the vices of Nero.

It is to his credit that he discovered and employed Colbert, and that he put up with Louvois, whose talents as a military administrator were necessary to his success.

Colbert did not belong to the aristocracy either **Colbert.** of the sword or the cope, but was the son of a merchant and was recommended to Louis by Mazarin. He paid special attention to commerce and manufactures, in order to increase the revenues of the crown, but he neglected agriculture, which proved afterwards to be an error. He established the famous factories of porcelain at Sèvres and of tapestry at Gobelins, which became the best in the world, and still exist, but he established them by a system of strict protection, attempting to exclude all foreign products which might compete with those of France. He also favoured a system of internal duties, so that his financial policy was opposed to that which was supported by political economists a hundred years later, whose motto was "*laissez faire*," "*laissez passer*," freedom both of production and of distribution, and who also believed that the land, which Colbert decidedly neglected, was the source of all wealth. He was under the dominion of what is called the mercantile system, which believed that the wealth of a country depended upon the amount of gold and silver which it possessed—a thing which is certainly false in our own day and under present circumstances. Like Napoleon at a later period, he made roads and canals, especially the canal of Languedoc, to unite the Mediterranean with the Atlantic; he founded commercial companies; he established colonies in the East and the West Indies and in North America; and he improved the French navy until it was the best in Europe. Owing to the extravagant court supported by Louis XIV., it was impossible to reduce the taxation, but Colbert kept the **Louvois and the Army.** strictest control over the civil service, and put a stop to all dishonesty and illegal exactions. Louvois turned his attention to improvement of the artillery, to the clothing



and arming of the troops, and to military discipline. The army formed by him, which was always ready for action, was commanded by great generals—Turenne, who was specially admired by Napoleon, Condé, Catinat, Luxembourg, Villars, and Vendôme, while the authority of Vauban in matters of fortification continued supreme until the conditions of warfare were entirely altered in modern times.

As already indicated, the high intelligence of the monarch aimed at excellence in every department, and he gave a powerful stimulus to all forms of intellectual activity. The age of Louis XIV. in France is worthy to stand by the side of the age of Pericles in Greece and of Augustus in Italy. He supplemented

**The French Academy.**

the French Academy, the council of the immortal forty, who are still at the summit of intellectual distinction in all countries, by founding the Academies of Inscriptions and of Sciences. No other French monarch except Napoleon has shown so much interest in the affairs of the mind and in the men who illustrate intellectual and scientific progress. Nor did he confine himself to his own countrymen: he drew foreigners to his court by wise and magnanimous generosity. Whatever may have been the faults of the royal extravagance, his methods were certainly imitated throughout the civilised world. Every little prince had his Versailles, and it is unjust to condemn a system which was especially adapted to the age.

One of the first acts of Louis after the assumption of independent power was to deprive the pope of Avignon, but only for a time, and to assert his diplomatic precedence over his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain, but he also desired to extend the frontiers of France by the acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands. At the time of his marriage he had finally renounced all right of succession to any portion of the Spanish dominions, but on the death of Philip IV. he asserted the principle of inheritance by "devolution," by which the heirs of a daughter by a first marriage took precedence of the off-

**The War of Devolution.**

spring of a second marriage, and in 1667 took place the War of Devolution, which was really stimulated by the weakness and incapacity of Charles II. of Spain. It was little else than a war of plunder, like the Silesian war of Frederick the Great. Louis' generals, Turenne and Condé, conquered a large portion of Flanders and Hainault, and occupied Franche Comté, but a Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, formed by

the statesmanlike genius of John de Witt, grand pensionary of Holland, obliged him to make the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, which deprived him of a large portion of his gains, but left him in possession of Lille, Charleroi, Oudenarde, and some other Belgian towns.

Louis was not likely to forget the injury done to him by de Witt, and he made preparations for a war with Holland which began in 1672 and lasted till 1679, after it had included nearly the whole of Europe in its embrace. He had broken up the Triple Alliance by procuring the neutrality of Sweden and England. He conquered Guelders, Utrecht, and Overijssel without resistance. The prince of Orange, statholder of Holland, grandson of Charles I., was a young man of genius, who saved his country by cutting the dykes and flooding it by the incursion of the sea, while the skill of Admiral de Ruyter also prevented the English from landing in Texel. Luxembourg undertook a bold march against Amsterdam over the frozen flood, but the success of his enterprise was prevented by a sudden thaw.

The prince of Orange was now assisted by his uncle, the Elector of Brandenburg, generally known as the Great Elector, and by the Emperor Leopold I., Orange threatening Condé on the French frontier, the imperial troops holding their own against Turenne on the Rhine. Frederick William of Brandenburg was one of the first statesmen in Europe. He had shown his talent in bringing his country back to a state of prosperity after the disorder caused by the Thirty Years' War. He did this by an excellent system of police, and by a well ordered arrangement of finance. He also provided himself with a powerful standing army, always ready for action. By the treaty of Welau, concluded by Poland in 1657, he became sovereign duke of Preussen, a territory in the north-east, which has given its name to Prussia. On the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III. he competed with Louis XIV. for the possession of the imperial crown, and, not being able to gain it himself, supported the claims of Leopold I. against the king of France. But he was neither old enough nor strong enough to prevent Louis XIV. from forming the League of the Rhine, which, under colour of maintaining the conditions of the peace of Westphalia, was really used for the extension of the eastern frontier of France at the expense of Germany. But when Louis was able, by his huge resources, to conquer Maestricht and to lay waste the western

**Louis makes  
War on  
Holland.**

**The Great  
Elector.**

frontier with the armies of Turenne, and the emperor could not act seriously on the Rhine, the elector was compelled in 1673 to make a separate peace with France at Vossem, and to promise to remain neutral for the future.

The war continued: Louis fortified Nancy and occupied the imperial towns in Alsace. Turenne gained possession of Trier, Cleve, and other places, and by order of Louvois **The Palatinate Ravaged.** devastated the fruitful Palatinate with fire and sword so as to convert it into a desert. The Elector Palatine, seeing the ruining of his country from his castle at Heidelberg, challenged Turenne to single combat. But, stirred by the outrage, the emperor strengthened his **Coalition against France.** army on the Rhine, commanded by Montecuculi, the empire declared war against France, and even Spain took the side of the prince of Orange.

Fortune now favoured the Dutch. Turenne was repulsed from Borne by Montecuculi, Condé was driven back from the frontiers of Holland, and England was compelled to make peace at Westminster by the energy of Ruyter and Tromp. Louis, supported only by Sweden and Savoy, was compelled to remain on the defensive, notwithstanding his conquest of Franche Comté. But disaster only stirred him to greater efforts. Collecting a larger army, he sent Turenne again across the Rhine, and the Palatinate was again devastated with barbaric cruelties. But the Great Elector was aroused to action by these enormities. Joining the imperial army, he forced Turenne back across the German river, so that Louis was compelled to urge the Swedes to advance from Pomerania and march into Brandenburg, so as to recall the elector to the defence of his own territories.

**Battle of Fehrbellin.** This led to the world-famous battle of Fehrbellin, fought on June 18, 1675, just a hundred and forty years before the battle of Waterloo, in which the elector, with the help of Derflinger, completely defeated the Swedes and laid the foundations of the greatness of Prussia. Three weeks later, Turenne was killed by a chance shot at Sassbach, on July 7, 1675, and the French were compelled to recross the Rhine, avenging themselves by cruel devastations. William of Orange held his own with honour in the Netherlands, but was worsted by Condé at Seneff in 1674. Ruyter was killed at Agosta in 1676, and the Spanish-Dutch fleet was burnt by French fireships in the harbour of Palermo. But, as England was preparing to exchange its neutral attitude into an offensive attitude, Louis thought it better to make peace, and

the treaty of Nymwegen was signed in 1678, by which Holland maintained her former position, but Spain lost Franche Comté and a number of barrier fortresses. The empire, which came into the arrangement in February 1679, was obliged to surrender Freiburg and Hüningen, the French retaining the right of keeping a garrison in Philippsburg. Brandenburg and Denmark had to continue the war against France and Sweden by themselves, and the elector refused to give up Pomerania, which he had conquered. But when he was defeated by the French at Minden, suffered the invasion of his territories, and was deserted by the emperor, he was forced to conclude with Sweden the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1679, while Denmark made peace with France at Fontainebleau. The treaty of Nymwegen was a fresh starting place for the ambition of Louis XIV. He established what were called "Chambers of reunion" in Metz, Breisach, Tournai, and Besançon, and claimed the possession of places which had been previously subject to the territories ceded to France by the treaty of Westphalia: so the empire lost not only the lands it then resigned, but everything which had before belonged to them, and Louis not only claimed them, but occupied them with his troops. In this manner he took possession not only of Lorraine, which was already in his power, but of the duchy of Luxemburg, the palatinate of Deux Ponts—called in German Zweibrücken—as well as Saarbruck, Veldenz, Spanheim, Mömpelgard, and ten other imperial towns in Alsace, the despoiled princes making vain protestations. Worst of all, on September 30, 1681, he took treacherous possession of Strasburg in a time of peace. He marched a number of French regiments up to its walls, and Louvois, at the head of 20,000 men, besides artillery, demanded its surrender. Members of the town council had previously been gained over by bribery, and the city which had been the principal bulwark against French aggression on the Rhine frontier was compelled to yield itself until it was recovered in the war of 1870.

**Treaty of  
Nymwegen.**

**Seizure of  
Strasburg.**

#### AUSTRIA AND THE TURKS A.D. 1664-1699.

The emperor was prevented from resisting these violent proceedings by the danger with which Vienna was threatened by the Turks. In 1683 the capital of Austria was besieged by an army of 280,000 Turks led by Kara Mustapha, who had marched through Hungary into Germany. The Turkish empire, which

had fixed its capital at Constantinople in 1453, was raised to great power by Suleiman II., who reigned from 1520 to 1566, whose empire extended from the Adriatic and Algiers to the other side of the Tigris, from the Carpathians, the Dniester, and the mouth of the Danube to southern Egypt and Arabia, and who had organised this motley mass of nationalities into a well-governed whole. After his death the power of the Turks declined, from the corruption of the seraglio life and the increasing influence of the Janissaries, a Christian bodyguard, who formed an independent body and dominated the government. Their sea power had been destroyed by Don John of Austria at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, and they had lost many fortresses in Hungary.

It must be admitted with shame that Louis XIV. had encouraged the attacks of the Turks against the house of Haps-

**Battle**

**of St.**

**Gotthard.**

burg, but the defeat of the Turks by Montecuculi

at St. Gotthard on the Raab in 1664 was followed

by a truce of twenty years. But when the

Emperor Leopold I., under the influence of his minister Lobkowitz,

endeavoured to destroy the ancient liberties of Hungary, un-

frocked 250 Protestant preachers, and sent them

**Rebellion in**

**Hungary.**

as slaves to the Neapolitan galleys, Count Tököly

raised the banner of insurrection, was supported

by the French king, and, to defend himself against Austria,

proceeded to place Hungary under the protection of the

sultan, Mohammed IV., who marched upon Vienna and com-

pelled the emperor to take refuge in Linz, and to make peace

with France. Vienna appeared to be lost; the inhabitants de-

**Siege and**

**Relief of**

**Vienna.**

serted the houses; and only 7000 citizens, assisted

by 6000 mercenaries, remained to defend the

town. The garrison was commanded by Rudolf

of Stahremberg, but he was unable to withstand the weight of

the Moslem onslaught, when unexpectedly John Sobieski, the

heroic king of Poland, came to the rescue, and, with the help of

Max Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, and George III. of Saxony,

set the bulwark of Christianity free from the assault of the

unbelievers. In the following year, Kara Mustapha, as a

punishment for his defeat, was put to death by the sultan.

The war with the Turks continued for sixteen years longer,

until it was put an end to for a time by the peace of Carlowitz

in 1699. During this war, Ofen, now called

**Turkish**

**Reverses.**

Buda, on the opposite side of the Danube to

Pesth, which had been for 145 years in the pos-

session of the Turks, was captured by the elector of Bavaria in

1686, and the battle of Mohacs, won by Charles of Lorraine in 1687, set the greater part of Hungary and Transylvania free from the Turkish yoke, although this was not regarded by the Hungarians as an unmixed benefit, because it led to a reign of terror against the Protestants, which culminated in the blood-stained tribunal of Eperies. Mohammed IV. was succeeded by Suleiman III., whose offers of peace were rejected. The peace of Carlowitz, of which we have already spoken, was eventually brought about by the glorious victory of Prince Eugène of Savoy at Zenta, in 1697, and by it Transylvania and Slavonia came to Austria, and the Morea and Dalmatia to Venice, while Poland recovered the Ukraines and Podolia.

**Peace of  
Carlowitz.**

LOUIS XIV. (*continued*), A.D. 1682-1697.

Louis XIV., now at the height of his power, determined to establish a unity of creed in his dominions, and for this purpose persecuted not only the Protestants, but all who did not agree with his religious views. In 1682, a national council was held, presided over by the eloquent preacher Bossuet, in which four articles were passed, which established the independence of the French church, but placed it entirely under the control of the sovereign. Pope Innocent XI. did his best to oppose this step, but he was bought off by the promise of Louis to put down the Jansenists and the Huguenots. The Jansenists owed their name and origin to Cornelius Jansen, who was professor of theology at Louvain. He defended the Augustinian doctrine of predestination against the semi-pelagianism of the French church. The Jansenists were given up by the pope to the vengeance of the Jesuits, although their pure and saintly life and their profound learning offered the best hope for the regeneration of the religion of the country. Their most distinguished teacher was Blaise Pascal, who occupied a foremost place as theologian, philosopher, and mathematician; his *Provincial Letters* exhibit a model of grave and temperate theological controversy, while his *Pensées* are justly regarded as one of the foremost manuals of religious thought of any age or country. But the Jansenists were equally well known by the establishment of their school at Port Royal, a monastery not

**Louis and  
the Church.**

**The  
Jansenists.**

**Pascal.**

far from Paris, which, although it lasted but a few years and educated but a handful of pupils, remains as a high-water mark of intellectual and moral education. So long as

**Port Royal.**

Louis was disputing with the pope, he favoured the Jansenists, but from the year 1660 he began to oppress them. The royal letter of 1673, declaring the crown to be the protector of all French churches, was resisted by the Jansenists, which led to their dissolution and the destruction of Port Royal.

Louis was driven to the persecution of the Protestants by the influence of his confessor, Père la Chaise, of Madame de Maintenon, with whom he had concluded a morganatic marriage, and of Louvois, who thought it both a duty and a pleasure to put down the

**Persecution of the Protestants.**

Huguenots. His persecutions gradually became more severe. Beginning with the exile of their clergy and the closing of their churches and schools, he proceeded to take away their children to be educated in the Catholic faith, and to deprive them of the right of possessing property, and of equal justice in the law courts, and ended by riding them down in the Cevennes by military raids called *dragonnades*, and quartering soldiers upon them to force them to accept conversion. The Protestants sought safety in emigration, and Louis, being given to understand that his measures had been successful, and that only a

**Edict of Nantes Revoked.**

few Protestants were left, in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV. had granted freedom of religious worship, and drove 700,000 men out of the country, among them the most able and industrious which the kingdom possessed. What was a loss to France was a gain to other countries, but the persecution went on, and continued even to the early years of the next century, when the descendants of the Waldenses, under the name of Camisards, led by Cavalier, withstood the French monarchy, until its power to persecute waned with its decline.

The ambitious self-assertion of Louis XIV. led to an alliance for its repression between Brandenburg, Sweden, and the

**Louis' Third War.**

Netherlands, and to the League of Augsburg, formed for the defence of the empire between the emperor, Bavaria, and Spain, which was afterwards joined by Saxony and Savoy. This produced a third war, begun by Louvois, in which, without any formal declaration of war, the ecclesiastical principalities of Cologne and Trier were forcibly occupied, Franconia and Swabia invaded, and the unhappy Palatinate exposed to another devastation,

more severe than those which had preceded it, which has stamped those who conceived and executed it with undying infamy. Melac, who carried out this monstrous proceeding, destroyed twelve hundred towns and villages, amongst them Heidelberg, Mannheim, Worms, and Spires. Mainz was occupied by a French garrison. The war was marked by the victories of the French at Fleurus in 1690 and Steinkerken in 1691, and by the defeat of the French fleet by England at the battle of La Hogue. Louis had now not only to suffer the effects of exhaustion in his own country, but to contend against Spain in the Pyrenees and against Savoy in the Alps, and began to think about reducing the number of his enemies by the conclusion of a separate peace with each. Luxembourg defeated William III., who was accustomed to defeat, at Neerwinden in 1693, and Catinat routed the armies of the duke of Savoy in 1696, which led to the signing of a separate peace with him at Turin. At length the peace of Ryswyk was signed in 1697, by which France **Treaty of Ryswyk.** retained Franche Comté, Alsace, and Strasburg, but surrendered its other conquests, giving Lorraine back to its duke, Deux Ponts to Sweden, Mömpelgard to Würtemberg, Freiburg, Breisach, and Kehl to the empire, and which recognised William III. as the lawful king of England, thus deserting the cause of the Stuarts. A clause in the treaty of Ryswyk gave great trouble afterwards, which provided that the Catholic religion should remain side by side with the Protestant in those places into which it had been fairly introduced by the French. This was found to be the case in 1492 places, the majority of which were in the Palatinate. The height of the power of Louis XIV. was marked by the treaty of Nymwegen: the treaty of Ryswyk marks its decline. The resources of France could no longer suffice for the strain placed upon it. Louis lost his prestige, and found himself surrounded by a new society with new ideas and aspirations. But he could not bend his spirit to meet the new circumstances which had arisen, and his character showed itself more admirable in adversity than it had been in prosperity.

#### ENGLAND, A.D. 1660-1688.

We must now return to the affairs of England. Although the court of Charles II. was stained by vice and dissipation, it must not be supposed that he had no serious ends in govern-



ment. He determined to keep his throne at all hazards, and not to suffer the fate of his father. He also could not help being influenced by the current of the time, which set towards the establishment of a despotic monarchy. He desired to make England a Catholic country, and with this object he tried to win over the Non-conformists by the Declaration of Indulgence, but he also tried to make England the greatest commercial nation in the world, and therefore did his best to destroy her most powerful rival, the Dutch republic. Being, by birth and education, half a Frenchman, he naturally adhered closely to the French alliance, but in this he was forced to be subordinate to the powerful monarch who then controlled France, and there is little doubt that, but for the Revolution of 1688, England would have become a dependency of that country.

The reign of Charles II. lasted for twenty-five years (1660–1685), and may be divided into five sections. The first of these comprises the ministry of Clarendon (1660–1667), the second the Cabal ministry and the Catholic plot (1667–1673), the third the ministry of Danby (1673–1679), the fourth the Exclusion Bill struggle (1679–1681), and the last, the Tory reaction and the dependence on France. During Clarendon's ministry, Charles married Catherine of Portugal, thus making a close alliance with a Catholic country and paving the way for the establishment of Catholicism; he also made an alliance with France against Spain, assisting the downfall of Spain and the aggrandisement of France. Anglicanism was established in

**The Clarendon Code.** England by a series of laws known as the Clarendon Code, comprising the Corporation Act, compelling all members of corporations to receive Holy Communion at least once a year, according to the rite of the church of England; the Act of Uniformity, which made the use of the revised Prayer Book compulsory upon all clergymen, and compelled all clergymen, university teachers, schoolmasters, and tutors to take the oath prescribed by the Corporation Act; the Conventicle Act, which forbade all meetings for worship excepting those of the established church; and the Five Mile Act, which forbade all Nonconformist ministers to teach or to live within five miles of a corporate town unless they would make certain declarations.

In 1665, Charles went to war with the Dutch, ungratefully, because they had at first supported him in his exile. The principal cause was rivalry in trade, but Holland was, at this

time, divided into two parties—the party of Orange, now represented by Charles the Second's nephew, William III., and the party of the rich merchants, headed by de Witt. It was always the policy of England to support the Orange party and of France to oppose it. The war was marked

**First Dutch War.**

by the battle of Lowestoft on June 3, 1665, in which the Dutch, under Tromp, were defeated, the battle of the Downs, in which Ruyter and Tromp fought without definite result against Monk, and a battle off the coast of Norfolk on August 4, in which Ruyter was defeated by Monk. In 1666, Louis XIV., in accordance with hereditary policy, assisted the Dutch and declared war against England. In these two years, 1665 to 1666, occurred the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London, which will ever be remarkable in English history. Charles, in deep distress, made a secret treaty with Louis, in which Louis promised to desert his allies in return for the engagement that Charles would not interfere with the designs of Louis against the Spanish Netherlands. England received a final blow by the Dutch sailing up the Medway and destroying the English shipping, marking the lowest degradation of the reign. The war was ended by the peace of Breda, signed in July. It consisted of two parts. By a treaty with Holland,

**Peace of Breda.**

both parties kept their conquests, England retaining New York and Holland Surinam: also the Navigation Act was relaxed, and Dutch vessels were allowed to carry Dutch, German, and Flemish goods into English ports. By a separate treaty England and France made a few territorial adjustments. The most important result of the peace was that it enabled Louis to make war upon Spain, and to do what he liked with the Spanish Netherlands. Clarendon was now driven from office, and exiled on the charge of malversation, but his real enemies were the king, who disliked his strictness in morals and religion, and the Nonconformists, who bitterly resented the Clarendon Code. The nation was also angry with him because of the loss of Dunkirk, and the insult inflicted in the Medway. He never returned, and died in exile at Rouen.

The government of Clarendon was succeeded by that of the Cabal, a title taken from the initials of the five members who composed it, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. It left a disastrous

**The Cabal.**

name in English history. It was not a cabinet, because it did not act together, and the king was accustomed to consult

different members of it at different times. During the six years of its power, its most prominent actions were the Triple Alliance, the treaty of Dover, and the second Dutch war. The Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden was the work of Sir William Temple and de Witt. It was directed against the overweening power of France, and the result was the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain, by which Louis gained a strong northern frontier, at the expense of the Spanish Netherlands. In January 1669, Charles declared to Clifford and other leading Catholics that he was himself a Catholic, and discussed with them the best means of restoring

**Treaty of  
Dover.**

England to that religion. A second treaty between Louis and Charles was signed at Dover on June 1, 1670, with the assistance of Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, the daughter of Charles I. It was arranged that Charles was to desert the Triple Alliance and to assist Louis against the Dutch, receiving £150,000 at once and £225,000 a year so long as the war continued, and at the close of the war England was to acquire Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand. It was also promised that Charles should declare himself a Catholic as soon as circumstances should admit of it. War, however, was not declared against Holland till 1672, and then on a frivolous pretence. But, before the war began, a second Declaration of Indulgence was issued by the king, which reversed the policy of Clarendon and suspended laws against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. Charles cared nothing about the Nonconformists, but he could not assist the Roman Catholics without helping them. In the

**Second  
Dutch War.**

second Dutch war, the Dutch defeated the French and English fleets in Southwold Bay, but they were hampered by the French invasion of their country, which we have already narrated, and they cut their dykes to defend themselves. De Witt was murdered as being favourable to the French, and William of Orange was formally recognised as statholder. Parliament was entirely opposed to the new policy of the king. It forced him

**The Test  
Act.**

to recall the Declaration of Indulgence and to pass a Test Act, which compelled all who held office under the crown to receive Holy Communion according to the Anglican rite, and to make a declaration against transubstantiation. The result of this was that James, duke of York, the king's brother, had to resign his post of admiral and Clifford his post of treasurer.

In 1673 the earl of Danby was made treasurer in place of Clifford, and Prince Rupert of the Palatinate, who was known to be a staunch Protestant, succeeded the duke of York as high admiral. Charles succeeded in dismissing Shaftesbury, who had supported the Test Act, and became henceforward a determined enemy of the Roman Catholic policy of the king. Another battle with the Dutch off the Texel was by no means favourable to the English, and in 1674 Parliament made an attack upon the remaining members of the Cabal, Lauderdale, Buckingham, and Arlington. The Dutch war now came to an end by the treaty of London, by which Holland agreed to recognise the supremacy of England upon the seas north of Cape Finisterre, paid 800,000 crowns, and gave to England her conquests outside Europe, while Charles promised not to assist the enemies of the Dutch. In the following year, 1675, Danby introduced into the upper house what is known as the Non-Resistance Test Bill, by which all members of either house of Parliament were to be obliged to take an oath to attempt no alteration either in church or state. The bill was meant to exclude Roman Catholics from the House of Lords and Presbyterians from the House of Commons, but it created a great outburst of public feeling, and never reached the lower house. In this and in the four following years secret treaties were made between Charles and Louis XIV., which practically gave Louis control of the foreign policy of England in return for subsidies of which the king stood in need; but in 1677 William of Orange married Mary, daughter of the duke of York, which was popular in England, and put an end to any feeling of hostility between England and Holland. In 1678 the peace of Nymwegen was signed, which forms the high-water mark of the power of the French king, but Louis, enraged with the marriage between William of Orange and Mary, revealed to the Commons the secret treaty countersigned by Danby, who was thereupon impeached.

**Danby's  
Ministry.**

**Treaty of  
London.**

The third Parliament of Charles II. met in 1679. The impeachment of Danby was continued, which fixed the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, and an Exclusion Bill was brought forward by the earl of Shaftesbury to prevent the succession of the duke of York, who was a Roman Catholic, to the throne. Parliament was prorogued, and then dissolved to prevent the passing of the Exclusion Bill, and a fourth Parliament was elected, but prorogued before it met. The year 1679 is, however, remarkable

**The  
Exclusion  
Bill.**

for the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act, considered as the palladium of the constitution, by which arrested persons must be brought to speedy trial and not kept in prison by the crown in an arbitrary manner, and in 1680 the names of Whig and Tory came into existence for the first time. When the king would not allow his fourth Parliament to meet, Shaftesbury arranged for petitions to the king calling for its meeting, while his opponents addressed the sovereign, expressing their abhorrence that the king should be forced to summon Parliament against his will. The two parties were called Petitioners and

**Whigs and  
Tories.**

Abhorrrers, but, these names being inconvenient, the Abhorrrers were called Tories, a condensation of the word Abhorrrers, taken from the appellation of the wild Irish, and the Petitioners were called Whigs, a corruption of Whigamore, a name given to the Scotch Covenanters. Parliament met, and the Exclusion Bill was passed in the Commons, but rejected in the upper house by the influence of Halifax. In 1681 the fifth Parliament met at Oxford. The Whigs were so alarmed at the violence of their opponents that they went to the house armed, and there seemed to be a danger of civil war. The Exclusion Bill was again introduced, but, before it could be passed, Parliament was dissolved.

The last four years of Charles's reign formed a period of reaction. Shaftesbury, impeached for high treason, was  
**Last Years  
of Charles  
II.** acquitted, but had to retire to Holland, dying there in 1683. The country was, however, by no means at rest. In 1683, the Rye House Plot was formed for the murder of Charles II. and the duke of York on their return from Newmarket. The leaders of the Whigs were tried for their supposed share in this conspiracy, and Lord William Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields on July 21, while Algernon Sidney suffered the same fate on December 8. But Parliament was never summoned. On February 16, 1685, Charles II. died at the age of fifty-five, surrounded by all his children except his favourite son, the duke of Monmouth. With characteristic geniality and indifference, he apologised for being so long in dying, and when the queen, who was too ill to attend, asked for his forgiveness, he replied, "Poor woman, she asks for my forgiveness; I ask for hers with all my heart." He was not a great king or a good sovereign, but his picturesque and original character has secured him a soft place in the hearts of Englishmen.

The reign of James II. lasted for only three years, from 1685 to 1688. He began by levying taxes without the authority of Parliament. When Parliament met, it granted the king a revenue of £1,900,000, but refused

**James II.**

to repeal the Test Act. His accession was marked by the insurrections of Argyle in Scotland and Monmouth in the west of England. Both were crushed and punished by death. Monmouth was defeated at the battle of Sedgemoor, and James

sternly refused to pardon his nephew, who crawled before him for pardon. The west was pacified by

**Monmouth's  
Rebellion.**

the efforts of sanguinary soldiers, called "Kirke's Lambs," and by the "Bloody Assize," held there by Judge Jeffries. The power of James was rather strengthened than weakened by these futile efforts to overthrow it. But any advantage accruing to his religion was destroyed by Louis XIV.'s revoking the Edict of Nantes, which drove the Protestants out of France, and caused alarm throughout Protestant Europe. James, however, persisted in violating the Test Act by the appointment of Roman Catholics, and, when Halifax and Parliament protested, the one was dismissed from office and the other was prorogued. The judges now decided that the king had the power of dispensing with the laws, and, acting on this decision, James appointed an ecclesiastical commission with the object of Romanising the church and the universities. A camp was established at Hounslow to overawe the city of London, and Massey, a Roman Catholic, was made dean of Christchurch, Oxford. In 1687, the king promulgated a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending

**The De-  
claration of  
Indulgence.**

all laws against both Roman Catholics and Dissenters. He took the illegal step of nominating a Roman Catholic as president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and expelled the fellows for refusing to elect his second nominee. Parliament was now dissolved. In 1688, a new edition of the Declaration of Indulgence, especially favourable to Dissenters, was ordered to be read in churches, but seven bishops petitioned against it, whose names should be held in honour.

They were Sancroft of Canterbury, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of St.

**The Seven  
Bishops.**

Asaph, Trelawney of Bristol, Lake of Chichester, and Turner of Ely. The bishops were tried and acquitted amidst national rejoicings. It became evident that further toleration of his rule was impossible, and an invitation was sent to the prince of Orange to assume the government, and was signed by a

number of leading noblemen, including Devonshire, Shrewsbury, and Danby. William accepted it with little hesitation. On November 5, he landed at Torbay, and on December 23 James fled from Whitehall, and after some difficulty reached the court of Louis XIV. It was hard to legalise what had been done. A Convention Parliament was summoned, which declared that the throne was vacant for two reasons,—one that James had violated the original contract between king and people and the fundamental laws of the kingdom,—the other, that, by his flight from the kingdom, he had abdicated the crown. The crown was offered to William and Mary, the daughter of James, as joint sovereigns, with the condition that they accepted a document called the Declaration of Rights. This declaration of the “true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this realm” was afterwards passed as a Bill of Rights in William’s first Parliament.

Thus fell James II., and with him the house of Stuart. He had acquired a reputation for courage and ability in his office as high admiral, but he was stern, unbending, and cruel. He came to the throne at the time of a Royalist reaction, and he could have kept it if he could have been wise. But he overrated, like Charles X. of France, the strength of this sentiment, and he underrated the devotion of English people to Protestantism and the law. Nor did he care to seek for popular support; he was a thorough Stuart in his conception of the royal prerogative. He had done much for the army, as he had for the fleet, but he had offended it by the appointment of Roman Catholic officers and by bringing over Irish soldiers. So, when the church led the revolt against him, he could not depend on the army, and had to submit to the invader. Charles I. was the best of the Stuart kings, but, whatever may have been his personal merits, it is certain that the ideas of government which were ingrained in the minds of his race would have been impossible to reconcile with the liberties of England, and the character and lives of the later Stuarts give us great cause to be thankful that they did not remain longer on the throne.

**Character  
of James II.**

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, A.D. 1688-1714— ENGLAND, A.D. 1689-1714.

**AFTER** the peace of Ryswyk, Louis XIV. was involved in new complications by the war of the Spanish Succession. Spain, with all her enormous possessions in the old and the new world, was to fall into the hands of a new dynasty by the extinction of the Hapsburg line in the person of Charles II. He was weak in mind and body, and had no children, and the break up of the mighty monarchy, which could not long be delayed, caused great excitement throughout the world. Should it be partitioned—and, if so, in what manner?—should it remain in its entirety, and, if so, to whose lot should it fall? The question of legal succession was very complicated. The persons mainly to be considered were three in number—Louis XIV., who had married Maria Theresa, the elder sister of Charles II., but at his marriage had renounced all claim to the Spanish inheritance; the Emperor Leopold I., who had married Margaret Theresa, the younger sister of Charles II., but had made no such renunciation, and was, moreover, the son of another Spanish princess; and Joseph Ferdinand, the son of Max Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, and grandson of Margaret Theresa and Leopold. Attempts were made to anticipate the danger, and a treaty of partition was made which selected Joseph, who did not belong to one of the great houses of Europe. However, in 1699, the poor child died of smallpox at Brussels, probably the victim of injudicious medical treatment, and the confusion was worse confounded. William III. and Louis XIV. made a second partition treaty, by which the crown of Spain was to go to Leopold's son, the Archduke Charles, but France was to receive important Spanish possessions. Leopold, however, never recognised the treaty. The Spaniards, too, were naturally strongly opposed to partition, and Charles II. shared their views. He therefore made a will,

**Charles II.  
of Spain.**

**The Treaty  
of Partition.**

**Will of  
Charles II.**



leaving the whole of the Spanish monarchy to Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., thinking that the French king would be more able to preserve the integrity of all the Spains than the emperor. Charles died on November 9, 1700, and Louis, well knowing that he would have to encounter a serious war, chose the post of honour, and determined to accept the inheritance.

**Accession of Philip V.** He sent the young man of eighteen across the Pyrenees, under the title of Philip V., with a French army to help him, and he was permitted by Max Emanuel, who was viceroy of the Netherlands, to occupy some barrier fortresses on the French frontier.

It seemed at first as if this event would pass without notice, but William III. and Heinsius, grand pensionary of Holland,

*Balance of Power* **The Grand Alliance.** set themselves to stir up war against the sovereign whom they both detested, and succeeded in doing so, forming, with the assistance of Prussia and

Hanover, the so-called Grand Alliance, which was afterwards joined by the empire, and by Portugal and Spain, which had in the beginning supported France. The war of the Spanish Succession, which lasted from 1701 to 1714, never need have taken place. It ended in the recognition of Philip V., after a large expenditure of blood and treasure, and the only results of it were the victories of Marlborough, and the addition of a name to the roll of distinguished Englishmen whose greatness was the cause of misery during his life, and has been disputed since his death. England would probably not have joined in the war had not Louis committed the chivalrous but unwise action of recognising the son of James II. as James III., king of England. War is almost universally in history the product of passion rather than of reason, and there are few wars which could not have been prevented, the war of the Spanish Succession being certainly not amongst them.

The war began by Leopold's sending troops into Italy, and, the French having occupied the passes of the Alps, Prince Eugène

**Prince Eugène in Italy.** of Savoy, one of the purest and most faultless heroes who appear in history, was sent to turn them out. Crossing the mountains which lie to

the east of the lake of Garda, making new roads across the Alps with incredible difficulty, he descended upon Verona, defeated Catinat at the battle of Carpi, and then beat Villeroi at Chiari, and took him prisoner at Cremona. But he was recalled to Vienna to make arrangements for prosecuting the war with vigour, and his conquests were recovered by Vendôme. A

French army marched into Belgium, and, William III. dying suddenly in 1702, Louis hoped that the war might come to an end ; but it was continued by his successor, Anne, who was assisted by the mighty duke of Marlborough, one of the greatest generals the world has ever seen, the most successful of diplomatists, and the most magnanimous of men. In this miserable struggle, which never should have taken place, three characters shine with commanding lustre, Marlborough, Louis XIV., and Eugène of Savoy. Villars now crossed the Rhine, and joined his forces with those of the elector of Bavaria, who now declared himself in favour of France. To check this combination, Marlborough marched from the Netherlands, and Eugène from Italy, to meet at Heilbronn on the Neckar. Their object was to detach the elector from the French alliance, but this was prevented by his receiving reinforcements from France, which crossed the Rhine under Tallard. On August 13, 1704, was fought the battle of Blenheim, called in Germany Höchstädt, in which the French were entirely defeated. Marlborough displayed in this battle the special quality which distinguished him amongst all great generals, that of seeing with an eagle eye the crisis of the battle while it is still proceeding, and changing his plans to meet it. Observing that a gap was opening between the two bodies of the French, he gave up his plan of storming Blenheim, and drove a wedge between them, causing absolute destruction and taking Tallard prisoner, with the help of Eugène, who had been sent round to attack the French left flank. Numbers of French horsemen were drowned in the Danube, and Marlborough wrote to Queen Anne, "Mr. Tallard is in my coach." In the beginning of 1705, Joseph I. succeeded Leopold I. as emperor, and the Austrians occupied Bavaria. They were, however, hated by the inhabitants, and were attacked in the rear by the Hungarians under Rakoczy.

**Death of  
William III.**

**Battle of  
Blenheim.**

The Archduke Charles, the other claimant to the throne of Spain, now landed in Portugal, supported by the English, and advanced into Spain. Gibraltar and Barcelona were taken, the one by Rooke, the other by Peterborough. Catalonia, Navarre, Aragon, and Valencia declared for "Charles III.," so that Philip was forced to leave Madrid. Louis now made proposals for peace, which were refused, although Vendôme had conquered nearly the whole of Savoy. Villeroy was therefore sent to the Netherlands, with orders to win a great battle, but to wait until he had

**French  
Reverses  
in Spain.**

received reinforcements from the Rhine. Too impatient to delay, he suffered a severe defeat in 1706 in the battle of

**Battle of  
Ramillies.**

Ramillies, where Marlborough exhibited a similar genius to that which had won him the great victory of Blenheim. Seeing the weak point of the enemy's defence, he attacked it with an overwhelming force, mainly of Dutch cavalry, scattered the French in all directions, and broke them in their retreat by an onslaught from the high ground in the north, where he had skilfully placed a large body of his men. The result surpassed even Marlborough's expectations. Brabant, Flanders, and a portion of Hainault declared for Charles III. In the same year Eugène, supported by the

**Battle of  
Turin.**

Prussians under Leopold of Dessau, won the great victory of Turin, and drove the French out of Lombardy. This led to an armistice, but in the following year Naples was occupied by the Austrian Field-marshal Daun.

Events now became a little more favourable to the French. Philip received reinforcements from his grandfather, which

**Battles of  
Almanza**

enabled him to win the battle of Almanza and to wrest Aragon and Valencia from his rival. Villars also invaded Swabia and Franconia, and was repulsed with difficulty; while in Flanders an army commanded by the duke of Burgundy recovered Ghent and Bruges. But the face of things was changed when Marlborough and

**and  
Oudenarde.**

Eugène defeated Burgundy and Vendôme at Oudenarde, the result of which was not only the recapture of Ghent and Bruges, but the conquest of Lille, the fortifications of which were a masterpiece of Vauban's art and had been declared impregnable. The fall

**Louis offers  
Terms.**

of Lille seemed to open the door to a march on Paris. Louis made serious efforts for peace, but the English government was so determined upon his abasement that they insisted upon the condition that he should turn his arms against his own grandson, which, with proper dignity and self-respect, he magnanimously refused to do. The war went on, and its continuance is laid without

**Battle of  
Malplaquet.**

the slightest foundation to the ambition of Marlborough. His noble nature would have made any sacrifices for peace, if the politicians had allowed it. Villars fought the battle of Malplaquet, the bloodiest of the war, in which Marlborough and Eugène, with great difficulty, remained the conquerors. Louis was so humiliated that he

offered to restore Strasburg to Germany and to pay as subsidy a million francs a month towards the war against his grandson. This, however, the allies refused to accept. Even worse disasters happened. Philip was beaten in Spain in the battle of Saragossa, Charles entered Madrid in triumph on September 23, 1710, and Louis began to fear the dismemberment of France.

Louis was saved from destruction by the fall of Marlborough, caused by the unwise conduct of his wife, who was devoted to him and to her sovereign Anne, but could not control her violent temper, and by the intrigues of Harley and St. John, the worst ministers who ever managed the affairs of England. They detested Marlborough, from whom they had received great benefits. St. John did not shrink from falsehood when it served his purpose: Harley actually preferred falsehood to truth. Marlborough was deprived of his command, and, as Joseph I. had died of measles in April 1711, and his brother Charles (who had been driven from Madrid, defeated by Vendôme in the battle of Villaviciosa in December 1710, and possessed little in Spain beyond the city of Barcelona and the fortress of Montjuich) was elected emperor in December 1711, England and Holland determined to put an end to the war, which now had no object. It was worse to place the emperor on the throne of Spain, and revive the empire of Charles V., than to leave it, despoiled of Italy and the Netherlands, to a scion of France. So peace was signed at Utrecht on April 11, 1711. Philip V. was recognised as king of Spain and the Indies, on the condition that the two crowns were never united. But the close connection between France and Spain continued, with few interruptions, to be an important factor in European diplomacy, and the conduct of Napoleon towards Spain, which has been so much abused, was only a continuation of this policy: Napoleon had been summoned by the will of the French people to the throne of the Bourbons, and it was only natural that a scion of his family should replace upon the throne of Spain a member of a hostile family which popular indignation had driven from France.

The treaty of Utrecht has been abused by English historians on the ground that its terms were humiliating to England. This charge cannot be substantiated, but nothing could be more disgraceful to this country than the manner of its conclusion. It was negotiated

**Fall of  
Marl-  
borough.**

**Charles VI.  
Elected  
Emperor.**

**The Treaty  
of Utrecht.**

secretly, chiefly with the assistance of Matthew Prior, by Harley and St. John, without the knowledge of the Dutch, to whom they declared falsely that no negotiations were in progress. These two ministers knew that they had been guilty of treason, and their position depended entirely upon the friendship of Anne and the weakness of her character. If she died before peace was concluded, their fall was inevitable, and therefore Louis had them in his power. Louis was a consummate diplomatist, and as he knew that Anne was in miserable health, and that the English ministers were obliged to make peace to save their heads, he exacted terms which no honest or patriotic ministry would have accepted. Yet England obtained Gibraltar and Minorca, Newfoundland (without, however, settling the question of the fisheries, which remained an open sore till our own day), Nova Scotia, also called Acadia, Hudson Bay, and the Assiento—*i.e.* the monopoly for thirty years, in the Spanish colonies, of the African slave-trade, which was not yet condemned by the conscience of Europe. Holland was allowed to garrison eight barrier fortresses, a great humiliation for France. The duke of Savoy received Sicily with the title of king, and seven years afterwards exchanged it for Sardinia: he was also made heir to the crown of Spain, if the Bourbon dynasty came to an end, and his house has since, with its usual good fortune, acquired the more valuable crown of Italy. Prussia, surrendering the possession of Orange, acquired, besides some places in Guelders, the sovereignty of Neufchâtel and Valengin, and the recognition of the royal title. The Protestant succession was secured to England, and, in consequence of this, after the death of Anne, which followed in the next year, the elector of Hanover, the great-grandson of James I., became king of England under the title of George I., and all attempts of the Stuarts to regain their rightful throne were successfully resisted.

The new emperor, Charles VI., continued the war with France, but after being defeated at Denain, and having lost Landau and Freiburg, made, in 1714, the peace of Radstadt, by which he received the Spanish Netherlands, with the addition of Tournay, as well as Naples, Milan, Mantua, and Sardinia, the last to be exchanged a few years later for Sicily. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to their rank and their possessions. The peace was also extended to the empire, which was compelled to surrender Landau, but received Friburg, Old Breisach,

**Treaty of  
Radstadt.**

and Kehl. Louis XIV. died in 1715, a year after the conclusion of this peace, having reigned for seventy-two years. He had borne his adversities with singular dignity and sweetness, hardly tried as he was by the numerous deaths in his family, including that of his son the dauphin, and his grandson the duke of Burgundy, so that his crown came to his great-grandson, a child of five years old, who ascended the throne as Louis XV., and whose weak health made the prospect of a war of the French succession for many years a dominating factor in European politics. Louis' death was received with joy by an ungrateful country, and his corpse had to be carried to St. Denis by cross roads, and did not even then escape the jeers and insults of the crowd.

**Death of  
Louis XIV.**

#### ENGLAND, A.D. 1689-1714.

In these pages we have already narrated a considerable portion of the reigns of William III. and Anne, but some gaps remain to be filled up. William was a Calvinistic Protestant, and his wife Mary was an Anglican, so that neither was a Roman Catholic or inclined to the Roman Catholic religion. William's characteristic virtues were patience, courage, and magnanimity, but he was cold, reserved, and a Dutchman, and he never became popular in England, nor did he understand or love the English character. His reign of thirteen years was divided into two sections, the first of which, lasting eight years, was occupied by the war of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV., closed by the peace of Ryswyk, and the next five years by the preparation for the war of the Spanish Succession. His first ministers were Danby, afterwards marquis of Carmarthen, who was president of the council; Halifax, a "Trimmer," who sat on the fence in politics, keeper of the privy seal; Nottingham, a Tory, who was secretary of state; Shrewsbury, who was a Whig. Besides these must be reckoned Godolphin, who was a lord of the treasury. William was his own foreign minister, and was in intimate communication with Heinsius, grand pensionary of Holland.

**William III.**

The first act of William's reign was to settle the position of the crown on a new basis, so as to avoid the disputes which had occasioned troubles during the rule of the Stuarts. The revenue was fixed at £1,200,000 a year, to be increased in time of war; a part of this, called the Civil List, was set apart for the support of the

**Constitutional  
Changes.**

royal household and the payment of civil officers and pensions. An Appropriation Act, passed every session, prevented public money from being used for any other purpose than that for which it was granted. All holders of offices in church and state were ordered to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary; those who refused, called Non-Jurors, were chiefly clergymen, headed by Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury. By the Bill of Rights, as we shall see presently, a standing army was declared illegal; but a Mutiny Act passed every year, legalising courts martial, recognised and provided for the discipline of such a force. A Toleration Act relieved persons who had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from being fined for non-attendance at church, thus giving relief to Protestant Nonconformists but not to Roman Catholics. Besides this an act of Parliament was passed which turned into a statute the Declaration of Rights, accepted by William before he was allowed to receive the Crown, which is known as the Bill of Rights and is a corner-stone of the liberties of England. This important statute first recounted the illegal acts of James II. and asserted the vacancy of the throne owing to his abdication. It then declared the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this realm." Certain things were declared illegal—the power of suspending laws without the consent of Parliament, the dispensing power as exercised by the two last kings, the court of Ecclesiastical Commission and other similar tribunals, the levying of money or the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. Besides this it was enacted that Protestant subjects might have arms, that elections of members of Parliament must be free, that excessive fines and cruel punishment must not be imposed, that bail should be reasonable in amount, that jurors should be duly impanelled, that no estates could be forfeited except on the conviction of an offence, and that parliaments should be held frequently. Besides this, the settlement of the succession to the throne was determined, Papists being declared incapable of succeeding. A similar measure, entitled the Claim of Rights, was passed by the Scotch Parliament, and the Highlanders were disbanded after the death of their leader Dundee.

James did not surrender his claim to Ireland, but landed at Kinsale, and held a Parliament in Dublin. He was, however, defeated at Newton Butler, and the siege of Londonderry, which he commenced, was raised by William's general, Kirke,

on July 1, 1689. Next year James was entirely defeated by William in person at the battle of the Boyne, and fled to France. In England Parliament was dissolved, and, a second being elected with a Tory majority, an Act of Grace was passed pardoning all political offenders.

**Battle of  
the Boyne.**

In 1691 the pacification of Ireland was completed, Ginkel, a Dutchman, afterwards earl of Athlone, being William's principal general, and those of James being St. Ruth, Tyrconnel, and Sarsfield. This settlement was effected by the capitulation of Limerick, by which all Irish officers and soldiers who wished to leave Ireland were to be taken to France in English ships. Ten thousand accepted this offer, and formed an Irish brigade under the king of France. Certain concessions were made to Irish Catholics by William, but in 1692 severe laws were passed by the Irish Parliament against them, and thus the treaty of Limerick was violated.

**Treaty of  
Limerick.**

The reign of William was marked by domestic measures of great importance—the establishment of a National Debt in 1693, and of the Bank of England in 1694; the third Triennial Act in 1694, making three years the maximum period for the duration as well as the omission of Parliament, whereas the second act, in 1664, had affected only omission; and the abolition of the censorship of the press in 1695. His second Parliament was dissolved in the same year, and a third was elected, in which the Whigs had a majority. This Parliament reformed the law of treason, enacting that two witnesses were necessary for indictment on any charge of this nature. The Protestant Association was formed for the protection of William's life and the maintenance of the Protestant succession, a new coinage was issued under the direction of Sir Isaac Newton; and a penal Act was passed excluding Roman Catholics from the Irish Parliament. Queen Mary had died in 1694, leaving William sole sovereign, and in 1697 four treaties were signed at Ryswyk, one between France and England, one between France and Holland, and two more between France and Spain and France and Germany respectively. The war of the Grand Alliance came to an end, having secured England from the danger of invasion, and established her as the chief bulwark against French aggression.

**Domestic  
Legislation.**

The war of the Spanish Succession, which we have already related, followed, and the years between 1698 and 1702 were occupied in efforts to prevent its taking place, and in prepara-



tions for it, when it became inevitable. On October 11, 1698, the first partition treaty was signed between England, Holland, **William and the French War.** and France, by which Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands were to go to the electoral prince of Bavaria, Guipuzcoa and the two Sicilies to the dauphin, and Milan to the Archduke Charles. This treaty was signed by William without the knowledge of his ministers. In the same year a fourth Parliament met, in which the "country party" was formed to act in opposition to the crown. It voted for the reduction of the army, upon which William threatened to leave England. The chief object of his life was the restriction of the power of France, and he regarded the crown of England merely as a means to that end. In the following year his Dutch guards were disbanded. In January of this year the electoral prince died, and a second partition treaty was signed on March 25, 1700, by which Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands went to Archduke Charles, and Milan was to be given to France, to be exchanged eventually for Lorraine. At the close of this year, Charles II. of Spain died, which led to the results previously narrated.

In 1701 a fifth Parliament met, with a Tory majority—much to the disgust of William, who greatly preferred the Whigs. **The Act of Settlement.** This Parliament passed the famous Act of Settlement, which was partly a succession act—placing the duchess-electress Sophia of Hanover (daughter of the lovely queen of Bohemia, Elizabeth, sister of Charles I.) and her heirs, if Protestants, next after James II.'s daughter Anne in the succession to William,—and partly a vote of censure on William himself in the form of clauses forbidding the Hanoverian sovereigns to act as he had done. Thus they were to join the church of England, to be guided by the whole privy council—not by a secret cabinet, an individual minister, or their own ideas—to receive the permission of Parliament before leaving the country or involving it in a war to protect their foreign possessions; they were to give no offices, no places in council or Parliament, and no lands to foreigners, and to have none of their officials or pensioners sitting in the Commons; while judges were to hold office "during good behaviour," not at the mere pleasure of the crown, and a royal pardon was to be no bar to an impeachment. Some of these clauses were later repealed, and others modified, but enough remained in force to restrict the power of the crown considerably. This Parliament also impeached the Whig leaders, Somers, Portland, Orford,

and Montague for the part which they had taken in the treaties of partition, and when a document called the Kentish Petition, in support of William's policy, was presented to Parliament, the five men who brought it were imprisoned by the Commons. The Grand Alliance was now formed, chiefly by the efforts of William and Heinsius, for the regaining of the barrier towns for Holland, and of Milan for Austria. England was reluctant to join, but was persuaded to do so when Louis, on the death of James, recognised the pretender as King James III. of England. Parliament was then dissolved, and the sixth Parliament was elected with a small Whig majority. This took the side of William, and passed an act ordering all official persons to renounce the Pretender. But in 1702, William III. died of an accident, and political questions entered on a new phase.

Queen Anne, who succeeded, was a good woman and very popular, largely from her attachment to the Church of England. She was the last sovereign to preside habitually at meetings of the cabinet. Her husband was **Queen Anne and her** Prince George of Denmark, to whom she was **Ministers.** deeply attached, but he had no ability or distinction. Charles II. said of him, "I have tried him drunk; I have tried him sober; and, drunk or sober, there is nothing in him." Her principal ministers were Marlborough, Godolphin, Harley, and St. John—the first two Whigs, the last Tories. Marlborough was one of the greatest of Englishmen, although he has been much abused by historians. Whatever his conduct may have been under James or William, it had no faults under Anne. The most minute inquiry cannot discover in him during this period any failure in patriotism, dignity, or integrity. He was the sweetest and most forgiving of men, and a staunch friend. His life has never been adequately written. Godolphin was a firm friend and supporter of Marlborough. Harley was an unprincipled intriguer, with an absolute disregard for truth. He must have possessed ability to have gained the position he occupied, and his affability and easy temper procured him a large number of friends. St. John was a man of consummate ability, and of great brilliancy. He was an ardent Tory, but his want of principle and integrity has impaired the reputation which his other qualities would have secured for him. He was an admirable minister, and as an economist was in advance of his age. It is difficult to see how Anne was enabled to carry on the struggle against Louis XIV., which was natural

in the case of William III. The probable explanation is that the war was at first religious, both Anne and Marlborough being staunch Protestants, and that it afterwards became commercial as questions of trade began to assume a greater importance. The reign of Anne was marked by great violence of party conflict. The Whigs were in favour of parliamentary government and the limitation of the prerogative of the crown; they supported the war in the interests of religion and commerce, and advocated toleration to all Protestant churches. They depended for support on the Nonconformists, the rich merchants, and the middle classes who were engaged in trade. The Tories defended the royal prerogative, detested Nonconformists, and were opposed to the war because it was supported by the Whigs. They were a faint echo of the Cavaliers. They were charged with being Jacobites, and some of them undoubtedly held correspondence with the court of St. Germain, but they were staunchly attached to the English church, and would not have tolerated a Roman Catholic king. Their strength lay in the clergy and the landed gentry, as it always has done and does still at the present day.

The first ministry of Anne was a combination of Whigs and Tories—Nottingham, a Tory, was secretary of state, Godolphin first lord of the treasury, and Marlborough commander-in-chief. On October 20, 1702, Anne's first Parliament met, being of a Whig character. In the following year, in order to induce Portugal to join the Grand Alliance, the Methuen Treaty was signed, by which Portuguese were admitted into England at a lower rate than French wines. In consequence of this, our ancestors deserted the drinking of claret for that of port, to the great injury of their digestions and the dissemination of gout. The portly, unwieldy figures of our eighteenth century ancestors are largely due to the Methuen treaty. At the same time, the extensive cultivation of vineyards and the admission on favourable terms of English textiles ruined the agriculture and the manufactures of Portugal. At the end of this year, on November 26, England was devastated by a great storm, which, as sung by Dryden, still remains in the memory of men. Queen Anne's Bounty, which formed the first-fruits of benefices into a fund for the increasing of the incomes of the poorer clergy, dates from 1704. This was also the year of the capture of Gibraltar by Rooke, and the battle of Blenheim,

already mentioned. The Tory members of the cabinet resigned, and their places were taken by Harley and St. John. Anne's second Parliament met in 1705, still having a Whig majority. The year 1706 is memorable for the battles of Ramillies and Turin. Sunderland, a Whig and an adherent of Marlborough, became secretary of state, and negotiations were begun for establishing a union between England and Scotland, which was completed in 1707. By this momentous step, Great Britain came into existence. The Scotch kept their own laws and their own presbyterian church. All commercial restrictions between the two countries were removed. There was to be one Parliament for the united kingdom, Scotland being represented by forty-five members of the lower house and sixteen peers, elected afresh for every new Parliament.

**The Union  
with  
Scotland.**

In 1708, Harley and St. John resigned and the ministry became wholly Whig. Marlborough won the battle of Oudenarde and captured Lille, while Stanhope captured Minorca, which became a very valuable possession of the British crown. Anne's third Parliament met, which was very Whig, and was not likely to accept the offers of peace made by Louis XIV. In 1710, there was a sudden change from Whig to Tory, caused by the intrigues of Harley and by the dread of an attack upon the English church. Probably the fear of Anne's death and the dread of the return of the Pretender had some effect. A fourth Parliament was elected of a strong Tory complexion. The next year witnessed a complete change of policy. The duchess of Marlborough was dismissed from her offices, secret negotiations were entered upon with France, popular opinion began to turn in favour of peace, and Marlborough was dismissed from his offices. At last, in 1713, in the disgraceful manner narrated in the last chapter, the peace of Utrecht was concluded. It consisted of six several treaties, and left matters much as they were before, except that France was greatly weakened, which would have occurred in any case owing to the failing health of the great monarch. In 1714, Anne's last Parliament met, which was Tory in character, and the queen herself died.

**Fall of  
the Marl-  
boroughs.**

But, before this happened, Harley, now earl of Oxford, was dismissed from his office, Shrewsbury, a man of high character, was made first lord of the treasury, and, by the death of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, her son, George, became heir-apparent to the throne of Great Britain.

**Accession of  
George I.**

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE NORTHERN WAR, A.D. 1700-1721—ENGLAND, A.D. 1714-1740.

CONCURRENTLY with the war of the Spanish Succession was begun the great Northern War between Russia and Sweden, to which we must now direct our attention. On the death

**The Suc-  
cessors of  
Gustavus  
Adolphus.**

of Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, his daughter, became queen, but eventually resigned the crown to her nephew, Charles X. He is chiefly known by his war with John II. (Casimir), king of Poland, whom he defeated at Warsaw in 1656, concluded by the peace of Roeskilde in 1658, after the famous march of Charles across the frozen Belt. His sudden death was followed in 1660 by the peace of Oliva, in which John Casimir of Poland, a scion of the house of Vasa, gave up all claims to the inheritance of Sweden, and surrendered Esthland and Livonia to that power. Before his death, Sweden was changed from an elective to an hereditary monarchy. His son, Charles XI., who reigned from 1660 to 1689, was a powerful and capable man, who greatly increased the prosperity and influence of his country. He, however, took the side of France in the contest with the Great Elector, and stormed the defences of Fehrbellin in 1675. He was succeeded by Charles XII., a man of genius, who, ascending the throne as a minor, found himself surrounded by enemies all eager to take advantage of his youth and inexperience. The most formidable of these enemies was Russia.

The throne of Russia, after the extinction of the dynasty of Rurik in 1598, was occupied by the house of Romanov, the first of which was Michael III., son of the

**The  
Romanovs.**

Patriarch Philaret. He was succeeded by Alexis, who increased his territory at the expense of Poland, encouraged manufactures, mining, and commerce, published a code of laws, and endeavoured to bring his country into harmony with Western culture. His son, Feodor, who

reigned from 1676 to 1682, destroyed the power of the aristocracy, taking away their privileges, and establishing a bureaucracy founded on merit. At his death, the possession of the crown fell to his two brothers, Ivan III., and Peter, who exercised joint powers and sat upon a double throne, which is still to be seen. But Ivan was incompetent and nearly blind, and Peter was the great sovereign to whose genius and energy the existence of modern Russia is due.

**Peter the Great.**

As they were both young, their sister Sophia acted as regent. Soon Peter became master of the situation, and Sophia was sent to a monastery. His reign lasted from 1689 to 1725. Educated by Lefort, a Swiss from Geneva, he early conceived an enthusiasm for European civilisation and for military enterprises, so that out of his young comrades was formed the Preobrashensky Regiment, the most efficient bulwark of the crown. He set to work to carry out his plans without losing a moment. He abolished the laws which hindered foreign travels, he placed his army on a European footing, he encouraged the advent of foreigners

**His Reforms.**

into the country, he remodelled the administration, and, above all, he devoted himself to the development of sea power. He shaved off the beards of his subjects, and cut short their long gowns. He first turned his arms against Turkey, but, unfortunately, did not continue this line of advance. He conquered Asov in 1696, and secured its possession by the peace of Karlowitz in 1699. He then went abroad, lived for some time at Zaandam in Holland, occupied as a common workman; visited England, where he was well received by William III., and studied the art of shipbuilding on the Thames. He was recalled by a rising of the Streltzi, a body of soldiers like the Janissaries, who, being formed into a community with wives and families, had acquired overweening power over the government. He subdued them in the most merciless manner, put an end to their existence, and created a new army controlled and drilled in the German fashion. He now fixed covetous eyes on the sea coast, and determined to establish a fleet in the Baltic, so he joined himself with Denmark and Poland to plunder the possessions of the boy Charles.

In Poland, the family of the Jagellons, which had obtained possession of Masovia, Courland, Livonia, and Lithuania, came to an end in 1572. The monarchy then became elective, but the constitution was, in effect,

**Poland.**

an oligarchical republic, like Venice, and was weakened by

the endeavours of the nobles to limit the royal power on the one side and to depress the people on the other. The first elected king was the duke of Anjou, who afterwards became Henry III. of France. The Poles then elected Stephen Batori, prince of Transylvania, who was followed by three kings of the house of Vasa—Sigismund III. of Sweden, Vladislaus IV.

**John  
Casimir.**

and John II. (Casimir.) The election of Casimir brought about a war with Sweden, in which Poland lost to her Esthland and Livonia, provinces which had been acquired by Sigismund III. Poland was also compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of Prussia, which had assisted Sweden in the war. Casimir had also to surrender Smolensk and a part of the Ukraine to Russia, which led to his abdication, and he was succeeded by Michael—sprung from the ancient race of the Piasts, who had succeeded the Jagellons as kings of Poland—who reigned from 1669 to 1673, and then by the heroic John III. (Sobieski), (1674-1696) who had conquered the Turks at Choczim, and now wrested from them Podolia and Kameniec, and drove them back from the walls of Vienna. But, though successful abroad, he could not procure peace and order at home. The next king of Poland was Augustus II. of Saxony, called the Strong, because he could bend a horseshoe with his fingers. At the invitation of Peter, he joined Russia in the war against Charles XII., hoping to regain for Poland, Esthland and Livonia, as he had promised when he succeeded to the throne. The league was also joined

**Denmark.**

by King Christian V. of Denmark, because, in his quarrel with Duke Frederick IV. of Holstein-Gottorp, Charles XII. had taken the side of the duke, who was his brother-in-law. Christian also hoped to recover the territory which he had ceded to Sweden in the treaty of Copenhagen. Christian, indeed, died in 1699, but his policy was

**Triple  
Alliance  
against  
Charles XII.**

continued by his son and successor, Frederic IV. In this manner, Charles XII., coming to the throne at the age of eighteen, found himself opposed by three powerful enemies—Russia, Poland, and Denmark—each wishing to take advantage of the youth and weakness of the Swedish king, to recover territory which it had lost; and the Northern War began in 1700, just when the war of the Spanish Succession was on the point of breaking out in another part of Europe.

The war began by the invasion of Livonia by Augustus, of Ingria by Peter, and of Schleswig by the Danes. Charles

was, however, no ordinary man, and by these unjust and cowardly attacks he was stimulated to exert his powers to the utmost. He had a strong will, an eager though too adventurous spirit, a sound moral nature, which made him detest the abandoned character of his opponent Augustus, the "physically strong," and a love of truth which filled him with indignation against the falseness of the age in which he lived. But in Peter he found an antagonist worthy of his steel. He made an alliance with the Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg, Holland, and England, and attacked his nearest enemy, the king of Denmark. Landing in Iceland and obtaining speedy successes, he compelled him in the peace of Traventhal to abandon his alliance with Russia, to give back everything which he had taken away from the duke of Holstein Gottorp, and to acknowledge his right to his possessions in Schleswig. He then turned against Russia. Peter was besieging the town of Narva. Charles won the battle of that name with eight thousand troops against a force five times its strength. Then he compelled Augustus to give up the investment of Riga. Crossing the river Duna, he conquered the Saxons, drove them out of Livonia and Courland, and then marched into Littau. Augustus sought for peace, but in vain.

**The  
Northern  
War.**

**Victories of  
Charles XII.**

Charles XII. detested Augustus, and the energies of his life were wasted in his endeavours to crush him. He first tried to deprive him of the crown of Poland. He marched into that country and conquered Warsaw, and, after the battles of Klissow in 1702 and Pultusk in 1703, he became master of the whole of Poland, and in 1704 forced the Polish nobles to elect Stanislaus Leszczynski as a counter king. He then defeated the Saxons at Fraustadt, marched through Silesia and the Lausitz into Saxony, and took up his abode at Alt-Ranstädt, a town near Leipzig, which no longer belongs to Saxony, where the house in which he lived still remains unaltered, and in 1706, by the peace of Alt-Ranstädt, compelled Augustus to give the crown of Poland to Stanislaus and to forsake the Russian alliance. It is remarkable that a king of Sweden should have taken up his abode for a whole year in the heart of Saxony and have neglected his own country, but Alt-Ranstädt was, during this period, the centre of European diplomacy, and Charles was visited there by Marlborough. Peter took advantage of this opportunity to conquer a large

**Charles  
at Alt-  
Ranstädt.**



portion of the Baltic provinces, to found Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva in 1703, to build the fortress of Cronstadt in 1704, and to occupy Lithuania. This action was disastrous for Sweden, and led to her fall, but it may be questioned whether it was for the good of Russia. Russia is the natural heir of the Byzantine empire, her proper civil capital is Moscow, and her religious capital Kiev. It is right that she should possess Constantinople and an outlet on the Mediterranean by way of the Dardanelles. Peter could have gained all this with the approval of Europe, as Catherine II. could have done at a later period, if he had not been torn asunder by his desire to humiliate Charles XII. and to reach the sea as soon as possible. St. Petersburg is an unnatural capital; it is founded on piles and is sinking slowly into the sea; it is unhealthy; and it is in every increase of the Russian dominions farther away from the centre of gravity of the empire.

After leaving Saxony, Charles crossed the Beresina, defeated the Russians at Cholovczin, and then crossed the Dnieper. He was joined by Mazeppa, who, wishing to free the Ukraine from paying tribute to Russia, brought him 30,000 of his Cossacks and abundant supplies of food. At his impulse, he determined to march upon Moscow, and ordered his general, Lewenhaupt, who was stationed in Courland, to join him with 11,000 men, but he found himself involved in marshes and desert, and his troops perished from hunger and disease. Lewenhaupt joined him, having lost half his army and all his supplies on the march. Mazeppa was deserted by his own people, and reached the camp of Charles as a fugitive. At last, with difficulty, he reached the city of

**Battle of  
Pultava.**

Pultava, where he found himself opposed by a Russian army of three times his strength. Charles had been wounded in the foot, and was carried through the ranks of his troops in a litter made of lance poles. He was completely defeated in 1709, and his army was scattered to the winds.

Charles escaped with great difficulty to Bender in Bessarabia, where he was received with great honour by the pasha, and by command of the Sultan, Achmed III., was supplied with provisions and money, and allowed to establish a fortified camp, in which he lived. He was ashamed to return to his own country, and he employed a Pole, Count Poniatowski, to stir up the Sultan to a war with

**Charles at  
Bender.**

Russia. Peter marched into Moldavia, but was surrounded by the Turks on the Pruth, and would have been lost if his wife Catherine had not procured his escape by bribing the Grand Vizier and surrendering Azov. When Charles protested against this, the Turks determined to get rid of him, and refused supplies. This made Charles still more obstinate. He procured money from France and other places, built himself a house, and seemed likely to remain in Bender for the rest of his life. He stimulated the Sultan to a fresh war against Russia, which was stopped by the intervention of England and Holland. During this time Sweden was neglected, and was becoming every day weaker. The true condition of affairs was at length realised by the Sultan. Augustus of Saxony had recovered the Polish crown; Peter had extended his conquests over the Baltic provinces, including Finland; Denmark had strengthened herself by the possession of Bremen and Verden, and was assured of the possession of Schleswig and Holstein by a league of neutrality signed by Prussia, England, Holland, and France, called the Concert of the Hague. The Sultan now urged Charles to depart, and, when he refused, attacked his camp with an army of 12,000 men, whom Charles opposed with a handful of 700 Swedes. After a heroic resistance, he was taken prisoner, and carried off to a castle of the Sultan in the neighbourhood of Adrianople.

This insane enterprise had lasted for five years, and during that time Sweden had been without a king. Nothing now remained to Charles but a return to his own country. Disguised, on horseback, he rode with terrific speed for fourteen days, and reached **Charles returns to Sweden.** Stralsund on November 22, 1714, where he found everything in confusion. Anne was dead, Louis XIV. was dying, and Charles and Peter occupied the stage of Europe. As soon as Charles arrived in Stralsund, he ordered the Prussians to evacuate Stettin, upon which Prussia, Hanover, and England declared war against him, and besieged him. When, after a short resistance, he found that the city was no longer defensible, he crossed over to Sweden in a small boat, and arrived there on December 24, 1715, after an absence of fifteen years. Stralsund fell soon after his departure, which speedily involved the loss of Wismar, so that Sweden had no more possessions left on German soil. Instead of going to Stockholm and summoning the chambers, he remained in the little town of Ystad, depending upon the advice of his untrustworthy minister, Baron Görz. He now attempted the reduction of Norway, which

belonged to Denmark, and crossed the mountains with great difficulty on the way to Christiania, but he was compelled to return to Sweden. Görz was attempting to make peace when Charles determined upon a second invasion of Norway, crossing the mountains again and attacking the small but well defended frontier fortress of Friedrichshall, which it was necessary to reduce before he could advance into the interior. On November 20, 1718, at nine o'clock in the evening, he went

**Death of  
Charles.**

to watch the fortress by torchlight, and, as he was leaning on the parapet, he was killed by a ball from the fortress. It was long thought that he was the victim of treachery, but careful surgical observations have proved that this was not the case.

After the death of Charles, the Swedish nobles, to revenge themselves for his conduct, which had always been unpopular and was certainly disastrous to the country, arrested Görz, and with a slight show of legality condemned and beheaded him. After neglecting the claims of Charles' nephew, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, they placed on the throne his sister, Ulrica Eleanor, who was married to Frederick, crown prince

**Treaties of  
Stockholm  
and Nystadt.**

of Hesse Cassel. By the treaties of Stockholm, made in 1719 and 1720, with Denmark, Prussia, and Hanover, Sweden lost her possessions in Germany, and by the treaty of Nystadt in 1721 she surrendered to Russia the Baltic provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria. Queen Ulrica made over the government of the country to her husband Frederick, who consented to a considerable limitation of the powers of the crown. Bremen and Verden were sold to Hanover—that is, to George I. of England—for a million thalers; a large portion of Pomerania was purchased by Prussia for two million dollars; and Sweden fell into such a condition of weakness that the country was distracted by the quarrels of two parties, the "Hats" and the "Caps," the first being devoted to the French and the second to the Russians, while the government oscillated in dependence upon one of these countries or the other as their influence alternately prevailed. Poland was even in a worse condition than Sweden. Stanislaus, having lost all his power after the death of Charles XII., retired to France but kept the title of king, with a gift of a million thalers from Augustus the Strong.

The result of this was that Peter the Great was the most powerful sovereign in the north of Europe. He deprived the Parliament and the Synod of their power, and became the

head of the Russian church, and in 1720 assumed the title of Emperor of all the Russias. He conquered a part of the Caucasus, and opened the way for a large extension of Russian territory towards the east. A few years before his death, which occurred in 1725, he got a law passed which gave the emperor the right of nominating his successor. His son Alexis, who was opposed to all his father's reforms, was under the influence of the clergy, and would probably, if he had succeeded to the throne, have upset everything which his father had done. He was arrested, and died in prison, certainly with his father's cognisance, possibly by his hand. Peter left the throne to the widow of Alexis, their son Peter being only a child. Catherine I. reigned from 1725 to 1727; Peter II. from 1727 to 1730, Menzikow being prime minister until he was deposed by the Dolgorukis and sent to Siberia. Peter II. was followed by the Empress Anna, the daughter of Ivan, Peter's elder brother. She was the widow of the duke of Courland, and reigned from 1730 to 1740, having for her prime minister Biren, who drove the Dolgorukis from power. After the death of Anna, the crown passed to Ivan VI., the son of her niece, Anne, duchess of Brunswick, who acted as regent. Ivan was deposed by Field-marshal Munich, and the government remained with Anne. Eventually, in 1741, Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great, got possession of the throne, with the help of her physician Lestocq, and held it till her death in 1762, Anne and her supporters being banished to Siberia.

**Last Years  
of Peter the  
Great.**

**His  
Successors.**

#### ENGLAND, A.D. 1714-1740.

George I., elector of Hanover, was fifty-four years of age when he came to the throne of England, in 1714. He had already been elector of Hanover for sixteen years. He was a man of no distinction, although he possessed a certain stubborn courage in war. He had never learnt English, and his interests were centred in Hanover. As Chesterfield said of him, England was too large for him, and his narrow and punctilious mind could not rise to the dignity of governing a great kingdom. This was disastrous to our country, because she became involved in petty continental quarrels in which she had no interest. In 1682 he had married

**George I.**

Sophia Dorothea of Zell, whom he divorced on a charge of infidelity, which had little foundation and which she strongly denied. She spent the last thirty-two years of her life in a solitary mansion on the moors of Lüneburg, flitting like a ghost over the waste of heather, an object of compassion, but also of mysterious terror. He quarrelled with his son, George II., and he consoled himself for the absence of his wife with dull German mistresses. One consequence of the sovereign's ignor-

ance of English was that he did not attend cabinet councils. The result was to give the prime

**Growth of the Cabinet.** minister much more power, and to increase the importance of the cabinet. The cabinet is a curious institution, which has grown up gradually and is unknown to the constitution. When the ministry resigns, the king invites a prominent politician to form a government. He in his turn fills up the various offices, and nominates some of their holders to form a cabinet, the number being at his own discretion. The cabinet meets irregularly, but the prime minister always presides. It forms what is called a probouleutic body—that is to say, it decides what measures shall be brought before Parliament and the form which they shall take. The proceedings are strictly private, and the order of business varies according to circumstances. The members are supposed to be loyal to each other, and to present a united front to the nation and to their adversaries. Historically speaking, the cabinet is a committee of the privy council, which now no longer deliberates, but only performs certain executive functions.

The head of the first cabinet of George I. was Townshend, who was assisted by Stanhope and Halifax, and above all by

**Robert Walpole.** Walpole, who was paymaster of the forces, but not yet in the cabinet. Robert Walpole is the typical minister of George's reign. He had a

large mind and an imposing presence: he possessed that sense of moderation which he knew to be especially necessary at a time when the strife between Stuarts and Hanoverians raged furiously, and foreign or civil war might have entirely destroyed the power of England. He kept the country and the government together, until England was ready for the rule of George III., who was a thorough Englishman, with neither the vices nor the virtues of the Stuarts. A general election, in 1715, returned a Whig Parliament; St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, threatened with impeachment, went abroad, and joined the Pretender; Oxford was impeached and imprisoned; Ormond fled

the country. To prevent disturbances, a Riot Act was passed, by which it was provided that any twelve persons assembling together for the purpose of disturbing the peace who did not disperse on the order of a magistrate should be guilty of felony. England found herself involved in difficulties with Sweden, in the interests of Hanover. As before mentioned, Bremen and Verden, which in the absence of Charles XII. from his country had been taken by Frederick of Denmark, were now sold by him to Hanover, but Charles on his return was anxious to recover them, and an English fleet was sent to the Baltic to prevent this from taking place.

The year 1715 is marked by a great rebellion in favour of the Pretender. The leaders of it were John Erskine, earl of Mar, who in consequence of his frequent change of opinion was called "Bobbing John," and the earl of Derwentwater. On September 6, Mar proclaimed the Pretender as James VIII. of Scotland and James III. of England, at Braemar. The battles of Preston and Sheriffmuir were fought on the same day—one a defeat, the other indecisive; the Pretender landed too late to help, and in 1716 the rebellion was suppressed. Indeed, it never had a chance of success; France refused to assist, the English government suppressed any possible rising in the west, and the Highlanders were of no use against regular troops. The rebels were treated with general leniency; only Derwentwater and Kenmure perished on the scaffold. Among the results of this rebellion were the Septennial Act, which, in the interests of security, prolonged the legal duration of the sitting and future Parliaments to seven years; and the making of roads in the Highlands by Marshal Wade, in order to prevent another rising of the clans. In 1717 a triple alliance was concluded between England, France, and Holland, against the pretensions of Spain, and Alberoni, the powerful minister of that country, began to intrigue for the restoration of the Stuarts. As Townshend did not approve of this policy he was dismissed, Walpole resigned, and the government came into the hands of Stanhope and Sunderland. In 1718, the triple alliance became a quadruple alliance by the addition of the empire, a war broke out between Spain and Austria, and there was a formal declaration of war by England against Spain. However, in 1719, Alberoni fell from power, and in 1720 peace was made.

In 1721, Walpole became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and was assisted by Townshend

Rebellion  
of 1715.

and Carteret. The weakness of the crown favoured the rise of a really great minister such as Walpole undoubtedly was. A staunch friend of peace, and an admirable financier, by his equable temper and diplomatic prowess he kept England out of foreign complications without injuring her prestige, and under his rule commercial progress made great advances. He removed restrictions on commerce, and laid the foundations of a valuable colonial trade. He also consolidated cabinet government, the beginnings of which have already been noticed. He demanded unity of action from his colleagues; he governed in accordance with the will of the people as expressed in the House of Commons; and, while allowing members of the cabinet considerable liberty in the expression of opinion, took pains to keep himself at its head. Unfortunately, he allowed a system of corruption to grow up which lasted till the advent to power of the younger Pitt in the year 1783. Members of Parliament who had little political principle were ready to sell their votes for money, and Walpole said of his chief opponents that every man had his price. In 1722 it was found that Bishop Atterbury had been plotting in favour of the Pretender; he was impeached and banished, but at the same time a pardon was granted to the exiled Bolingbroke.

In the interval between the death of Louis XIV., in 1715, and the accession of Frederick the Great in 1740, foreign affairs were both complicated and obscure. It has been said that the politics of Europe turned on the fate of the boy king Louis XV.,—on the questions, first, whether he would die, and secondly, whom he would marry. Philip V. of Spain was eager to undo the treaty of Utrecht; to assert his own right of succession to the crown of France if Louis died; in any case to strengthen the connection between the two countries. But the most active intriguer in Europe was Philip's second wife, Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, and her chief aim was to secure for her sons appanages in her native Italy—a scheme only partly consonant with Spanish interests. After the fall of Alberoni, Philip renewed his renunciation of the French succession; the Spanish Infanta went to France as the prospective bride of Louis; and England and France prepared to support Spanish claims in Italy at the impending congress of Cambrai. But, when they failed to coerce the emperor in Spain's interest, Elizabeth resolved to win over Charles VI. by direct negotiations, and marry her sons to Austrian archduchesses. Charles offered only very one-

sided terms, but Spain was driven to accept them by Louis' sudden repudiation of the Infanta in 1725, followed by his marriage with Maria Leszczyńska of Poland. His advisers, alarmed by an illness which might have ended fatally and left the succession open, had urged an immediate marriage, and the Infanta was still under seven. Yet her hasty return to Spain caused not unnatural chagrin, and led Elizabeth, in return for the vaguest promises, to grant trading privileges to Charles' pet Ostend Company, and to guarantee his "Pragmatic Sanction"—i.e. **Marriage of Louis XV.** a decree securing the Austrian dominions—failing **The Pragmatic Sanction.** male issue—to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa.

The treaty of Hanover, formed in alarm by England, France, and Prussia, and joined presently by Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, forced Charles VI. to make larger promises, especially as to help in recovering Gibraltar and Minorca. Yet, when in 1727 Gibraltar was attacked by Spain, he did not fulfil his engagements, and preliminaries of peace were soon signed. At this crisis, George I. died, and was succeeded by his son, George II., who, in 1705, had married Caroline of Anspach, a gifted woman, to whom he was sincerely attached, although she had prevented him from keeping mistresses at his court, the general practice of sovereigns in those days.

George II. was a better king than his father. He was courageous, just, and truthful, was a good man of business, and was not averse to war. Walpole kept his place, and the system of cabinet government was **George II.** continued. The condition of Europe did not improve, and its vicissitudes are difficult to follow until the arrival of greater men upon the scene of action. In 1729, a son and heir was born to Louis XV., and peace was made between England, France, and Spain by the treaty of Seville. By this, the appanage of "Baby Charles," the succession of Don Carlos to Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany, was at last guaranteed. In 1731, the second treaty of Vienna was signed between England, Holland, Austria, and Spain, by which the succession to the Italian duchies and the arrangements of the Pragmatic Sanction were confirmed. Two years later a family compact was signed between the two Bourbon kingdoms of France and Spain, which was afterwards renewed and produced considerable results. In 1737, Queen Caroline died, an event which weakened the popularity of Walpole. Frederick, prince of Wales, a weak but amiable

**The Family Compact.**



character, led the opposition against Walpole, and it was strengthened by the appearance of the great William Pitt, then merely a "terrible cornet of horse," the leader of the young Whigs, who were called "the boys," who were tired of Walpole's pacific policy and wished for more resolute action, especially against Spain. In consequence of this, in 1739, war was declared against Spain,

**War with  
Spain.**

generally known as the war of "Jenkins' Ear,"

because a sea captain of that name had his ear cut off. The real cause, however, was the claim of Spain to search English ships on the high seas, in order to discover whether the conditions imposed upon British trade by the treaty of Utrecht were properly observed. Spain claimed the entire possession of the new world, which England could not permit, and which Spain's power was not sufficient to enforce. This led to war in the present instance, and nearly to a war in the time of the French Revolution with regard to Nootka Sound. The war began with the capture of Portobello by Admiral Vernon. It was popular, and the opposition to Walpole was strengthened by the collusion of Pulteney and Carteret. But an important event occurred, which altered the course of events in Europe. In 1740, the year in which Anson started on his voyage round the world, and attacked Spanish ships, the Emperor Charles

**Death  
of the  
Emperor  
Charles.**

VI. died, and, according to the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, was succeeded by his daughter Maria Theresa. In the same year, Frederick II. succeeded to the throne of Prussia,

and, by claiming from Maria Theresa the province of Silesia, began the war of the Austrian Succession. From this time till his death, Frederick is the most prominent figure in Europe.

## CHAPTER IX.

PRUSSIA, A.D. 1675-1786—RUSSIA, A.D. 1762-1776—AUSTRIA,  
A.D. 1765-1790—ENGLAND, A.D. 1740-1783.

**THE** real founder of the kingdom of Prussia was the Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, who by the treaty of Welau obtained sovereignty over Preussen, an Eastern province on the Baltic, the capital of which was Königsberg, and, as ally of Holland against Louis XIV., won, in 1675, the battle of Fehrbellin, as has been previously narrated. He was a powerful supporter of Protestantism, a confession already adopted in 1613 by the Elector John Sigismund. The son of the Great Elector, Frederick III., a very splendid and extravagant gentleman, having promised to support the Emperor Leopold in the war of the Spanish Succession, was made king of Prussia, on January 18, 1701, just a hundred and seventy years before his successor, William, received the title of German Emperor at Versailles. His son and successor, Frederick William I., who reigned from 1713 to 1740, paid the debts of his extravagant father. He was of a rough nature, insensible to culture of all kinds, and spent his life in reforming the administration of his kingdom and getting together a powerful army, the kernel of which was formed by a collection of the tallest men in Europe, whom he gathered by every means in his power, fair and foul. At his death he left a treasure of nine million thalers, and an army of 83,000 men. He had many excellences as a sovereign. He did much to restore the prosperity of a country ruined by the Thirty Years' War. He rebuilt towns, filled deserts with inhabitants, and established schools and other benevolent institutions. In 1731, he received the Protestants driven out of their country by Firmian, archbishop of Salzburg. In the creation of his army, he was assisted by Leopold of Dessau, called the "old Dessauer," who did yeoman service at Blenheim and Turin. He increased his

kingdom by the acquisition of Upper Guelders in the treaty of Utrecht, and of Stettin in the Northern War.

The new kingdom wanted a man of genius to consolidate it, and this was found in Frederick II., rightly called Frederick the Great, who, besides his extraordinary intellectual qualities, possessed an iron will and untiring industry. He was born on January 24, 1712. His first education was French, which took such hold upon him as to make him the object of his father's animosity. No two natures could be more different—he was David, son of Goliath. He was treated so badly that he attempted to fly to England, but was arrested, imprisoned in the fortress of Küstrin, and condemned to death. Though himself reprieved, he saw his bosom friend, Lieutenant Katte, brutally executed under his windows. He afterwards married a princess of Brunswick-Bevern, and received Rheinsberg as an inheritance. Here he continued his French studies, and kept up his correspondence with Voltaire, D'Alembert, and other leaders of the French Renaissance. However, he determined to be a great king, and in this matter to follow in his father's footsteps. He said to his ministers on his accession, "You may have hitherto thought that there was a difference between the interests of the king and the interests of the country; henceforth, you must consider that they are the same—indeed, that the interests of the country come first."

We have already seen that Frederick and Maria Theresa ascended their respective thrones in the same year. Frederick immediately laid claim, on very insufficient grounds, to a part of Silesia, marched into Glatz, compelled Breslau to be neutral, and the first Silesian War began. The young prince of Dessau stormed Glogau, and Frederick fought in 1741 the battle of Mollwitz, in which the victory was secured by Schwerin. Brieg surrendered, Breslau did homage to the new sovereign, and Silesia was conquered. The action of Frederick against the unfortunate Maria Theresa was soon imitated on a larger scale. The Coalition against Austria. Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria denied the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction, and claimed the Austrian dominions; Philip V. of Spain did the same, and concluded a treaty of Nymphenburg with France and Bavaria, which was joined by Saxony, Cologne, and the Palatinate. Frederick signed a treaty with France at Breslau, in which he promised to give the Elector of Bavaria his vote for

the imperial crown. The object of these combined attacks was the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy, and the Silesian war became a war of the Austrian Succession. **War of the Austrian Succession.** As the Saxons invaded Bohemia and the Spaniards Italy, Charles Albert occupied Upper Austria, marched into Bohemia and received the homage of his subjects at Prague, and was crowned at Frankfort as German Emperor, with the title of Charles VII. Hereupon, Maria Theresa betook herself to Pressburg, and threw herself upon the fidelity and chivalry of the Hungarians. She mounted, on horseback, the legendary hill, swung her sword north, south, east, and west, and the nobles and people shouted in the official Latin tongue, "Vivat domina et rex noster, Theresia! Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia!" ("Long live our Lady and King Maria Theresa! Let us die for our King, Maria Theresa!"). Her tender age of twenty-three, her beauty, goodness, and fine courage, had won all hearts, and were to preserve her through the trials of a long, but, in many ways, troubled reign.

In 1742, Frederick won a second battle at Chotusitz, and Maria Theresa, by the intervention of England, made with him the treaty of Berlin, by which a large portion of Silesia was ceded to Prussia. As Saxony also acceded to this peace, Maria was able to overrun Bavaria, to capture the capital, Munich, and drive the pseudo-emperor from his dominions, and the French from Bohemia, while the English in 1743 won the battle of Dettingen, and Charles Emmanuel of Saxony joined Austria. Frederick was not satisfied, and in 1744 he aided Charles VII. and the French in a second Silesian War, which, **Second Silesian War.** after Prague and Munich had been captured and recaptured, ended by the death of Charles, at the early age of forty-eight. His son, Maximilian II. (Joseph), signed the peace of Füssen in 1745, in which he resigned all claims to the empire and promised to vote for Francis I. of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa. Francis was crowned at Frankfort on September 13, 1745, and was recognised by Frederick in the peace of Dresden, so that the war of the Austrian Succession came to an end, so far as Bavaria was concerned. But Maria Theresa was still unsatisfied. She yearned for Silesia. Frederick, however, beat her armies in June at Hohenfriedberg, in September at Sohr, and in December at Kesselsdorf; Dresden capitulated; and Maria Theresa at last recognised the Prussian claim to Silesia and Glatz. Spain now gave up the war in Italy, and Austria had only to contend against the French in the Nether-

lands. Here Maurice of Saxony, the son of Augustus the Strong, serving as a French marshal, won several battles over the Austrians and English. The Empress Elizabeth of Russia

**Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.** promised aid to the allies, and this helped to make France accept the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which completely put an end to the struggle. The Pragmatic Sanction was maintained, and Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla went to Carlos.

Peace continued for some years, but Maria Theresa had not given up hope of recovering Silesia, and she continued to make

**French and Austrian Alliance.** preparations with that object. With the help of her minister Kaunitz, she made an alliance with France, now governed by Louis XV. and his

mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour—with the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, whom Frederick had satirised—and with Saxony, whose minister, Count Brühl, was Frederick's personal enemy. Having heard of the plans of his enemies by the betrayal of the secrets of the Saxon foreign office, Frederick determined to forestall them, made an alliance with England, an enemy of France, and with Brunswick, Hesse Cassel, and Saxe Gotha, and

**The Seven Years' War.** by a sudden invasion of Saxony in 1756 began the Seven Years' War. He occupied Dresden, blockaded the Saxons at Pirna, defeated at Lob-

sitz Marshal Browne the Austrian, who was marching to their assistance, compelled the whole Saxon army, 17,000 strong, to lay down their arms at Pirna, and got Saxony into his power. In the second year, 1757, Austria was joined by Sweden and the empire, but Frederick conquered Bohemia and won the battle of Prague, though with the loss of his trusty general, Schwerin. Frederick was defeated at Kolin on June 18, 1757, but avenged himself brilliantly at Rossbach against the French on November 5, and completely routed the Austrians at Leuthen on December 5. Meanwhile the Russians, under Apraxin, were defeated at Grossjägerndorf, and stopped from further operations by the false news of the death of Elizabeth and the accession of Peter III., who was a friend of Frederick. In the third year of the war, 1758, Frederick received the powerful assistance of the English minister, the great William Pitt, and committed the command of his allied troops to the hero Ferdinand of Brunswick, who drove the French back to the Rhine, and defeated them at Crefeld. Frederick now secured Brandenburg from invasion by beating the Russians at Zorndorf on one side and the Austrians at Hochkirch on the other, but he could not prevent the former

occupying Preussen. In the fourth year, 1759, Frederick busied himself with defensive operations, because his own army was worn out and the enemy had received new assistance. It is true that Duke Ferdinand defeated the French at Minden on August 1, but he could not prevent the Russians and Austrians from fighting and winning the battle of Kunersdorf on August 12, or the capture of Dresden by Daun. The fifth year, 1760, is marked by the battle of Torgau, fought on November 3: the wing commanded by Frederick was entirely defeated, and the king spent the night in devising plans for recovering himself on the following day; but in the early morning he received news from Ziethen that he had been successful on his wing, and that the enemy was retiring. King George II. of England was succeeded in 1760 by his grandson, George III., who, partly from jealousy of Pitt, determined to withdraw from the war, and to discontinue the subsidies. This brought Frederick into terrible straits. On the other hand, in 1763, the Empress Elizabeth died, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III., who not only made peace, but an alliance with Frederick, and when Peter died six months later, and was succeeded by Catherine II., although the alliance was dissolved, peace was made. Frederick, however, had still to continue fighting until the peace of Paris between France, England, and Spain was signed on February 10, 1763, by which England acquired Canada and many other colonial possessions, and which was followed on February 15 by the peace of Hubertsburg between Prussia and Austria, securing Silesia to Prussia, though otherwise restoring all conquests. Thus ended the Seven Years' War, the great event of the middle of the eighteenth century, as the war of the Spanish Succession had been of its commencement, and the American War and the French Revolution were of its close. England gained much by it, but if Pitt had continued in office she would have gained much more.

**Treaties of  
Paris and  
Huberts-  
burg.**

In the Seven Years' War, Frederick showed himself to be in the first rank of military commanders of modern times, but he also displayed qualities of untiring energy, of love of action which rivalled that of the first Napoleon, of economy, and of strict justice. In these respects, he made himself a model to the extravagant and self-indulgent German princes of his time, who had been corrupted by the example of Versailles. Above all, he placed the welfare of his people above every other consideration. His

**Frederick's  
Domestic  
Policy.**

court set an example of careful housekeeping, which he carried sometimes to extraordinary lengths. An ambassador wrote to the English Foreign Office that he saw the great king, before an evening party in the palace, inspect the ball room, to see that too many wax lights were not being consumed. Berlin owed much to him as a city; he built the Opera House, the Cathedral, and the Public Library, and he founded the country villas of Potsdam, the Neue Palais, and Sansouci. His leisure time was spent in the pursuit of music, poetry, and science. He held a concert every day, in which he played the flute, and the music performed at these entertainments is still much admired. He corresponded with most of the illustrious persons of his time, but always in the French language, in which he wrote both prose and poetry. His great friend and confidant was that versatile genius Voltaire, with whom he eventually quarrelled. Maria Theresa was

**Maria  
Theresa.**

a worthy contemporary of this great man. She also used the period of peace now allowed her to heal the wounds of war, to build up a wise administration of her motley empire, to further the interests of her subjects, by the wisdom of a statesman and the loving care of a mother. She also practised a strict economy, encouraged manufactures and commerce, reformed the army, invented a system of military colonies on the frontiers, and secured the affections of the Hungarians. Frederick was a free-thinker, Maria Theresa a strict Catholic, but she did not allow herself to be dominated by the influence of Rome.

#### RUSSIA, A.D. 1762-1776.

Russia was at this time governed by Catherine II., a princess of Anhalt Zerbst, the widow of Peter III., famous for her amours and her ability, her learning and her lust. She reigned over the Russian empire from 1762 to 1776. When Stanislaus Poniatowski gave the Dissidents in Poland equal rights with the Catholics, the latter formed in 1768 the Confederation of Bar, and made war against Stanislaus, who was supported by Russia. Catherine also made war against the Turks, who were roused to action by France, and, after burning the Turkish fleet in the sea fight of Tchesmé in 1770, made herself mistress of Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Crimea. Catherine now conceived the idea of a partition of Poland, and Frederick fell in with her views.

**Catherine  
II.**

Austria, represented by Kaunitz, did not reject the tempting offer, and in 1772 the first partition of Poland took place. Austria received eastern Galicia and Lodomeria, formed into a kingdom; Prussia, the district which had been surrendered to Poland in the peace of Thorn in 1466, and the eastern part of Lithuania as far as the Duna and the Dnieper. This act of partition was condemned by the other powers, and the fate of the country, which was finally dismembered by two other partitions, has excited much commiseration, for which there is little foundation. Distracted by faction, Poland was entirely unable to govern herself, and it is doubtful whether, if she were now restored, she would exhibit any greater capacity in this respect. Catherine II. continued to make war against Turkey, and, in the year 1774, in the treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji, obtained the right of freedom of commerce in all Turkish waters, and, in the peace of January 1792, the river Dniester as a boundary. Assisted by her favourite Potemkin, she continued the work of Peter the Great in bringing Russia into line with the civilisation of the rest of Europe, and promoted both the material and spiritual development of her dominions by every means in her power, so that she has left behind her the reputation of a great and beneficent ruler.

**First  
Partition of  
Poland.**

**Treaty of  
Kainardji.**

#### AUSTRIA, A.D. 1765-1790.

Joseph II., the son of Maria Theresa, was elected emperor in 1765, on the death of his father, Francis I., although his mother continued to govern the territory of Austria. He took Frederick the Great as a model of a reforming sovereign, but he made the mistake of supposing that reforms could be introduced by the promulgation of edicts and laws, and forgot that liberty must rest on a change of people's hearts. He is represented as sitting at a table with his minister, writing edicts which the minister threw into the waste-paper basket. One of his great objects was to increase his dominions by the incorporation of a large portion of Bavaria, and, for this purpose, he seized the opportunity given him by the death of the Elector Maximilian III. (Joseph) in 1777. He persuaded his successor, Charles Theodore, who was Elector Palatine also, to make over to him much of the Bavarian inheritance. Frederick the Great resisted this by joining Frederick Augustus of Saxony in a war of

**Joseph II.**



the Bavarian Succession, which consisted of little else than an invasion of Bohemia as far as Troppau, and is known by the name of the Potato War. It was put an end to by the peace of Teschen in 1779, by which Joseph renounced all right to Bavaria except a district connecting Austria with the Tyrol—the so-called Innviertel, being the land enclosed by the Inn, the Danube, and the Salzach. A further attempt of Joseph to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria was met by Frederick with the establishment of the League of Princes in 1785, in which the three Protestant Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover, joined by the ecclesiastical Elector of Main, supported the rights of the German princes of the empire. In the following year, August 17, 1786, Frederick the Great died, having raised his kingdom to the rank of a first-class European power, and increased its borders by the acquisition of Silesia in 1763, West Prussia in 1772, and Eastern Friesland in 1744, besides smaller territories, so that, at his death, it numbered a population of five million and a half.

Joseph continued to pursue his course of unwise and impetuous reform, attacking the church and the nobles, who were undoubtedly the cause of many abuses, but in this way stirring up hostility which he was not strong enough to master. Hungary became discontented, and the Netherlands rebellious.

In the Netherlands, a country strongly attached to its ancient liberties, he made arbitrary changes in the civil government, in ecclesiastical organisation, in trade, and in the administration of justice, interfering with the rights and the liberties of towns and provinces. Louvain first rose in rebellion, then Brussels, Antwerp, Malines, and other cities. The recalling of the obnoxious edicts did not produce peace, and when Joseph attempted to enforce them by an army the Netherlands declared themselves independent. The failure of his benevolent designs was a terrible disappointment, which led to his early death, hastened also by his exertions in a war with Turkey, which he undertook in conjunction with Catherine II. He died on February 20, 1790, at the age of forty-nine, a broken-hearted man, who, like the apprentice in Goethe's ballad, had flooded the world with waters, which he could not check when they became dangerous. He was succeeded by his brother Leopold II., whose history belongs to the period of the French Revolution.

## ENGLAND, A.D. 1740-1783.

We must now return to England, which we left in 1740 at the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession. The time demanded a minister who was not averse to war, **England and the War.** and Walpole was essentially a man of peace. France, moreover, was our traditional enemy, and Walpole was well disposed towards France. It is difficult to see what England had to do with the war, in which she might easily have remained neutral, as it was nothing but a struggle for the aggrandisement of Prussia at the expense of Austria, and France only took part in it because she happened at this time to be ill disposed towards Austria, as she joined Austria against Prussia in the Seven Years' War for similar insufficient reasons. But England regarded the war as an anti-Bourbon struggle, and even tried to negotiate peace between Prussia and Austria, as German powers who ought to unite against France. The rival of Walpole was Carteret, his very antithesis, in some respects the forerunner of Pitt, **Carteret.** anticipating his imperial policy. He despised the petty squabbles of England, and desired to act his part on the broader stage of Europe. He said, "What is it to me who is judge or who is bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe." The result was that when Walpole resigned in 1742, he was succeeded by Carteret, assisted by Wilmington and Newcastle. The treaty of Breslau, which closed the first Silesian war, was the work of Carteret, and was thought in England to be the greatest blow which France had received since the accession of the house of Hanover.

The battle of Dettingen in 1743 was a victory of the English and Austrians over the French. George II. took part in it, and it was the last occasion in which an English sovereign appeared in the field. On the death of **Battle of Dettingen.** Wilmington, Pelham succeeded to his place. He resembled Walpole much as Carteret resembled Pitt. In this year the treaty of Worms was made to drive the Bourbons out of Italy, but it alarmed Frederick and was the cause of the second Silesian war. In 1744, the country became impatient of the foreign policy of Carteret, **The Pelhams.** who was now Lord Granville, and he was driven from office by Henry Pelham and his brother the Duke of

Newcastle. The Broad Bottom Administration now came into office and lasted for ten years, from 1744 to 1754, consisting of Pelham, Newcastle, and Harrington. It was a coalition between all men who were supposed to possess either special ability or influence. In 1745 the battle of Fontenoy was fought, in which the English, under Cumberland, were defeated by the French under Marshal Saxe, while the Colonial forces of New England took Cape Breton. But the great event of the year was

**Battle of  
Fontenoy  
and the  
Rebellion  
of 1745.**

the landing of Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, in Scotland. He entered triumphantly into Edinburgh, defeated Sir John Cope at Prestonpans, marched into England as far as Derby, and then retreated. In 1746, in the battle of Falkirk, he worsted Hawley, but in the same year was routed at Culloden, after which the rebellion was put down by Cumberland, who earned the title of the Butcher. Before this, the treaty of Dresden had put an end to the war of the Austrian Succession, all parties being weary of the contest. Carteret, although he understood much of foreign affairs, did not penetrate deeply into their significance, and failed to see the far-reaching importance of the rise of Prussia. The war still continued between England and France, the French being defeated at sea off Cape Finisterre and off Ushant, but in 1748 it was closed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on the terms of *statu quo*, Madras being restored to Great Britain and Cape Breton to France. It was, however, only a truce, and even while the truce lasted the rivalry of England and France led to strife in East and West.

**Treaty of  
Aix-la-  
Chapelle.**

In 1750, the French began to become powerful in India under Dupleix, who had been governor of Pondicherry since 1741. He desired to build up a French empire in India on the lines of the ruins of the empire of the Moguls, which had fallen into decay since the death of Arungzebe in 1707. The struggle first raged round the succession to the Carnatic, in which Mahomet Ali, the defeated candidate, was supported by Dupleix. In 1751, Arcot was captured by Robert Clive, who had arrived in India as a clerk in 1744. At this time, war broke out between the English and French colonists in North America. Imitating the policy of Dupleix, Duquesne, the French governor of Canada, built forts on Lake Erie and on the Ohio to exclude the English from the west. In the year 1754, Pelham died and was succeeded by his brother Newcastle, Pitt being paymaster-general. This meant

**The War in  
India and  
America.**

the beginning of an imperial policy for England. Peace was made in India, but in America both countries sent help to their respective colonists, and in 1755 Braddock was surprised and defeated on his march to attack Fort Duquesne. In 1756, foreign affairs entered upon a new phase. The Seven Years' War broke out, being a part of the long struggle between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany, but England now took the side of Prussia and France of Austria, France realising the danger of Prussian aggrandisement.

It was not likely that, in these circumstances, Newcastle could hold his own against the ambition of Pitt, who felt, as he said, that he could save England, but no one else could.

He was therefore obliged to resign, not being the man to govern in these stormy times, and Devonshire became prime minister, with Pitt as secretary of state. In this year, Calcutta was captured by Surajah Dowlah, and the tragedy of the Black Hole took place, a number of English being shut up in a little room of the fort, which proved the death of many. In 1757 Admiral Byng was executed for his failure to relieve Port Mahon, as Voltaire wittily said, "to encourage the other admirals"; the Militia Act enforced a system of universal obligation to military service; and, on June 23, Clive won the victory of Plassey. Meanwhile, however, Devonshire and Pitt had been dismissed from office. But, though George II. disliked Pitt, and Newcastle controlled the House of Commons, Pitt had the nation at his back, and a coalition had to be made at last between Pitt and Newcastle, Pitt having charge of the war, Newcastle of Parliament. From 1757 to 1761, England was governed by a strong ministry, and these were years of unforgotten glory. This period was broken by the death of George II.

**William  
Pitt.**

George III., who succeeded in 1760, and reigned till 1820, was, above everything else, an English sovereign. He desired not only to reign, but to rule; and, at his accession, he conceived a dislike to the forcible methods of Pitt and to the war, which he did not think it was for the interests of England to continue. His friend, Bute, was made secretary of state, and when Pitt, at one of the first councils, proposed that war should be declared against Spain, and the Spanish colonies in America be seized by England, which would certainly have been of advantage to the world, he was defeated by his colleagues, and resigned. A ministry was formed which comprised Bute, Grenville, Egremont,

**Accession of  
George III.**

and Granville; but war had to be declared against Spain, in consequence of the existence of a new family compact between Spain and France. The conquests of Pitt's ministry were continued. We took Martinique, Grenada, Santa Lucia, and St. Vincent from the French, Havana and Manila from Spain.

**The Treaty  
of Paris.**

However, the war was concluded by the peace of Paris in 1763, which, like the treaty of Westphalia and the peace of Utrecht, forms an epoch in the international history of the world. This peace enormously enlarged the English colonial empire. In America we were secured in the possession of Nova Scotia, Canada, and Cape Breton; in the West Indies of Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago; in Africa of Senegal; in Europe of Minorca. From Spain we received Florida, Spain being compensated by the possession of Louisiana in a secret treaty with France. On the other hand, we restored to France Belleisle, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Goree, and certain towns in India, abandoned the claims which we had put forward to Louisiana, and gave back to Spain Cuba and the Philippines. The French retained their rights of fishing off the coast of Newfoundland. The war between Austria and Prussia was finished by the treaty of Hubertsburg, Prussia retaining Silesia. After this peace, though it was not dishonourable to England, Bute was forced by public opinion to resign. He was not a bad minister, but he was regarded as the embodiment of the personal government of the sovereign, which the country was not prepared to

**Ministerial  
Changes.**

accept. The ministry of Bute was succeeded by that of the triumvirate, consisting of Grenville, Egremont, and Halifax. Grenville was the brother-in-law of Pitt, and the brother of Earl Temple, the father of the Grenville who was a powerful minister in the time of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Shortly after this the place of Egremont, who died, was taken by Bedford, who became president of the council, while Sandwich was made secretary of state. Parties were very complicated during the early portions of this reign, until they were consolidated under the strong hand of the younger Pitt. They depended rather upon personal connections than on questions of principle. There were the Grenville Whigs, the Rockingham Whigs, the Bedford Whigs, the difference between whom it is difficult to define, and the Radicals under John Wilkes and Horne Tooke. John Wilkes caused a great disturbance at the time, but his services to liberalism were small. He, however, put an end to the

illegal use of general warrants, in which an arrest was ordered of the committers of an offence without the names of the persons to be arrested being mentioned. He continued to be a source of contention till he was elected member of Parliament and Lord Mayor of London in 1774.

Far more important was the Stamp Act, passed by Grenville in 1765, by which the imposition of stamps on certain classes of documents was extended to America, the American colonies being thus taxed without their consent; **The Stamp Act.** for they were not represented in Parliament. It was an unwise, but not altogether an unreasonable measure, because the colonies were an expense to the mother country, who had the burden of defending them, but it produced serious riots across the Atlantic, and was repealed in 1766. Pitt, who was far beyond his age in the assertion of liberal principles, although it is difficult to say to what section of Liberals he belonged, being, indeed, above party, made a great speech in favour of repeal. The ministry saved their face by passing a Declaration Act, which asserted the right of the English Parliament to tax the Americans. The repeal of the Stamp Act was the work of Rockingham, who succeeded Grenville in 1765, his colleagues being Grafton and Conway. His party included the great name of Edmund Burke, and was more liberal, and more in sympathy with what in later times have been known as liberal principles, than the other section of the Whigs. During his ministry the principle of general warrants was condemned by the Commons.

Rockingham was disliked by the King, and was attacked by the Bedford Whigs on one side, and by Pitt on the other. He was therefore dismissed by the King as not having sufficient power in Parliament to govern **Ministry of Chatham.** the country, and Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham, was put in his place. Chatham was perhaps the greatest minister that England has ever seen. He possessed unrivalled eloquence and a commanding character; the House of Commons quailed before him. Some of his speeches spoken extempore, and in reply, are masterpieces of English literature. Though too fond, perhaps, of representation, he embodied to the full the dignity of his country, and the importance of public affairs. Grafton and Conway remained with him in office, but Charles Townshend was unhappily his chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt had from his youth been subject to gout, and soon after taking office fell ill, and was unable to attend to

public affairs. During this interregnum, Townshend, in want of money, passed an act imposing import duties on certain commodities imported into America—glass, red and white lead, paper, and especially tea; a trifling matter which produced tremendous consequences. This renewed attempt to tax the colonies caused a fresh storm in America, and Townshend, having done this irreparable mischief without the knowledge of his chief, died, and was succeeded by North. When Chatham recovered in 1768, he disapproved of what had been done, and resigned, as his colleagues did not agree with him, and Grafton and North took his place. During this time, events occurred at home which proved of great importance, but were very little observed. Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny; Cook made his first voyage, discovering the antipodes; the Mysore War was waged in India. The letters of Junius, and the struggle of Wilkes with Parliament obtained far more attention, and resulted in the birth of English Radicalism, which took a long time growing to manhood.

Far more important than all this was the conversion of the American colonies into an independent state. The eastern coast of North America had been discovered in 1496 and 1584, but permanent settlements were not established till the seventeenth century—Virginia in 1607, New Plymouth in 1620, Maryland between 1625 and 1633, being colonised largely by Puritans or Catholics who had been driven from their country by religious persecution. After the Restoration, Carolina was founded in 1662, and Pennsylvania in 1681 by William Penn, who called his capital Philadelphia, the home of brotherly love. Canada, discovered by the English in 1497, was first colonised by the French, who about 1668 sent Jesuit missionaries into the valleys of the Mississippi. At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the English colonies in North America were thirteen in number—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina. In Canada, the French numbered perhaps 52,000, their chief towns being Quebec and Montreal on the river St. Lawrence. The French conceived the idea of connecting Canada on the north and Louisiana on the south with a series of forts so as to cut off the English from the great lakes, and from the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and the name of Washington first appears as commander of a force sent to prevent this action. In 1759, Quebec, defended by

the gallant Montcalm, was captured by Wolfe. Both generals were killed in the action on the Plains of Abraham, which resulted in the fall of Montreal and in the conquest of Canada, secured to England by the peace of Paris in 1763.

In 1770, after the events which we before related, North, a devoted servant of George III., became prime minister and chancellor of the exchequer, and the dispute with America entered into a new phase. Townshend's taxes on imports into America except tea were repealed. But in 1773 the tea duty was readjusted in a way which—while actually lowering it—implied a reassertion of the English claim to tax. Hence, spurning the “bribe” of cheap tea, a number of colonists, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the tea ships as they lay in Boston Harbour, and emptied the tea chests into the sea. Thereupon, by the “Intolerable Acts,” Parliament closed the port of Boston, removed the colonial government to Salem, suspended the charter of Massachusetts, and sanctioned the trial in English courts of offences alleged to have been committed in the colony. The Americans—outraged and insulted by the nature of their punishment, and irritated by the Quebec Act, which granted religious freedom to the Roman Catholics of Canada, and included within its frontier districts claimed by other colonies—issued a Declaration of Rights in a Congress representing every colony but Georgia, and announced the cessation of commercial intercourse with England until their grievances should be redressed.

In 1775 the first blood was shed, English troops winning in the skirmish at Lexington, but the colonists taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point. At a second Congress even Georgia was represented, and Washington was appointed to command the American forces. The English won a Pyrrhic victory at Bunker's Hill, repulsed an invasion of Canada, and rejected the so-called “Olive Branch Petition” for a peace on the colonists' terms. But in March 1776 Howe evacuated Boston, and on July 4 the Declaration of Independence, one of the most important documents in history, was signed, giving birth to a new world. Howe, indeed, presently took New York, and Cornwallis drove Washington out of New Jersey, but in 1777 a projected combined movement by the English generals broke down, and in October 16 Burgoyne surrendered to the enemy at Saratoga. This proved to be the turning-point of the war, for it

**The Boston  
Tea Ships.**

**Outbreak  
of War.**



decided France to intervene next year and aid the colonists by land and sea—a policy not more invaluable to her allies than fatal

**France  
joins in  
the War.**

to herself. This altered the position of Chatham, who received his death stroke while he was denouncing American independence in the House of Lords. The French alliance had been mainly brought about by the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, one of the greatest of Americans, who was born in 1706, and lived to help in creating the American constitution. He invented the lightning conductor, and, it is said, “tore from kings the sceptre, and the bolt from heaven.” In 1779, Spain joined the coalition against Great

**The Armed  
Neutrality.**

Britain, and in 1780 an “Armed Neutrality” was formed to oppose England, by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, which laid down that merchant ships may trade along belligerent coasts; that the neutral flag covers all goods, excepting contraband; and that no blockade need be respected which is not efficient. In 1781 the Armed Neutrality was joined by Holland, Prussia, and Austria, so that we had the whole world against us; and in this year the war in America came to an end by the surrender of the English at Yorktown. Early in 1782 Minorca was captured, as well as a number of West Indian islands. North now resigned, and, though George still refused to make peace, he was obliged to accept a liberal ministry formed by a fusion of the Rockingham and Chatham parties.

Rockingham became first lord of the treasury, with Fox and Shelburne secretaries of state, and Burke paymaster of the forces. The beginning of the new ministry was marked by

**Rodney's  
Victory.**

the decisive victory of Rodney over the French in the West Indies, under Admiral de Grasse. At home its course was signalled by various liberal measures. Ireland obtained legislative independence by the repeal of the act of 1719, and of the Statute of Drogheda, passed in 1494, known as Poynings' Law, in so far as it gave the English Privy Council authority over the Irish Parliament. This home rule Parliament, which lasted till the

**Grattan's  
Parliament.**

Act of Union, and is generally known as Grattan's Parliament, was an entire success. The ministry also reformed the Civil List, abolished useless offices and secret pensions, and limited the pension list. In this way, a serious blow was struck at parliamentary corruption. Further steps were taken in the same direction by depriving revenue officers of the franchise, and excluding

government contractors from Parliament. Rockingham having died, Shelburne became First Lord of the Treasury. Shelburne, who represented the Chatham party, was in favour of peace and of free trade, but was disliked by his colleagues, and was called "the Jesuit" by the king. Fox and Burke refused to serve under him. William Pitt, the son of Chatham, became chancellor of the exchequer at the age of twenty-three. The war still continued, and Portugal, **End of the War.** our traditional ally, joined the Armed Neutrality against us, but at last, on November 30, 1782, the independence of the United States was acknowledged.

It now only remained to make peace, which was done in the peace of Versailles, which consisted of four treaties, the first of which, between England and the United States, **The Treaty of Versailles.** acknowledged their independence; the second, between England and France, annulled some of the English gains in America and Africa by the treaty of Paris in 1763; the third, between England and Spain, restored Minorca and Florida to the latter country; and the fourth, between England and Holland, which was not signed till May 20, 1784, was drawn up on the principle of the *status quo*. Meanwhile, Fox and North had again become ministers. Although bitter enemies for so many years, they had joined together to oppose Shelburne, Portland being the nominal head of their unnatural coalition. Pitt thundered against it, **William Pitt, the Younger.** and had little difficulty in overthrowing it, which he did by defeating Fox's bill for the government of India, which was really a wise and statesmanlike measure. At the end of 1783, the king forcibly dismissed his ministers, and William Pitt, at the age of twenty-four, accepted the task of forming a ministry. He found himself supported by a minority in Parliament, and, although he knew that the country was with him, and the Parliament had sat since 1780, during which time four separate ministries had held office, he refused to dissolve until he had obtained a majority. The Mutiny Act was passed in 1784 by a majority of one. Then Pitt dissolved, and found himself firmly supported by the new Parliament. His ministry therefore really began in 1784. It forms a new epoch in the history of England.

## CHAPTER X.

### PITT'S MINISTRY, A.D. 1783-1801—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, A.D. 1789-1795.

THE ministry of William Pitt, which lasted from 1783 to 1801 and from 1804 to 1806, is one of the most remarkable in English history, indeed scarcely paralleled in the history of the world. That a boy of four and twenty should become virtual ruler of a great country, with a narrow-minded and jealous sovereign, against an opposition unrivalled in eloquence and ability, led by Fox and Burke,—at a time, too, when that country was in deep degradation, ruined in finances, without a friend in Europe, divested of its richest colonies, shunned for the manner in which it lost them—that he should quell corruption, master his monarch, and, in a few years, raise England to be the arbiter of Europe,—has no parallel in these pages; but this was the work of Pitt, during the first ten years of ministry. As an orator he was inferior to his father, but only to him—few, perhaps none, of his speeches belong to English literature, but they swayed those to whom they were delivered; he was unrivalled as a parliamentary leader, and disdained the bribery which had been employed since the days of Walpole. He was stern and reserved, because dignity was necessary to defend his youth; but he was beloved by his friends and was a fascinating companion. He had a mastery of language derived from the careful classical training given him by his father; he had great self-control in argument, being in this respect a contrast to Fox and Burke. If he was deficient in original ideas, he had the power of assimilating the ideas of others, and was, in many respects, before his age. A student of Adam Smith, he was an advocate of free trade, and gained the confidence and support of the commercial classes. His first measure was financial, because he knew that no country could be strong unless it could meet its expenses. By wise legislation, he put an end to smuggling, raised loans honestly, abolished lottery tickets, reformed the

post office, reconstructed the Board of Trade, attempted to reduce the national debt—which was afterwards greatly increased by war—and consolidated the duties of customs and excise. He was one of the first advocates of parliamentary reform, of the emancipation of the Catholics, and of the abolition of slavery; but he did not press these questions further than the circumstances of the time would allow. He knew that no measure could be passed without the formation of a national opinion in favour of it. He did much for the development of the constitution, and was the founder of modern parliamentary and ministerial government. He defeated both the attempt of the Whig oligarchy to force themselves upon the king, and the king's desire to make ministers responsible solely to himself. He asserted the necessity of a prime minister, declaring that "there must be an avowed and real minister, possessing the chief weight in the Council and the principal place in the confidence of the king." His life was pure and honest in an age stained with immorality and intrigue; he loved his country with a devotion to which he sacrificed health and fortune; and he loved his friends as he loved his country.

In the general election of 1784, a hundred and sixty of the Opposition lost their seats. After vain attempts to reform Parliament and successful efforts to establish a sound system of finance, Pitt set himself, in 1785, to establish free trade between England and Ireland, which the Irish Parliament rejected, owing to the blunders of the English House of Commons. In this year, the steam-engine was first introduced into factories, and this completed the industrial revolution which had gradually substituted a system of productive labour in factories for home industry—a change necessary for the increase of wealth, but in many respects disastrous. Watt had invented the steam-engine in 1769, the year of Pitt's birth; Hargreaves the spinning-jenny in 1770; Arkwright the water frame in 1771; Crompton the mule in 1779; Cartwright the power loom in 1785. In 1786, Pitt, in the teeth of his colleagues, and with the reluctant and cynical consent of Lord Carmarthen, the foreign minister, established a commercial treaty between England and France on a basis of free trade, so far as he was able to enforce its principles. It was a far-seeing measure, which would have produced powerful results if it had not been rendered inoperative by the

**Constitutional Development.**

**Efforts for Free Trade.**

**The Industrial Revolution.**

revolution which broke out ten years later. But the greatest work of Pitt was the establishment of the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Prussia in 1788.

**The Triple Alliance.**

At the accession of Pitt to power, the states of Europe, although united against England, were at war with each other. Sweden was at war with Denmark; Russia and Austria were united against Turkey. Pitt saw that the only secure foundation of civilisation was peace, and he set himself to bring it about. Assisted by Harris, with consummate skill he established in Holland the authority of the Statholder, which he knew to be more favourable to England than to France, and secured the adhesion of the brother of the princess of Orange, Frederick William II. of Prussia, to his plans. Through the British ambassador at Copenhagen he brought about the peace of Wtenlo between Gustavus III. and Denmark; he induced Austria to make terms with Turkey at Sistowa on August 4, 1791, and Russia to do the same at Jassy on January 19, 1792. When the negotiations of Sistowa were completed, Keith, the English negotiator, boasted that he had placed the peace of Europe on a firm foundation for a generation; but in a little more than a year after the signing of this peace revolutionary France had declared war against England and Holland, and these bright hopes were dashed to the ground. Pitt, although he did his best for peace, had to be a war minister for the rest of his life, and he forfeited the aureole of glory with which the first ten years of his government had invested him.

#### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, A.D. 1789-1795.

It is vain to seek for the causes of the French Revolution, a catastrophe which was foreseen by no one. These secular catastrophes,—the fall of the Roman Empire, the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, the Reformation,—spring from causes which lie beyond our ken. The Revolution was anticipated by none; the monarchy of France rose majestic and secure amongst the thrones of Europe. Prince Henry of Prussia, an accomplished statesman, brother of Frederick the Great, settled in Paris just before the outbreak, intending to live there for the rest of his life; Carmarthen regarded France as the most dangerous enemy of England; Pitt desired to make a friend of her, but had no idea of the weakness of the French monarchy. The wretched state of the peasantry, the privileges

of the priests and the nobles, the extravagance of the court, the corruption of morals, the absence of popular government, the spread of subversive ideas both in religion and in politics, may help to explain the calamities which ensued, but cannot be regarded as sufficient cause for them. The destruction of the French monarchy was as unexpected as the domination of Napoleon which followed it, and we must now direct our attention to these extraordinary events.

France was burdened by a debt, begun by the extravagance of Louis XIV., increased by that of Louis XV. and his mistresses, so that it now amounted to 4,000,000,000 francs.

This burden had to be borne by the middle and the lower classes, for the nobles were free from taxes and the clergy only gave what they pleased. The reign of Louis XV. had degraded the monarchy, and when he died of smallpox on May 10, 1774, his body was carried to Saint Denis among the jeers and the invectives of the populace. He was succeeded by his grandson Louis, born on August 23, 1754, who, on the death of his father in 1765, had received the title of Dauphin at the age of eleven, and, at the age of sixteen, had married Marie Antoinette, the youngest daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, who was more than a year younger. Louis was

**Financial  
Distress.**

pure, pious, and domestic, entirely free from the vices of his predecessors, but he had not the strength to control the storms amongst which he lived. He was indolent in public affairs, cared more for the chase and the work of a locksmith, and, although well read and serious, was awkward and shy, and excited rather ridicule than respect in the life of a court. He had two brothers, the Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., a man of considerable ability and learning, who, after spending much of his life in exile, continued with caution and moderation to keep himself on the throne from his restoration till his death, and the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., of fine appearance and manners, whose obstinate bigotry brought the legitimate monarchy to an end in July 1830. The chosen friend of the queen was the princess of Lamballe, of the house of Savoy-Carignan, charming but frivolous. The queen, so much abused, had few faults. She was disliked really, as Louis XVIII. tells us in his memoirs, for her domestic virtues. For two hundred years the people of Paris had been accustomed to see a queen living piously in retirement, and the festivities of the court led by a mistress; they did not under-

**Louis XVI.**

**Marie  
Antoinette.**

stand a woman who was both wife and queen, and, in the absence of mistresses whom they could abuse, fastened their reproaches on the only woman whom they saw. Serious attempts to reform

**Attempts  
at Reform.** the administration were made, principally by Turgot, but failed by the opposition of the court,

and the state of the finances became worse, for public as well as private indebtedness is always the prelude to disaster. Necker, a banker from Geneva, who was minister of finance from 1776 to 1781, could do but little, and Calonne, who held the office from 1783 to 1787, hastened the catastrophe. The alliance with the American colonies, which involved France in war with England from 1778 to 1783, was disastrous to France in two ways. It largely increased her debt, and, by helping to establish a republic across the Atlantic, supplied an example for a similar change in France. The pressing problem was how to avert the bankruptcy which Necker in his formal exposure of the financial situation had shown to be impending. Calonne summoned the Notables of the kingdom to give advice, without effect. At his fall, Necker was recalled, and recommended

**The States-  
General.**

the only possible plan—an appeal to the people through the States-General. This national Parliament had not met since 1614—175 years before, when the disaster which now threatened France had not begun to arise. It consisted of three orders, the nobles; the clergy, and the people, called the Third Estate, each voting separately. They met at Versailles on May 5, 1789, the Third Estate being doubled in number, a characteristic sign of the age. As Siyès said, the Third Estate, which had been nothing and desired to be something, was now everything. No arrangements had been made as to whether the three orders should vote separately or together, or as to how they should verify their

**The  
National  
Assembly.**

credentials. Confusion rapidly followed, and, on the third of June, the Third Estate declared itself to be the National Assembly, and to be ready to receive any members of the other estates who might desire to join it.

Separate rooms had been provided for the clergy and the nobles but not for the Third Estate, which was to use the hall of general assembly, so after the royal sitting on June 23, in which the king laid before the States-General a plan of constitution, when they were told to disperse, the commons remained sitting where they were. Mirabeau, who put himself at the head of the Republican party, said to the court official who came to

expel them, "Tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that we can only be driven out by bayonets." At another time, being kept by a pretext from their own hall, they met in a tennis court, and took an oath never to separate. Among the nobles and higher clergy who joined the commons were Talleyrand-Périgord, bishop of Autun, Grégoire, bishop of Blois, the Duke d'Aiguillon, Counts Montmorency and Clermont-Tonnerre, Laroche foucauld, Lally Tollendal, Latour Maubourg, and Philip, duke of Orleans, a prince of the blood, father of Louis Philippe, later king of the French. The king attempted to defend himself by summoning troops to his aid, but he had to depend mainly on those who were not of French blood—Swiss, Germans, Flemings, and Walloons. Mirabeau took the unfortunate line of urging their removal from the capital, and Louis, with weakness, submitted. Camille Desmoulins gave the signal for a national rising in Paris, and a National Guard was formed out of the citizens. Necker was dismissed, and on Sunday, July 12, his bust and that of Orleans were carried in triumph around the streets. On July 14 the Bastille was stormed, its commandant being foully murdered. The anniversary is still celebrated by the French as the birthday of liberty, but it is rather the birthday of anarchy. Louis and his government could not distinguish between reform and revolution. The first was admirable, and enlisted the sympathies of Europe; the second was dangerous, and should have been severely repressed at once. The Bastille was harmless, and had long ceased to be an instrument of royal autocracy. When destroyed, it was found to contain seven prisoners—five malefactors, and two murderers. Its destruction was a disgrace rather than a glory. Two days later, the king went to Paris to show his sympathy for the people; he was received by the National Guard, commanded by Lafayette, who had served in America, and the tricolour, the red, white, and blue cockade, which united the colours of Paris with those of the monarchy, was adopted for the first time.

In Paris more victims fell, being hung upon the iron bars which supported the lanterns, their heads being cut off and carried on pikes. At Versailles, the National Assembly began to draw up a constitution, which it had no authority to do, being summoned only to redress grievances, and to grant money, and enacted measures which showed an entire absence of political wisdom. A declaration of rights was drawn up, which led to an abstract discussion, whereas a declaration of

**The  
National  
Guard.**

**The  
Bastille  
Stormed.**



duties would have been more sensible. On August 4, a great sacrifice was made of all feudal rights, which, however self-sacrificing and patriotic, threw the whole country into confusion. In these matters, Mirabeau was the

**Mirabeau.**

leader, a man of great intellectual force, but of abandoned character, whose ability and importance have been much overrated. It is not possible that he should have saved the French monarchy, and his opinions were deeply influenced by the money he received for expressing them. At

**The King  
taken to  
Paris.**

the beginning of October, it was determined to bring the king to Paris, and a mob of men and women, imperfectly controlled by Lafayette and the National Guard, marched to Versailles for that purpose. It is supposed that the duke of Orleans was the originator of this outrage, and that he would not have been sorry if the king had perished in the riots, and, when the royal family were established in the bare and ill-furnished Tuileries, they were prisoners for the rest of their unhappy lives. The National Assembly also came to Paris, holding its sittings in the royal riding school, by the side of the Tuileries garden, called the "Manège." It split up into parties, designated by the places in which they sat. The conservatives sat on the right of the president, the liberals on the left, the centre was called the Marsh, and the highest benches, on which the radicals sat, gave them the name of the Mountain. The large galleries were full of strangers, who were kept in little order and injuriously affected the deliberations. Outside the Assembly were debating clubs held in deserted monasteries, from which they derived their names. The

**The  
Jacobins.**

most powerful of these were the Jacobins, who assembled in the halls of the Dominicans in the rue St. Jacques, from which came the name since given to radicals in all countries. The surrender of feudal rights on August 4 caused anarchy rather than peace. Throughout the country, the chateaux, the country houses of nobles, were attacked and burned, largely for the purpose of destroying evidence of feudal obligations and of debts. In the Assembly, now called *La Constituante* (the Constitutional Assembly), because it was really occupied in drawing up a constitution, this important work slowly continued, with long speeches read from manuscripts, and frequent interruptions from the galleries. In May, 1790, it was agreed that war could only be declared by the nation on the proposal of the king and with his sanction. This was caused by the threat of war between England and

Spain in the question of Nootka Sound, Spain laying claim to the whole western coast of America on the ground of conquest. France was requested to support Spain on the ground of the family compact, and Mirabeau was, at first, in favour of the project, but Eliot, a school friend of Mirabeau, was despatched to avert the danger, and, at the expense of several thousand pounds, induced Mirabeau to change his opinions and to counsel peace. The Ministers were in great want of money; to obtain it, they confiscated the property of the church, valued at four hundred millions, giving for it bonds or assignats, on which they promised to pay interest. Eventually the interest was not paid, the assignats being worthless, and national bankruptcy ensued.

**Nootka  
Sound.**

**Church  
Property  
Confiscated.**

The object of the leaders of the Revolution was to create a new France. She had been made a powerful monarchy by the union of several provinces, differing in history, race, laws, and language; welded into a whole by the powerful hand of Louis XIV., but their diversity remaining a source of strength. On a sudden this was all changed. France was divided into 83 departments, called after rivers, mountains, and other natural objects,—into 574 arrondissements, 1760 cantons, 44,000 municipalities: weights, measures, and coinage were not only made uniform but constructed on a decimal system, then entirely new to the world. Paris remained a political whole, but was divided into 48 sections, each with a municipality, a council, and a mayor. The nobles and the clergy were entirely reformed. All titles, arms, liveries, orders, together with the right of primogeniture, were abolished; everyone was called citizen; by the civil constitution of the clergy, every priest was bound to take an oath of allegiance to the state, and the many who refused either left France or kept in hiding. On July 14, 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, a festival of the Federation was held to celebrate these changes, and, on April 9, 1791, Mirabeau, who had taken a large share in making them, died at the age of forty-two. Some have supposed that if he had lived he could have saved the monarchy, but this is probably erroneous. Long before this—indeed, immediately after the destruction of the Bastille—crowds of noble and wealthy French families had left their country to seek safety in foreign parts. Many came to England, where they lived in poor lodgings and earned a scanty

**The New  
Constitu-  
tion.**

**Death of  
Mirabeau.**

living by teaching or other similar occupations. They were assisted by the government and by benevolent persons, but they left no mark upon us as the Huguenots had done, nor did they found any families amongst us.

The pious king could not perform his Easter devotions under juring priest, and desired to pass the holy season in St.

**The Flight to Varennes.** Cloud, as he had done in previous years. He was forcibly prevented by the people, and realised that he was a prisoner. He determined to

escape, and, after long preparations, left Paris on the night of June 20, spending the longest day of the year in a journey to the frontier, where he hoped to find faithful troops, and to receive the assistance of his brother-in-law, the emperor. In consequence of a series of accidents, any one of which might have been prevented, he was arrested at Varennes, brought back to Paris, and made a close prisoner in the Tuileries, where he remained confined till his death. A cry naturally arose for the abolition of monarchy and the creation of a republic, but a riot in support of this, which took place on the second anniversary of the Federation, on July 14, 1791, was put down by force. The constitution was now completed, and was presented to the king on September 3, 1791. After ten days' hesitation he signed it on September 11, by the advice of the emperor, and the National Assembly (the Constituante), having finished its work, dissolved.

The Constituante was followed by the Legislative, which met on October 1, 1791. Before its dissolution, it had com-

**The Legislative Assembly.** mitted the folly of ordaining that no member of it should be capable of election to its successor, which was consequently deprived of the assistance

of many of the ablest men in France. In the new Assembly, these were the main parties—the Feuillants, who wished loyally

**Feuillants,** to maintain the constitution, and from whom the  
**Jacobins,** king chose his ministers, Lafayette, Barnave, and  
**Girondists.** others; the Jacobins, led by Robespierre, who

desired a republic, and of whom the Cordeliers, led by Danton, Marat, and Desmoulins, were an extreme wing; and the Girondists, consisting largely of the deputies of the Gironde, containing the ablest heads in the Assembly—Vergniaud, Brissot, Condorcet, Barbaroux, and others—who agreed largely with the Jacobins, but were animated by a spirit of moderation, and eventually were destroyed, as moderate men generally are in troublous times.

Europe now began to bestir itself. The numbers of emigrants largely increased, and wherever they went they stirred up the governments who gave them hospitality to the employment of force. Austria and Prussia were especially active, and to meet these new dangers the king replaced the weak Feuillants by a ministry of the more active Girondists, of whom Roland and Dumouriez were prominent members. Leopold II. died suddenly in the midst of his plans, and was succeeded by Francis II., a contemptible sovereign, whose narrowness and bigotry are well known. Against him and the king of Prussia France declared war on March 18, 1792. But in this fatal year passions were violently stirred on both sides.

**Europe  
and the  
Revolution.**

**Outbreak  
of War.**

It was determined to celebrate the third anniversary of the fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1792, by the assembly of so called Federates from every part of France, the Jacobins taking care that those chosen from Marseilles and other parts of Provence should be especially violent. The *Marseillaise*, now the national hymn of France, celebrated the march of these ruffians to the capital. In order to frighten the king, the Girondists, led by Pétion, induced the people to assault the Tuileries on June 20. The king, the queen, and the dauphin were imprisoned in their palace for several hours, and made to wear red caps of liberty as the drunken crowds of men and women surged by. As this was not enough, the Jacobins, led by Danton, sent a wild throng with murderous intention into the palace on August 10. The royal family were induced to leave their home by the advice of the treacherous Pétion, and to take refuge in the reporters' box of the Assembly, leaving their faithful Swiss guard to be foully murdered and brutally abused. From this they were removed to the tower of the Temple, which they did not leave except for the scaffold. Power now came into the hands of the Cordeliers—Danton, Hébert, Maillard, and Billaud-Varennes. Numbers of Royalists had been imprisoned, and it was determined to strike terror into their party by deliberate murder. For five days, from September 2 to September 7, seven thousand of so-called aristocrats were murdered at the prison doors by the most brutal of the Federates, who were well paid for their work. The only excuse could be that when foreign enemies were threatening Paris it was necessary to destroy all those who might sympathise with them.

**The  
September  
Massacres.**

In the meantime the municipal government of Paris had

completely changed. By a series of violent actions, the sections of Paris came to be represented by a small number of ferocious and abandoned men ready for any deed of outrage. It was with their assistance that the massacres of September had been carried out. With the fall of law and order the Legislative Assembly came to an end, and there was elected in its place a

**The National Convention.** The National Convention of seven hundred and forty-nine members, which, on September 27, declared the kingdom at an end, and set up a republic, one and indivisible, in its place. The Convention was the scene of a struggle between the Jacobins and the Girondists, the one represented by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, the other by Brissot, Roland, and Vergniaud. Before the election of the Convention, the invasion of France by Prussian and Austrian troops, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, had begun. The duke issued a most unwise proclamation threatening destruction to those who offered violence to the king and the royal family, language certain to rouse the passions of the Parisian mob and to ruin all chances of safety for the monarchy. Longwy fell on August 26, 1792, and the

**Battle of Valmy.** surrender of other towns followed, but the cannon engagement of Valmy on September 19 showed that the invasion had no chance of success, and Brunswick, having done all the harm he could to the cause which he had come to defend, left the king to his fate. What was to be done with Louis? There was no doubt that he was guilty of calling in a foreign army to protect him: what would have happened in England if Charles I. had allowed a French army to invade England for his defence? Innocence and purity of character could not excuse culpable weakness; it is through weakness rather than through vice that men, families, and communities fall. Louis was tried, and, out of 721 members

**Execution of the King.** of the Convention present, 681 declared him guilty, while in a second vote 361, including his cousin, the duke of Orleans, condemned him to immediate death, 72 to death with delay, 281 to life-long imprisonment. He was executed on January 21, 1793. His last words on the scaffold were "Frenchmen, I die innocent. That I declare before God. I forgive my enemies. May my blood never fall on France!"

The death of the king, which excited horror throughout Europe, was followed by a declaration of war against England, and by the fall of the Girondists, who fled for refuge to the

south of France—Marat, one of their bitterest foes, being murdered in his bath by Charlotte Corday, a deed which deprived their cause of all chance of success.

The Convention drew up a democratic constitution full of excellent provisions, amongst them the referendum, but it never came into action, being prevented by the Reign of Terror, which lasted from August 10, 1793, to October 26, 1795. During this lawless time the country was governed by a Committee of Public Safety, of which Robespierre was considered to be the ruling spirit, and a number of revolutionary committees, which at last reached the number of 20,000, were founded on its model throughout France. Under this

**Fall of the  
Girondists.**

régime, most of the Girondists perished on the scaffold, including Madame Roland, the wife of the minister, a woman of brilliant ability and noble qualities, while Roland, Pétion, and others, put an end to their own lives. The queen, Marie Antoinette, was executed on October 16, 1793, and was followed to the scaffold by the saint-like Princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis, and by Philip

**The Com-  
mittee of  
Public  
Safety.**

**Execution  
of the  
Queen.**

“Égalité,” the duke of Orleans, who, at last, met the punishment of his crimes. The so-called Reign of Terror may have been the necessary result of the terror which the rulers of France inspired and the fear which they felt. They were really afraid of the vengeance of Europe, and desired to make peace, but no peace could be made until there was a stable government in Paris.

Three authorities were at this time contending for mastery in the capital—the Convention, the Sections, and the Committee of Public Safety. Peace could not be made until these three heads had become one, and that head would conquer which had the most money to spend. Therefore the object of each was to fill its coffers, and this could only be done by executing the most wealthy citizens and confiscating their fortunes—a plan suggested by Siéyès, who had a stronger and a more statesman-like head than Robespierre. The power most fit for this purpose was the Committee of Public Safety, and over this Siéyès exercised control. It is possible, therefore, that Siéyès and not Robespierre should be considered as the real author of the Reign of Terror, although this view has not been generally held.

The Convention now proceeded, mainly at the instigation of Hébert, to abolish Christianity, to deny the existence of God, and to establish the worship of the goddess of Reason, whom it

induced a woman of pure character to represent. Robespierre was opposed to this, and attempted to introduce a belief in a Supreme Being, but the effort only made him

**Abolition of Christianity.**

ridiculous. Indeed, the prominent position which he assumed in the festival which was to celebrate the worship was the beginning of his fall. The Revolution began to consume its own authors; Danton, the ablest and perhaps

**End of the Reign of Terror.**

the most responsible of the Terrorists, perished by the guillotine, as did the fascinating Camille Desmoulins, and the infamous Hébert. Robespierre himself could not withstand the storm; his old associates, Tallien, Fréron, Fouché, and Barrère, rose against him; and at last the Terror came to an end by the execution, on July 28, 1794, of himself and twenty of his associates.

This took place, according to the revolutionary calendar, on Thermidor 10, so that the party who put an end to the Reign of Terror were called the Thermidorians; assisted by the richer young men, called the *jeunesse dorée*, they now attempted to restore the former state of

**The Thermidorians.**

things. The power of the Mountain, the extreme Radicals, fell, and the Jacobin club was closed. The prisons were emptied of their victims: freedom of religion was restored. A new constitution was drawn up by the versatile Siéyès, by which

**The Directory.**

a Directory of five persons was placed at the head of the government, with a council of five hundred beneath them, and another council of "ancients" consisting of two hundred and fifty persons. There were also six ministers, each in charge of a department. The first five directors, who took up their abode in the Luxembourg, were Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, and Letourneur.

Although peace was established in Paris, France was by no means at rest. Civil war, caused by the death of the king,

**War in La Vendée and the South.**

was raging in La Vendée, a province where the inhabitants, Royalist and religious, were led by Cathelineau, Stofflet, Larochejaquelin, and Charette. Beginning in 1793, it was at length put down by Hoche, the Marcellus of the Revolution, in 1795. In this year the unfortunate Louis XVII. ended a life of torment by an inhuman death, caused by the fact that Spain was demanding his release under threat of war, and it was thought better to get quit of him. Henceforth the legitimate king of France was the count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI., who took the title of Louis XVIII. The persecution of the Girondists had caused

a civil war in the south where Bordeaux and Marseilles, Lyons and Toulon, set themselves against the Revolution. The rising was put down with the greatest cruelty. Lyons was nearly destroyed, and the *noyades*, or drownings, invented by Carrier at Nantes, obtained an unenviable notoriety. We now reach the end of the Revolution with the appearance of the name of Napoleon Bonaparte. Toulon was in rebellion against the Directory, had been occupied by an English fleet, and was besieged by a Directoral army. Bonaparte, an officer of artillery, showed how the construction of a battery could compel the retreat of the British fleet. His plan was completely successful, and he was made a general at the age of twenty-three. He afterwards closed the Revolution more decisively by his "whiff of grape shot" on October 5, 1795. The new constitution proposed that the new chambers of the Directory should be chosen from the conventions by partial election in order to prevent a Royalist revolution. A number of the sections of Paris took the Royalist side, and marched against the troops of the government, but by the masterly arrangements of young General Bonaparte, who had been entrusted with the command of Paris, they were dispersed by a few discharges of artillery, of which arm he was a master, and the Revolution was at an end.

**Bonaparte  
at Toulon.**

**End of the  
Revolution.**



## CHAPTER XI.

### NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, A.D. 1795-1799—ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, A.D. 1790-1799.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio in Corsica on August 15, 1769. He came of a noble family of Tuscan origin. At the age of eight he was sent to the military school at Brienne, under the charge of the Minims, and at fourteen to the military school at Paris. At both of these places he distinguished himself by his diligence and high character, and he had little sympathy with the frivolous and immoral aristocracy by which he was surrounded. Becoming sub-lieutenant at the age of seventeen, he went into garrison at Valence, and other towns on the Rhine, and devoted himself eagerly to the study of artillery, in which he became a master. He also prepared himself in other ways for the high destiny which awaited him. The prevailing laxness of discipline enabled him to spend much of his time in Corsica, where, with his elder brother Joseph, who had won for himself independently a prominent position in the island, he attached himself to the patriot Paoli, who had done much to secure the self-government of his native country. When Paoli ceased to follow the new development of the Revolution in France, Napoleon broke with him, and fought against him in the civil war which ensued. He was forced to take refuge with his family, whom he deeply loved, at Marseilles, and was employed by the Directory on different duties in the south of France. His services at Toulon and on Vendémiaire 19 in Paris have already been narrated. At the end of 1795, he was appointed to command the French army in Italy, which was in a condition of danger and distress.

Before narrating his campaigns, we must give some account of the condition of Europe at this time when they commenced. On June 26, 1794, Jourdan defeated the Austrians in the battle of Fleurus, and compelled them to evacuate Belgium. Under Jourdan fought some of the most distinguished generals who afterwards served Napoleon,—Masséna, Kléber, Lefebvre,

Championnet, and Bernadotte. In October, Clairfait, who succeeded the prince of Coburg, led his defeated troops across the Rhine. In the following year, Pichegru, supported by Moreau, Souham, Macdonald, and Vandamme, marched over the frozen waters into Holland, which was feebly defended by the duke of York. The statholder—the prince of Orange, William V.—resigned his position, and took refuge in England. The Batavian Republic was founded on the model of the French, and on May 16, 1795, peace was signed with France. The result of this was that Holland was regarded as a part of France, and was at war with England, a number of Dutch colonial possessions falling into English hands, including Malacca, Ceylon, Demerara, Surinam, and eventually the Cape of Good Hope, which was retained on behalf of the statholder. In 1795, by the diplomatic skill of Hardenberg, peace was made at Basel with Prussia and Spain, Prussia thus deserting the alliance with England. But Sardinia, under Victor Amadeus III., and Austria under Francis II., still maintained their control of Italy.

**Conquest of  
Belgium and  
Holland.**

**Peace of  
Basel.**

In the autumn of 1795, the French troops in that country were in a sad condition, one part being commanded by Scherer in the eastern Riviera; another under Kellermann in Savoy. They had neither food nor clothing. Bonaparte soon filled them with his own enthusiasm. He said to them, "I will lead you into the most fruitful places in the world,—rich districts, large towns; you shall find there honour, glory, and wealth." His plan was to force his army like a wedge between the Sardinians and Austrians, to drive back one to Turin and the other to Milan, and to make an honourable peace. The month of April 1796 is marked by the world-famous names of Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovi, and by the treaty of Cherasco. A peace was signed on May 15, surrendering Savoy and Nice to the French republic and making Piedmont itself almost a part of France and a point of departure for fresh victories. Napoleon addressed his troops in a tone of haughty stimulus. "They had," he said, "gained six victories in fourteen days, captured twenty-one standards, and fifty-five cannon, occupied several fortresses and the richest part of Piedmont, taken 15,000 prisoners, killed or wounded ten thousand of the enemy. They had been in want of everything, but had now everything by their exertions; they had

**The French  
in Italy.**

**Victories of  
Bonaparte.**

won battles without cannon, crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, slept in the open air, without bread or brandy,—acts worthy of the sons of freedom. But much remained to be done—they must conquer Milan, avenge the murder of Basseville at Rome, set Italy free, and exalt the name of France.” The glorious march continued; Parma, Modena, and Tuscany submitted; the bridge over the

**Battle of  
Lodi.**

Adda at Lodi was stormed on May 10; Milan was entered in triumph on May 14. Brescia and Venice were occupied, but the strong fortress of Mantua remained to be conquered. Peace was made with Naples, but the struggle against the Austrian generals who descended from the Alps—Beaulieu, Würmser, Quosdanowitch, and Albinzi—continued for some time. In the meantime, Jourdan and Moreau were fighting in Germany without much success, it being part of the plan that they should attack Vienna from the north of the Alps while Bonaparte advanced against it from the south. Bonaparte's victorious career halted, and he nearly lost his life, in the marshes of Arcola. However, at Rivoli, after four days' fighting, on November 1796, he drove Davidovitch back into the Tyrol, and was able to lay the solid foundation of the Cisalpine Republic. The campaign continued

**Fall of  
Mantua—  
Treaty of  
Tolentino.**

during the winter in snow and ice. He received a reinforcement of 8000 men under Joubert, and on February 3, 1797, the fortress of Mantua surrendered, and the conquest of northern Italy was complete. A fortnight later, a treaty was signed with the Pope at Tolentino, in which Pius VI. surrendered Avignon and the Venaissin to France, together with Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, and, what Bonaparte regarded as of supreme importance, the harbour of Ancona, as a point of departure for new conquests in the East. All these victories had been gained in less than a year.

Bonaparte was now in a position to march upon Vienna, and on April 7, 1797, reached Leoben, within striking distance of

**Bonaparte  
at Leoben.**

Vienna. Here preliminaries of peace were signed. But before converting them into the peace of Campo Formio, Bonaparte suppressed the Venetian Republic. His conduct in the matter was not very noble, and was tainted with intrigue, but the once proud republic was in a condition of abasement without physical or moral strength. He picked a quarrel with it, which the Venetians tried to avoid, and at length persuaded the republic to decree its own dissolution.

During this time he was living in a country house called Mombello, not far from Milan, united with his beloved Josephine, and surrounded by his mother, his sisters, and other members of his family.

The peace of Campo Formio was signed on October 18, 1797. Its conclusion had been delayed by various circumstances. The Austrians hoped, by putting off its conclusion, to effect a change of government in France, but this was stopped by the events of Fructidor 18, which confirmed the power of the Directory and defeated the intrigues of the Royalists. The Directory desired to make the whole of the north of Italy republican, but Bonaparte was convinced that the Venetians were unfit for liberty, and that peace could not be made without the cession of Venetia to Austria. The negotiations were carried on partly at Udine, partly at Passeriano, a villa belonging to the doge of Venice, Manin. There is no such place as Campo Formio. A village named Campo Formido lies on the road between Udine and Passeriano; but there is no evidence that the plenipotentiaries ever met there, and the peace was signed by Bonaparte at Passeriano. When he was anxious to get the business finished, and the Austrians made light of delay, he uttered the memorable exclamation, "I may lose a battle, but I will never lose a minute." By its provisions Austria resigned Belgium and Lombardy, and consented to the formation of a Cisalpine Republic, west of the Adige, containing, with Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Modena, Massa, and Carrara; together with the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and the Valtellino with Bormio and Chiavenna, which had separated from the Grisons. Besides this, Corfu and the Ionian Islands went to France. Austria received the rest of Venetia from the Adige to the mouth of the Po, together with Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands in the Adriatic, the duke of Modena being compensated by the present of the Breisgau. The treaty with the empire was to be signed at Rastadt. Secret articles provided that the emperor was to evacuate Mainz, Mannheim, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburg, Ulm, and the left bank of the Rhine, and the foundations were laid for the secularisation of the governments of the ecclesiastical principalities and for the absorption of the smaller governments of the two Hesses, Nassau, Wied, Salm, Löwenstein, and Leyen. This treaty was a great triumph for France: it created a vassal state in northern Italy, subject to French influence; it weakened the power of

the empire, gave France the frontier of the Rhine, rescued the eastern Mediterranean from the power of England, and opened a prospect for further conquests in the East. Venice

**Fate of Venice.** was destroyed, but her fall deserved little sympathy. She was corrupt in head and members, and she could not have perished except by her own fault. The curse of Marino Faliero, as expressed by Byron, had fallen upon her.

Bonaparte, after a short stay at Rastadt, reached Paris on December 8, 1797. He was received there with the greatest exultation, the first entertainment being given to him by Talleyrand

**Bonaparte Sails for Egypt.** at the foreign office, where he had a memorable interview with Madame de Staël. On May 4 he left Paris, to complete the preparations for

the expedition to Egypt which sailed from Toulon on May 19. He is not, therefore, responsible for the disgraceful proceedings in Switzerland which accompanied the formation of the Helvetican republic, and culminated in the "blood bath" of Stanz. The only compensation for these outrages was that the offspring of the murdered citizens fell under the care of Pestalozzi in a deserted monastery, and thus laid the foundation stone of modern education. It is probable that the Directory were anxious to get rid of Bonaparte, but it is certain that after his departure everything fell into confusion. England

**The Second Coalition.** formed a second coalition with Austria, Russia, Naples, and Turkey, which was afterwards joined by Sweden and Portugal, but not by Prussia under Frederick William III. The French accepted the challenge, and began the war in Italy. They drove Charles Emmanuel from Piedmont, wrested Tuscany and the neighbouring territories from their princes, drove Ferdinand and his queen, Maria Caroline, from Naples, and founded the Parthenopean Republic in January 1799. At the same time, a French army crossed the Rhine into southern Germany, where it was opposed by the Austrian Archduke Charles, who defeated the French General Jourdan at Stockach and compelled him to recross the river. A battle was fought at Zürich, which drove Masséna into the mountains of Switzerland. As the archduke's army came near to Rastadt, the congress suspended its sittings, and three of the French plenipotentiaries were murdered brutally by the Szekler Hussars. The Russian field-marshal, Suvorov, now appeared in Italy. He defeated Moreau at Cassano and entered Milan in triumph. Macdonald advanced from Rome

to oppose him, but was worsted in a three days' battle on the Trebbia. Suvorov recovered Mantua and the rest of northern Italy, excepting Nice and Genoa, which was held by Moreau. The conquest was consummated by the battle of Novi, on August 15, 1799, in which Suvorov entirely defeated Joubert, who fell in the action. The result of this was that Ferdinand returned to Naples under a royalist reaction, and, assisted by Nelson, executed all those who were opposed to him, with great severity. Four thousand men and women of distinguished families perished on the scaffold. A Russian army under Korsakov now joined the Austrians in Switzerland, in order to assist Suvorov, who was advancing from Italy to cross the Alps. But Korsakov was defeated by Masséna in the second battle of Zürich and escaped with difficulty. At this time, Suvorov was marching over the St. Gotthard to join his fellow-countrymen, and forced the passage with great difficulty and serious fighting, especially at the Devil's Bridge. Finding himself confronted by the victorious Masséna, he turned to the east, and, by one of the most difficult marches in the history of war, crossed the Panixer Pass, with enormous loss, into the Grisons, where he joined the Austrians. Meanwhile, a combined landing of English and Russians in Holland failed, through the incompetence of the duke of York, and the Emperor Paul suddenly left the coalition, in disgust at his allies.

**Suvorov in Italy.**

**Suvorov in Switzerland.**

Bonaparte, reaching Malta on June 9, 1798, took possession of it, and settled its administration before June 18. He disembarked at Alexandria on July 1, fought the battle of the Pyramids three weeks later, and entered Cairo as a conqueror on July 24. He remained there for three months, but, on October 21, an insurrection took place. This, however, was speedily put down, and he was able to remain quietly in the city till the end of the year, during which time he visited Suez and formed plans for the cutting of the canal which has since been executed. In February 1799 he began an expedition into Syria, captured El Arish ten days later, and Jaffa on March 7. On March 17 he arrived before Acre, which he besieged. On April 16 he fought the battle of Mount Tabor, and slept at Nazareth. Meanwhile, the siege of Acre was continued, till, on May 20, Bonaparte was forced to confess himself defeated. The defence of this town was conducted

**Bonaparte in Egypt.**

**Siege of Acre.**

by the English admiral, Sidney Smith, assisted by a Frenchman, Phélippeaux, who had been a comrade of Bonaparte at the military school. A fountain is shown in the middle of the town as the farthest point reached by the French in the assault. Napoleon always said that the siege of Acre was the turning point of his career; if he had conquered that, he would have pursued a victorious course, and probably have established an empire in the East. The retreat lasted from May 21 to June 14, when he reached Cairo, and remained there till the end of the month. The fleet with which Bonaparte had reached Egypt had been destroyed by Nelson at Aboukir in the first days of August 1798, when 5000 French were killed and 3000 taken prisoners, the loss of the English, killed and wounded, being only 900.

**Battle of  
the Nile.**

Brueys was killed, the admiral's ship the *Orient* was burned, and Villeneuve escaped with difficulty with two line of battle ships and two frigates to Corfu. Thus, when Bonaparte reached Alexandria on July 23, 1799, he knew that it was impossible to convey his army back to France. However, on July 25, he won the brilliant victory of Aboukir, over a Turkish force vastly superior in numbers, which gave a parting glamour to his disastrous expedition and revived the spirit of his men. At Alexandria, he heard of the disasters which had befallen his country in his absence, it is said from a packet of French papers sent to him by Sidney Smith, and he determined to leave at once. On August 23, he embarked on board a French vessel, bearing the name of *Muiron*, a friend who had sacrificed his life for him at the battle of Arcola, reaching Ajaccio on October 1, and Fréjus on October 9.

Bonaparte arrived at home in the Rue de la Victoire at six o'clock on the morning of October 16. He had many reasons for disapproving of the conduct of Josephine during his absence from his country, but he forgave her.

**Bonaparte  
in Paris.**

During the remainder of the month, he saw his brother Lucien, paid an official visit to the Directory, dined with Gohier, one of the Directors, had his first interview with Moreau, and assisted at a sitting of the Institute, by whom a medal was especially struck, bearing his portrait. He also received a visit from Bernadotte, and stayed with his brother Joseph at Montefontaine. About October 29 a report spread that private meetings were being held at the house of Siéyès, lasting from ten at night till two in the morning, at which Talleyrand, Bonaparte, and Moreau and some others were present.

At this time, too, Bonaparte saw a great deal of Barras, and on November 1 held a long conference with Siéyès at the house of Lucien. On November 6, after a conference with Siéyès, he attended a banquet given to himself and Moreau by the members of the two councils at the church of St. Sulpice. He was so afraid of poison that he brought his own wine and food with him.

The revolution for the overthrow of the Directory was at last prepared, and was fixed for Brumaire 18 (November 9). Siéyès persuaded the councils to transfer their sittings to St. Cloud, to avoid a Jacobin conspiracy which was supposed to be imminent. On November 8, Bonaparte dined with Cambacérès at the Ministry of Justice, and the next morning received a decree of the Council of Ancients appointing him commander of the troops in Paris. He paid his respects to the Council and reviewed his troops at the Tuileries. In the evening, a council was held at the Tuileries, in which it was agreed that the Directors should resign and that three provisional Consuls should be appointed. On the morning of Brumaire 19, Bonaparte, having secured the safety of the capital and the persons of the Directors, rode down to St. Cloud to dissolve the two assemblies. The Ancients, who were inside the palace, presented no difficulty, but the Five Hundred, though presided over by Lucien Bonaparte, who was the soul of the conspiracy, gave more trouble. Bonaparte found himself more nervous and embarrassed in a scene of civil trouble than on the field of battle. When he urged the Assembly to dissolve in the interests of freedom and equality, he was interrupted by cries of "the Constitution!" and found himself helpless. He was forced to imitate Cromwell, and to send Murat to drive out the deputies at the point of the bayonet. At last, a decree was passed by what remained of the two councils under the presidency of Lucien, appointing a provisional consulate consisting of Siéyès, Roger-Ducos, and Bonaparte, who was to be the executive officer, upon which he returned to Paris, and late at night addressed a proclamation to the French people. On the morning of November 11 (Brumaire 20), Bonaparte went to St. Cloud and met the rump of the two councils, assembled in the Orangery. At ten he paid a visit to the Luxembourg, which had been the palace of the Directory, and at midday the three Consuls met for the first time. These arrangements were merely provisional. The provisional Consuls

**End of the  
Directory.**

**Bonaparte  
as First  
Consul.**



held their last meeting in the evening of December 24, and, on Christmas Day 1799, a new government—Bonaparte as First Consul, assisted by Cambacérès and Lebrun—was solemnly installed in office by fifty commissioners of the assemblies, and a period of virtual royalty began again for France.

What effects had the French Revolution on England? At first we were inclined to rejoice at the abasement of an hereditary

**England** foe, but consideration soon showed us that the  
**and the** consequences might be serious for ourselves. In  
**Revolution.** 1790, Burke published his *Reflections*, a reasoned

attack upon the Revolution, a masterpiece of English literature. It was answered in the *Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine. In May 1791, an open quarrel broke out between Burke and Fox, during the discussions over the Quebec Act, which constituted the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Fox supporting the principles of the Revolution and Burke denouncing them, a quarrel which was never healed. In the same year, Grenville, a cousin of Pitt, a hard-headed but somewhat cold and pedantic politician, became foreign secretary, and Dundas, Pitt's intimate friend, was placed at the home office. The Revolution began to show its effects. Riots took place in Birmingham on the announcement that the "Constitutional Party" intended to celebrate the taking of the Bastille, and the house of Dr. Priestley, the president of the society, was burned, with the approval of the municipal authorities. In Ireland, the Society of United Irishmen was formed amongst both Catholics and Protestants, for the removal of Catholic disabilities in the Irish Parliament, Wolfe Tone and Thomas Emmett being the leaders. On February 1, 1793, the French government declared war against England and Holland. This

**Outbreak  
of War.**

event had been preparing for some time. The king was strongly opposed to the Revolution, and the cabinet was divided. Pitt was passionately in favour of peace, and made great efforts to secure it, which Grenville was not prepared to support. The Committee of Public Safety and the Convention made matters very difficult. The decree for opening the Scheldt to commerce, although opposed to English interests, might have been got over, and the decree of November 19, offering assistance to all peoples who desired to recover their liberty, although announcing a revolutionary propaganda, was not so serious as it seemed. The French executive was also divided between war and peace, and perhaps

if Maret had reached England in time, and could have conferred with Pitt, the war need never have taken place. But the execution of the king made peace impossible. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, was ordered to leave England, which was an insult to France that could not be overlooked, and at the beginning of the month war was declared, and Dumouriez was instructed to invade Holland. The war thus begun, which perhaps might have been prevented, lasted, with momentous consequences, and only one short intermission, till the victory of Waterloo in 1815.

The first coalition which fought against France was composed of England, Spain, Sardinia, Portugal, Holland, Austria, and Prussia. Pitt, unlike his father, was a bad war minister, and, underrating the strength and enthusiasm of the French nation, thought that

**The First  
Coalition.**

the war would be over in six months. In the first year, the Austrians were successful in the Netherlands, Toulon surrendered to Hood, the duke of York besieged Dunkirk; but before the end of it fortune began to turn, and in 1794, after the French victory of Fleurus, the allies evacuated the Austrian Netherlands, though by the battle of the "Glorious First of June" a French fleet was entirely defeated in the English Channel by Howe. To carry on the

**Howe's  
Victory.**

war with greater energy, a new office of secretary of war was created, which was given to Dundas. English Radicals, such as Horne Tooke and Thomas Hardy, were tried for high treason, but without much success. In 1795, foreign relations became more composed. Poland ceased to exist, being finally divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia; the French established the Batavian Republic, practically making Holland a part of France, the result of which was that England declared war upon Holland and captured her colonies; while, by the peace of Basel, Prussia and Spain left the coalition and made peace with France. England, finding herself deserted, was forced to make alliances with Austria and Russia; but Russia did little, and the struggle against the Revolution was practically continued only by England and Austria.

The years of 1796 and 1797 witnessed the victories of Bonaparte in Italy, and Sardinia was lost to the coalition. Pitt tried to make peace in March and October, 1796, but, in both cases, without success. The second of these two years is said to be the darkest time in English history. Plans were made by which the French and Spaniards were to invade

England, while the Dutch would make a landing in Ireland, at that time seriously disaffected to the English government.

**Battle of Cape St. Vincent.** The battle of Cape St. Vincent, won by Jervis and Nelson, destroyed the French and Spanish fleets and was a prelude to Trafalgar. At the

same time, a French force effected a landing in Wales, but was compelled to surrender to Lord Cawdor. Commercial distress was so great that the Bank of England had to suspend cash payments, which were not resumed till 1819. There were two

**Naval Mutinies—** mutinies in the English fleet, caused by the discontent of the sailors, one at Spithead and one at the Nore. A third attempt at negotiations for peace by Pitt failed, but the battle of Camperdown, won by Duncan against the Dutch, pre-

vented an invasion of England from that quarter. At the same time, however, Austria was detached from the coalition by the treaty of Campo Formio, and, Portugal having also made peace with France, England now stood alone. It is to her credit that she endeavoured to make peace, but it was no credit that she continued the war with stubborn obstinacy.

In 1798, the year in which Nelson destroyed the French fleet in the engagement absurdly called the battle of the Nile, a rebellion which had long been preparing broke out in Ireland, relations between the two countries having gradually become worse since

**The Irish Rebellion.**

1795. In that year the society of United Irishmen was reconstructed on republican lines. The Orange Society was founded by the Protestants, which led to a terrible persecution of the Catholics in the north of Ireland. The Catholic "Defenders," who had at first only concerned themselves with agrarian grievances, joined the political society of the United Irishmen. In 1796 Wolfe Tone sought the assistance of the French Directory, but the French fleet did not get farther than Bantry Bay. The United Irishmen persuaded the peasants that the Protestants were contemplating a universal murder of the Catholics, so that the country was in a condition of veiled rebellion; and when, in 1798, martial law was proclaimed, and English troops were quartered upon the Irish people, the rebellion broke out. The rebels were defeated at Vinegar Hill on June 21, and a French force which landed in their support at Killala was routed by Lake.

In 1799, during the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, England

succeeded in forming a second coalition against France, of which Austria and Russia were the most prominent members, and in India a danger was removed by the defeat and death of Tippoo Sahib, the ruler of Mysore, who had been negotiating with France.

**The Second Coalition.**

The successes and disasters of Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria have been already narrated. At the close of the year he returned to his country after his repulse from Acre, and could say with truth to those who met him, "What have you done with the France which I left so powerful?" By the events of Brumaire 18, he became the First Consul, and his first action was to endeavour to make peace. On Christmas Day, 1799, the very day on which he entered upon his new office, he wrote the following letter with his own hand to George III.: "Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication of it to your majesty. The war which has for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal?—are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity as well as of the first glory?"

**Bonaparte's Letter to George III.**

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously for the second time to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely confidential, and disengaged from those forms which,—necessary, perhaps, to disguise the dependence of weak states—prove in those which are strong only the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a short time, to the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their own exhaustion. But, I will venture to say, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which has involved the whole world."

It is possible that Pitt would have accepted this offer, recognising in some measure that a new authority had arisen in France; but he was prevented by the pedantry of Grenville and the enthusiasm of Wyndham for the cause of the French

emigrants. Therefore, in response to this appeal, which proceeded from the heart and the head of the writer, a chilling official answer was sent from the secretary of state, and the war begun in 1793 went on, notwithstanding strong opposition **Bonaparte** in the English Parliament. A letter couched **offers terms** in similar terms was addressed by **Bonaparte to Austria.** to the Emperor Francis II., reminding him of the relations which had previously existed between them, offering to renew the peace of Campo Formio. But Austria partly rejected the offers of the First Consul because she had regained so much ground during the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, but chiefly because England would not allow her to make peace. Bonaparte was driven to try other methods for effecting his object; the cold and insulting replies of Grenville and Thugut increased his popularity in France; and the country armed itself with enthusiasm to extort by force the settlement which it could not obtain by a generous offer of peace.

## CHAPTER XII.

NAPOLEON, A.D. 1800-1805.

THE first duty of the new government was to organise itself as a working institution. The fantastic edifice of Siéyès, in which the five million electors of France were to choose half a million communal notables, who were to choose fifty thousand departmental notables, who were to choose five thousand ultimate notables, a selection of whom were to govern the country, was unworkable and absurd. The double election of the president has failed in America: the triple election of officials could not succeed in France. Similarly there was to be a tribunate who discussed without voting, a legislative body who voted without discussion, and a senate who might annul any measure as guardians of the constitution. There was to be a Grand Elector, who possessed dignity without power, while the executive government was entrusted to a college of three consuls. Napoleon, with great skill, changed this arrangement into a workable machine. Siéyès had provided that all persons who, at the beginning of the Revolution, had belonged to any municipal or political assembly, or had held a public office, should be included in the list of notables in addition to those legally elected, which gave Bonaparte the opportunity of confiding the administration to men whom he could trust; the power of the Senate was diminished, the Grand Elector became a shadow, the consuls were appointed for ten years, and the "First Consul" was placed officially at their head. In this manner, the First Consul was invested with the power which was absolutely necessary for the proper conduct of affairs. Happily, the Conseil d'Etat (the Council of State) could be extended so as to become a political body, competent to act, and yet of popular complexion, and it was through this body that Bonaparte was able to effect the reconstruction of France. Both the consuls and the Conseil d'Etat met as a rule every day,—the consuls at noon, the Conseil d'Etat at two o'clock.

**The New  
Constitu-  
tion.**

**The Council  
of State.**

The rooms in which they met were close together, so that the First Consul could pass from one to the other, and the Council of State often sat till far into the night. The minutes of this council were burnt under the Commune, but we know that out of the hundred sittings devoted to the Code Napoleon

**The First  
Consul  
and his  
Ministers.**

the First Consul presided over fifty-seven. No head of a government ever worked so hard as Napoleon. His week-ends were spent at Malmaison, a country house in the neighbourhood of Paris, inseparably associated with the memories of Josephine and himself. The first officials with whom Napoleon worked on arriving at power remained with him till the end. Cambacérès, although conceited and fond of representation, was an excellent jurist, Lebrun a faithful henchman, Gaudin an incomparable financier, Maret a wise and trusted secretary. To these were added Talleyrand as foreign minister, false but indispensable; Fouché, an accomplished rogue, set as minister of police to watch rogues; Carnot, an honest man and an unrivalled minister of war; Lucien, true to his brother at the beginning and at the end of his career, but during a long period estranged from him in the assertion of his independence. Napoleon found it difficult to command an army without Berthier as head of the staff.

With this machinery in his hands, Napoleon (as we shall now call him) had to construct a new France, for the Revolution

**Restoration  
of Order.**

had destroyed not only all institutions of government, but all material from which a government could be constructed. Paris and the provinces were in a condition of anarchy, torn asunder by Royalist Emigrants on one side and Jacobin Terrorists on the other. Paris had no police and no morality: the garden of the Palais Royale, in its filth and its obscenity, was a disgrace to a civilised country. Religion, the foundation of all morality, which had been trampled under foot, was deliberately and thankfully restored. The centralised system of administration which had been established by Richelieu and Louis XIV., and which was necessary for the unity of France but had been ruined by the anarchy of the Revolution, was reconstructed by Napoleon. It still remains the safeguard of France, the iron framework which keeps her discordant elements together, and without which she would cease to exist as a nation; the division of the country into departments, arrondissements, cantons, and communes, with prefects, subprefects, and mayors at their head, is

as necessary now as it was then; the faculty of self-government is inbred in a nation's character, and cannot be imposed from without. The First Consul gave to France law, order, and religion; he restored the finances, being one of the best financiers the world has ever seen. When Fox reached Paris after the peace of Amiens, he was astonished to find money much more plentiful in Paris than in London. The new Code, which all nations who have lived under it are reluctant to surrender, gave unity and equality of law to all classes. For the first time in the history of France, a career was open to talent, energy, and ambition, in which all might compete on equal terms.

The Consuls were established at the Tuileries on February 19, 1800. Napoleon said to Bourienne: "Well, here we are at the Tuileries; we must endeavour to remain here." He stayed at Paris till May 6, presiding at the Council of State, spending Sundays at Malmaison, and holding a fortnightly review in the courtyard of the Carrousel. In order to coerce Austria into peace, a double campaign had been projected—an invasion of Germany by the Rhine army under Moreau, and a crushing of Austria in Italy by Napoleon himself. At the

**Victories  
of Moreau.**

beginning of May, Moreau crossed the Rhine at Breisach, defeated the Austrians at Engen, Stockach, and Mosskirch, and reached the Danube. Kray was so completely overmastered that 16,000 men could be detached by Moreau to strengthen the army in Italy. In the middle of June, the Austrians, by masterly manœuvres, were driven from Ulm, and, on July 15, the armistice of Parsdorf placed the south of Germany in the hands of France. In the meantime, Napoleon reached Dijon, where his army had been secretly forming, in twenty-five hours from the capital, went to Geneva, where he saw Necker, had an interview with Carnot at Lausanne, and reached Martigny on May 17, where he heard of the capture of Aosta. Berthier having written to him that the little fortress of Bard at the foot of the Great St. Bernard could not be taken, he determined to go there immediately, and passed the mountains on May 21. He left Martigny at 8, breakfasted at Liddes at 11, dined at the hospice of St. Bernard at 5, left at 6.30, and reached Etroubles at 9 P.M.; and, forcing the defile of Bard, entered Milan on the evening of June 2. The immortal battle of Marengo was fought on June 14, and at half-past three he found himself beaten; but at this moment Desaix arrived,

**Napoleon  
crosses the  
Alps.**



and urged that, although one battle was lost, there was time to win another. The victorious Austrians were attacked with vigour, and were completely defeated, Desaix perishing in the moment of victory. On December 3, Moreau won the battle of Hohenlinden, a victory as distinguished but not so well remembered as that of Marengo, and the Austrians had to seek for peace.

**Battles of  
Marengo  
and Hohen-  
linden.**

On Christmas Eve, 1800, as Napoleon was driving to the opera to hear the first performance of Haydn's *Creation*, a so-called infernal machine was exploded under his carriage and killed a large number of persons. We know now that this was part of a Royalist conspiracy against Napoleon's power and even life, which was encouraged and assisted by the English government—a conspiracy which had eventually to be put a stop to by the execution of the Duc d'Enghien. For the moment, however, it enabled the First Consul to send into exile a number of Jacobins and Terrorists, who were equally dangerous to the peace of the country. But the best answer to these attacks was peace, and the treaty of Lunéville between France and Austria, preparations for which had been made by Napoleon and his brother Joseph even before the battle of Hohenlinden, was signed at Lunéville on February 9, 1801.

**Royalist  
Conspiracy.**

**Treaty of  
Lunéville.**

The treaty of Lunéville confirmed the arrangements made at Campo Formio and went further in some respects. Its general effect was to give France the frontier of the Rhine, together with Belgium, and the chief control over northern Italy. The German princes, chiefly ecclesiastical, who were dispossessed of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine were to be compensated elsewhere when territory had been found for them. By this treaty, France became the mistress of Europe by land, as England was at sea. The kingdom of Etruria was founded in central Italy; Naples gave up her claim to Elba and the opposite coast of Italy; Spain placed her fleet at the disposal of France; Portugal submitted to France in the treaty of Badajoz. But things went hardly in Egypt, where Kléber was murdered at Cairo on the same day and at the same hour that Desaix fell at Marengo, and, in September 1801, the French garrison, 24,000 strong, was brought back to Europe in English ships. In Russia also things went badly for France. The emperor, Paul I., whose

eccentricity almost reached the point of madness, was a devoted admirer and friend of Napoleon, but partly by English intrigue, and certainly with the knowledge of his son and successor, Alexander, he was foully and cruelly murdered on the night of March 23, 1801, and Russia became the ally of England. Before this time, just after the battle of Marengo, England had endeavoured to consolidate her strength by an Act of Union with Ireland, which certainly protected that island against foreign intrigues, but was of doubtful utility to either country, and was carried by a majority of one in the Irish Parliament, purchased by bribery and corruption. The union dated from January 1, 1801, and was marked by the addition of the Cross of St. Patrick to those of St. George and St. Andrew in the Union-Jack. The united kingdom was to have a single Parliament, in which Ireland was largely represented. In 1800 England captured from France Malta, which France had promised to Russia. The Czar, mortally offended, established a second Armed Neutrality with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to withstand the British claims to search neutral vessels and check their trade with France. This and the treaty of Lunéville were met by the unprovoked attack of Nelson upon Denmark, in which the capital was shelled and the Danish fleet destroyed, on April 2, 1801, in what is called the battle of Copenhagen, an act of indefensible aggression. Some weeks earlier, Pitt ceased to be prime minister of England, and was succeeded by Addington, Pitt being, as Canning wittily observed, to Addington as London was to Paddington. The sole cause of his resignation was the refusal of the king to give the franchise to Catholics in Ireland, which Pitt had solemnly promised as a condition of the Union.

One of the first occupations of the Addington ministry was to make peace with France. On the one hand, Abercromby gained the victory of Alexandria over the French in Egypt; on the other, Nelson failed in destroying the flotilla which Napoleon had collected at Boulogne for the invasion of England. Consequently, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Amiens, on October 1, 1801, and the definite peace on March 27, 1802. The conditions were that Great Britain should return to France, Spain, and Holland all the conquests which she had made, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad; that the king should surrender the title

**Death of the  
Emperor  
Paul I.**

**Union of  
England  
and Ireland.**

**Second  
Armed  
Neutrality.**

**Battle of  
Copenhagen.**

**The Peace  
of Amiens.**

of king of France, which the kings of England had borne since 1340, and should remove the French lilies, which had ceased to be the emblem of France, from the royal arms; and above all, that the island of Malta should be restored to the knights of St. John. On the other hand, France should evacuate Naples and the Papal States, should acknowledge the independence of the Ionian Islands, and should restore Egypt to the Porte. The peace was received with great rejoicings both in England and in France. It has been described as a hollow truce, a temporary suspension of the conflict, which both countries intended to resume as soon as possible, but there is no doubt that Napoleon was seriously anxious for peace—indeed it is probable that peace with England, the country which he most respected and admired, was one of the main objects of his career. Undoubtedly the result of the war was as much to the advantage of England as the preservation of peace was necessary to the prosperity of France. Napoleon would not have put an end to the peace of Amiens unless he had been forced to do so by the conduct of England. He used the period of peace to settle the relations

between France and the rest of Europe. He drew the Batavian Republic closer to France, increasing its commerce and prosperity. As armed mediator he gave a good constitution to Switzerland, which revolutionary France had treated so badly and left in such disorder. He began the great road over the Simplon, and, to secure its not being affected by the vicissitudes of the other cantons, gave a separate constitution to the valleys through which it passed. He changed the Cisalpine into an Italian Republic, taking a further step towards the unity of Italy, which he so fervently desired. And he put an end to the effete constitution of the German empire by destroying the independent sovereignty of a large number of German princes, and profoundly modifying the ecclesiastical government of the German states. If Germany, ten years later, could rise against Napoleon in the war of independence, she owed her power to do so to the fact that Napoleon had struck off her chains. It is true that Napoleon, by the splendour of his genius, became, to some extent, the arbiter of Europe, which needed a reconstruction of its worn-out polity, and a statesman who would indicate the lines on which it should be reconstructed, but he also restored religion to France, which he knew was necessary for her existence. On October 4, 1801, he signed the decree which gave back the churches to the church; two days later, he received at the Tuileries Cardinal Caprara,







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the legate of the Holy See. On January 4, 1802, his brother Louis was married to Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine, in the chapel of the Tuileries, by Cardinal Caprara, a preliminary to his own coronation by the pope in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame.

**Catholicism  
restored.**

On January 8, in the Council of State, he recalled a large number of the émigrés from exile. On January 26, he accepted the presidency of the Italian Republic, offered to him by the Italian government, which was afterwards objected to by England, as an act of usurpation, but which took place two months before the signature of the treaty of Amiens. April 1802 was a month full of glory for Napoleon. On the ninth, Cardinal Caprara was solemnly received by the government as legate *a latere* of the pope, and the archbishops and bishops who, by the Concordat, were to be at the head of the French church were nominated. On the 17th he ratified the treaties concluded at Amiens with England, Spain, and the Batavian Republic; and on the 18th, which was Easter Sunday, the Concordat was solemnly promulgated. A great religious service was held in Nôtre Dame, attended by the three Consuls, the new bishops took the oath of allegiance, and the day closed with a banquet at the Tuileries. What greater service could a sovereign render to his country than to restore to it the peace which nine years before had been broken by anarchy, and the religion which for ten years had been trodden under foot? On May 4, the regeneration of France was properly marked by the institution of the Legion of Honour—a Garter, a Golden Fleece, founded on democratic principles. To make Napoleon Consul for life, which was not effected till August 2, was

**The Legion  
of Honour.**

a just but imperfect recognition of the benefits which he had conferred upon his country.

During the peace a large number of Englishmen visited Paris, among them Charles James Fox, who went there to collect materials for his history of the later Stuarts. They were hospitably received by the First Consul, and were deeply impressed by the popularity of the government and the prosperity of the country. Lord Whitworth was sent to Paris as English ambassador, and was received at the Tuileries on December—a most unfortunate choice, as he was a stiffnecked and narrow-minded aristocrat and his wife was a duchess whom he thought too good for republican society. After a period of strained relations, intensified, as usual, by the intemperance of the press on both sides of the channel, war was eventually declared on May



18, 1803, thirteen months after the final conclusion of peace. The causes of this were the jealousy of Napoleon's power in Europe, which might easily have been foreseen when the peace was signed, and the refusal to surrender Malta, a breach of honourable engagements, which it was impossible that Napoleon could put up with. It is generally held that, in the war against Napoleon which continued till 1815, England was supporting the cause of independence and liberty in the world. It is probably more true that the name and authority of Napoleon stood in every part of Europe for progress and civilisation, which is shown by the degrading servitude of peoples which followed his fall, when the chief object of his enemies was to undo his work. Certain it is that the wars in which Napoleon engaged from the campaign of Austerlitz to that of Waterloo were not sought by him; but were stimulated and supported by English subsidies, which exhausted our labouring classes and subjected our country to a debt of eight hundred millions. Whether the destruction of Napoleon was worth the sacrifice, each one must decide for himself. Napoleon replied to the declaration of war by the arrest of all Englishmen travelling in France as a reprisal for the attack of the English on French shipping. On the breach of the peace which he had concluded, Addington retired from office, and Pitt resumed the premiership, with Harrowby as foreign secretary.

At this time, the members of the Bourbon family to whom England was giving protection were the chief instigators of the war against France. They were led by the Comte d'Artois, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Bourbon, father and grandfather of the duke of Enghien. They received pensions from the English government, a generosity which was shared by a host of needy emigrants, bearing noble names, living in obscure lodgings, under the general superintendence of William Wyndham, and aided by the magnanimous friendship of Burke. They were in league with conspirators in France, who were doing their best to render Napoleon's government in France impossible, and to threaten not only his sovereignty, but his life. The leaders of this conspiracy, inspired partly by mistaken patriotism and partly by jealousy, were Georges Cadoudal, Pichegru, and, sad to say, Moreau, who was not strong enough to resist the influence to which he was exposed. The English government gave

**Renewal of  
the War.**

**The Bour-  
bons in  
England.**

**Cadoudal's  
Conspiracy.**

money for the support of Royalist armies in France, assisted descents upon the French coast, allowed their diplomatic agents on the frontiers of France to intrigue against the French government, discussed plans of conspiracy with Cadoudal, and permitted him without remonstrance to inform them of the plans which were being formed against the First Consul's life. Napoleon was obliged to protect himself with vigour against the enemies of France abroad and at home.

It was necessary to put an end to the Bourbon conspiracies. Charles of Artois had not courage enough to lead the expedition which he was asked to conduct, while Condé and Bourbon lived in luxury in English country houses, stirring up the danger which they did not share, escaping the punishment which they deserved, while they exposed others to it. Their son and grandson, the duke of Enghien, in spite of the warnings of his father and grandfather, lived at Ettenheim, a village near the French border, which had belonged to Cardinal de Rohan, archbishop of Strasburg, and recently to France, detained there by the charms of the Cardinal's niece, whom he loved passionately and had perhaps married. He was properly kept in ignorance of Cadoudal's conspiracy, but he had fought against his country as an émigré and was, therefore, subject to the penalty of death, and he was to lead an army in Alsace if a war broke out. Napoleon determined to arrest and shoot him, as he could not suffer a Bourbon prince to be living in those times so near to his dominions. The duke of Baden, to whose lot Ettenheim had recently fallen, was powerless to expel him, and Enghien disregarded every warning that he should leave, and neglected every opportunity for escape. On the night of February 14, 1804, the question of the conspiracy was discussed in the council of ministers and, on the following day, by the Consuls and the council of state. On that day, Moreau was arrested. On March 9, Georges Cadoudal was captured in Paris, and, on the evening of the following day, instructions were issued to Berthier and Caulaincourt for the arrest of Enghien. A small force of French cavalry crossed the Rhine; Enghien was seized and brought to Vincennes; he was immediately tried, condemned, and shot, and was buried in the castle ditch. The duke of Baden thanked the First Consul for the act of justice, which he was not strong enough to execute himself, and from that time forth nothing more was heard of Bourbon conspiracies. Cadoudal was executed,

**Fate of  
the Con-  
spirators.**

**Execution  
of the Duke  
of Enghien.**

Pichegru hung himself in prison, and Moreau took refuge in America. It was obvious that, if France was to be well governed, a monarchy must be restored, and the crown was offered to Napoleon, as it was offered to Cromwell on a similar

**Napoleon  
Emperor.**

occasion for the same reasons. On May 18, the Senate passed a vote which raised General Napoleon Bonaparte to rank of emperor, and afterwards went in a body to St. Cloud, to salute him under the title of Napoleon I. His first act was to create eighteen marshals, whose names have become famous in history,—Berthier, Murat, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Moncey, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davout, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon, and Sérurier. On June 15, the new dignity was consecrated at Nôtre Dame, by a mass celebrated by the cardinal legate, and in the afternoon crosses were solemnly distributed to the members of the Legion of Honour, who took the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign.

England still remained at war, although Napoleon renewed his offers of peace. It became necessary to alter the govern-

**The Empire  
and the  
Dependent  
States.**

ment of the states dependent on France, in accordance with the alteration of the government of that country. Schimmelpennink as grand pensionary became head of the Batavian, and Eugène Beauharnais, as viceroy, head of the Italian Republic. Genoa and Piedmont were united with France. Elisa Bonaparte, wife of the commoner Bacciochi, became Duchess of Piombino and Lucca, to which Massa was afterwards added, which she governed with the enlightenment and skill which she afterwards displayed in Tuscany. Steps were taken to secure the fidelity of Naples, and the unfortunate Queen Caroline, who deserved a better fate, found herself hardly pressed between the upper and lower millstones of France on one side and England and Russia on the other. Wherever the government of Napoleon went, civilisation followed; the Code Napoleon was received everywhere as a priceless boon, and a model administration was established, until it was ruined by the inappeasable enmity of England, who used her revenues, derived from the taxes of the people, to stir up interminable war. Napoleon,

**Napoleon at  
Boulogne.**

following the example of Marengo, set himself to gain by force of arms what he could not gain by persuasion, and made vast preparations at Boulogne for the invasion of England. England answered by arming volunteers, and by building Martello towers along the

coast, which still exist as a monument of expensive folly. It has been supposed that Napoleon was not serious in this project of invasion, and he could certainly never have carried it out. But it is equally certain that he really intended it and put all the power of his mind to the execution of it. He had no command of steam, which would be largely employed in any similar enterprise at the present day.

England also proceeded to form a new coalition. Alexander I. was anxious to restore the Bourbon dynasty, and made offers to England, which, after some hesitation, were accepted on April 11, 1805. The coalition was joined by Sweden, and, unfortunately for herself, by Austria. Prussia, for the present, remained neutral, and it would have been better for her if she had preserved that attitude.

**The Third  
Coalition.**

For the invasion of England, Napoleon had formed a plan that Villeneuve, sailing from Toulon, should unite with the Dutch and Spanish fleets and entice Nelson to the West Indies, then, suddenly returning, should liberate Ganteaume, who was blockaded by Cornwallis in Brest, and, with him, occupy the English Channel. Hearing, in the middle of August 1805, that his plan had failed, and that Villeneuve, unable to liberate Ganteaume, had sailed to Cadiz, he first broke out into a fit of uncontrollable wrath, and, when he had recovered himself, dictated orders for a campaign which was completely to destroy Austria and make peace in Vienna. He wrote to Talleyrand from Boulogne on August 23:—"If the fleets do not come, I shall march with 200,000 men into Germany, and not stop till I have reached Vienna, added Venice to my possessions, and driven the Bourbons from Naples. I shall not allow Austria and Russia to join forces, but defeat them before they can unite." This was carried out to the letter. On October 20, Mack capitulated at Ulm, and 24,000 Austrians, among whom were eighteen generals, laid down their arms at Napoleon's feet, as he stood before the Michaelsberg. England proudly avenged herself on the following day, by the immortal victory of Trafalgar, in which the genius of Nelson so completely destroyed the French and Spanish fleets that they have never since raised their heads, but have conceded to England the undisputed mastery of the seas. On November 13 Napoleon became master of Vienna, and on December 2 won the battle of Austerlitz, in which the Russians and Austrians were completely defeated.

**The English  
Invasion  
abandoned.**

**Ulm and  
Trafalgar.**

**Battle of  
Austerlitz.**

Before these events occurred, Napoleon had taken steps to establish his authority in Europe. On December 1, 1804, the Senate declared the imperial dignity hereditary in the family of Napoleon, or in that of his brothers Louis and Joseph, if Napoleon should die without issue. On the same evening, Napoleon and Josephine were married in a religious ceremony by Cardinal Fesch. On the following day, just a year before Austerlitz, the emperor and empress were solemnly crowned in Nôtre Dame by Pope Pius VI., who had come to Paris for that purpose. On March 24, 1805, Louis Napoleon, the son of Louis and Hortense, afterwards the Emperor Napoleon III., was baptized at St. Cloud by the pope, who left for Rome a week later. In April Napoleon visited Italy with Josephine. They met the pope at Turin, visited the battlefield of Marengo, and on May 2 he was crowned king of Italy, in the cathedral of Milan, by Cardinal Caprara, the legate of the Holy See. On June 24, he made Lucca, as we have said, into a principality for his sister Caroline. He reached Genoa on June 30, and slept in the bed of Charles V. He was back at Fontainebleau on July 11, having travelled incognito for eighty-five hours, arrived at St. Cloud on July 17, and at the beginning of August went to Boulogne, where he suffered the disappointment of which we have already spoken.

The victory of Austerlitz was followed by the peace of Pressburg, by which Venice came to France, the Tyrol to Bavaria, the Breisgau to Baden, and Salzburg to Austria. The condition of Prussia was humiliating, but not more so than she deserved. In the autumn of 1805, Alexander had visited Berlin and had almost persuaded Frederick William to break with Napoleon and to join the coalition. Haugwitz was sent to Vienna to explain the attitude of Prussia to Napoleon, and to demand the evacuation of Hanover. Napoleon asked him to wait till he had finished the business in hand, and, when the battle of Austerlitz had been won and the peace of Pressburg signed, Haugwitz found himself in a ridiculous position. Prussia gave up Anspach, Neufchâtel, and Cleves in exchange for Hanover, the occupation of which immediately involved her in a war with England. Napoleon then proceeded to drive out the Bourbons from the kingdom of Naples, which he gave to his

**The  
Imperial  
Family.**

**Napoleon  
King of  
Italy.**

**Peace of  
Pressburg.**

**The King-  
doms of  
Holland  
and Naples.**

brother Joseph, making Holland into a kingdom for his younger brother Louis. If his brothers, thus placed, were not always faithful to him, they behaved, at any rate, better than Murat or Bernadotte. Murat, who had married Napoleon's sister Caroline, became Duke of Cleves and Berg, Pauline Borghese received Piombino and Guastalla, Bernadotte became Prince of Ponte Corvo, Talleyrand of Benevento, and Berthier of Neufchâtel. No sovereign ever more generously rewarded those who assisted him in his work, although they were often ungrateful to him. The Confederation of the Rhine was founded, consisting of sixteen sovereign German princes, amongst them Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Darmstadt, and Nassau; and on August 6, the Holy Roman Empire, which had existed for more than a thousand years, came to an end. Francis II. retained the title of Emperor of Austria, which he had held since 1804. The news of the victory of Austerlitz, and the shattering of the carefully laid plans by which the third coalition had been formed, killed Pitt. He was at Bath looking at a picture of Macklin, the actor, when he heard a courier galloping up the street. He said to his companion, "Those are despatches for me," and went out to get them. In them he read of the disasters, became deadly pale, and nearly fainted. The deadly pallor, "the Austerlitz look," as it was called, never left his face till he died on January 23, 1806.

**The Confederation  
of the Rhine.**

**Death of  
Pitt.**

## CHAPTER XIII.

NAPOLEON, A.D. 1806-1815.

THE death of Pitt was followed by the accession to office of the ministry called "All the Talents," consisting of Grenville as prime minister, Fox as foreign secretary, Erskine as lord chancellor, Wyndham, and others. Fox, who had always opposed the war, endeavoured to make peace, but he died on September 23, and his place

**Death of  
Fox.**

was taken by Howick. The treaty of Schönbrunn left Prussia in a discontented frame of mind. Her army, proud of the traditions of Frederick the Great, felt that they had been abased: her harbours were blockaded by England, with whom she was at war. Napoleon occupied the fortress of Wesel, and secretly offered Hanover, which had been the price of peace for Prussia, to England, to whom it had originally belonged. Frederick

**Prussia  
declares  
War.**

William also made proposals to the coalition formed of England, Russia, and Sweden, and on October 1, 1806, declared war against France. Napoleon lost no time in accepting the challenge. He was already at Mainz, which he left on the evening of the declaration, and, passing by Würzburg and Basel, reached the line of the Saale. The battle of Saalfeld was fought on October 10, in which the gallant Prince Louis Ferdinand was killed, and the

**Battles of  
Jena and  
Auerstädt.**

double battles of Jena and Auerstädt followed on October 14—Napoleon attacking the division of Prince Hohenlohe, Davout the principal army under Duke Charles Ferdinand of Brunswick. The defeat was disastrous. The principal fortresses of Prussia, including Erfurt, Stettin, Magdeburg, Breslau, and Danzig, fell into the hands of the French, and Berlin was occupied by Davout. On October 24 the conqueror reached Potsdam, having passed through Weimar on October 16, where he had a conversation with Goethe. On October 26 he visited the tomb of Frederick the Great, took possession of his sword and of his Order of the Black Eagle, and sent them with the trophies of victory to be

kept at the Invalides. He stayed at Berlin for nearly a month, reviewing troops and preparing for the continuance of the campaign. On Friday, November 21, he signed the famous Berlin Decree, declaring the whole of the British Isles in a state of blockade, forbidding all intercourse with them, and ordering all English property found abroad to be confiscated. In answer to this, Orders in Council were issued in 1807 forbidding trade with France. It is difficult to say which of the belligerents suffered most from these measures, and to what extent, but it is certain that they did grave damage to the trade of the Americans.

**The Berlin  
Decree.**

War had now to be continued against Russia, during a hard Russian winter. Warsaw was reached on December 20, 1806, and the indecisive battles of Pultusk and Golymir were fought six days later. Napoleon beat the Russians at Allenstein on February 4, 1807, and pursued them with admirable skill. He came up with them at Eylau, four days later, when a battle was fought which is generally regarded as the first of Napoleon's defeats, but was really indecisive. He certainly continued to occupy the field of battle, but was soon obliged to retreat. At the beginning of March he arrived at Osteroda and established himself in the château of Finkenstein, which had been built by the tutor of Frederick the Great. Here he remained till the end of May,—working hard, walking with his brother-in-law, Murat, riding furiously when the weather permitted, and holding reviews every day in the gardens. During this time he made peace with Persia, and received the ambassador of the Sultan. He did not finally leave Finkenstein for the field till June 6, and fought the battle of Friedland on June 14, when the failure of Eylau was avenged. The battle

**The Russian  
Campaign.**

**Battle of  
Friedland.**

was begun by Lannes at three in the morning, and was not over till eleven at night. Napoleon reached Tilsit on June 19. It has often been said that the peace of Tilsit was concluded on a raft in the middle of the river, but this, of course, is not the case. This very beautiful town is situated on the river Memel, the frontier between Prussia and Russia. Negotiations for peace could only be carried on in neutral territory, and the only place fulfilling this condition was a pavilion of wood, constructed on one of the rafts which are so plentiful at this spot. Alexander and Napoleon met in this pavilion on June 25, and were there joined by the king of Prussia on the following day.

**Peace of  
Tilsit.**



They there divided the town into three parts, assigned respectively to the French and Russian emperors and the king, who occupied a very subordinate position. The monarchs stayed in the town for three weeks till the ratifications were exchanged on July 9, the two emperors being the greatest friends, dining together continually and walking arm-in-arm through the town. On Monday, July 6, the queen, Louise, who had a contempt for Napoleon, appeared in great state with a carriage and six. The following day she dined with Napoleon, and, on his offering her a rose, said that she would only receive it if he surrendered Magdeburg. Enraged at her rudeness, he threw it into the fire.

It is probably not accurately known what were the conditions of Tilsit, because most of the arrangements were contained in secret articles, and in conversations between the two emperors. It was certainly disastrous to Prussia. A kingdom of Westphalia was formed, of which Jerome Bonaparte was to be king, comprising electoral Hesse, Brunswick, and part of Hanover; a duchy of Warsaw was created for the king of Saxony as an outpost against Russia and Austria; Bayreuth was given to Bavaria and Prussian Friesland to Holland; Dantzic was made a free state, but continued, together with Erfurt, to be subordinate to France. Prussia was compelled to join in the blockade against England, to reduce her army to 45,000 men, and to admit French garrisons into her fortresses, and she had to pay an indemnity of 150,000,000 thalers. In other documents it was agreed that Russia should have a free hand in Turkey, provided that Napoleon should be allowed to do what he pleased in Europe. Arrangements were also made with regard to Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Denmark, and even with regard to India. The two emperors certainly regarded the world as if it lay helpless before their feet, but what they settled had little practical effect, except to stir Prussia to revenge seven years later. Meanwhile in England the ministry of "All the Talents" disappeared in March 1807. It had attempted to assist Russia against Turkey by an expedition to the Dardanelles, which failed, while another expedition sent against Buenos Ayres was equally unsuccessful. It had passed an act abolishing the slave trade, but an attempt to grant relief to the Catholics led to its fall. In the ministry which succeeded it, Portland, a mere figure-head, took the first

**Rearrange-  
ment of  
German  
States.**

**English  
Ministries  
and the  
War.**

place, assisted by Perceval as chancellor of the exchequer, Canning as foreign minister—one of the greatest men who ever held that office—Castlereagh as minister for war and the colonies, and Eldon as lord chancellor. One of its first acts was to bombard Copenhagen, and to seize the Danish fleet—an unjust and violent action—on the supposition that it had been part of the policy of Tilsit to treat Denmark in a similar manner. The result of this was to throw Denmark into the hands of France, and to extend the continental blockade to the whole of northern Europe.

**Seizure of  
the Danish  
Fleet.**

Doubtless some of the arrangements at Tilsit had reference to Portugal and Spain. Both countries have a large seaboard, and Napoleon was naturally anxious to close them to English commerce: also the condition of Spain was such as to excite the serious apprehension of the French. From the fact that a Bourbon held the throne of Spain, and the existence of the family compact, France had been to some extent answerable to Europe for the condition of that country, and Napoleon was not the man to neglect the duties which the Bourbons had always admitted. A treaty had been signed at Madrid on December 19, 1803, between the First Consul and the prince regent of Portugal, by which, by payment of a million francs a month, Portugal was allowed to remain neutral and her freedom of commerce with England was secured. The peace of Tilsit put an end to this, and, on October 21, a treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau by arrangement with the Spanish queen's favourite Godoy—"the Prince of the Peace,"—for the partitioning of Portugal into three states, all under Spanish control, of which Godoy was to have the south, with the title of Prince of the Algarves. The oversea possessions of Portugal were to be divided between France and Spain, and a combined force from the two countries was to march into Portugal under the command of Junot.

**Spain and  
Portugal.**

On November 13, 1807, an announcement appeared in the *Moniteur*, "The house of Braganza has ceased to reign," and a fortnight later the prince regent sailed for Brazil, taking his treasures with him, and about 15,000 of his adherents. The condition of the Spanish court at this time was abject; the queen was the tool of Godoy, and the king, Charles IV., was little better than a crétin; the crown prince, Ferdinand, was devoted to Bourbon interests, so that Godoy and the queen threw themselves into

**Treaty of  
Fontaine-  
bleau.**

**Portugal  
Seized.**

**The  
Spanish  
Court.**

the arms of Napoleon. The peace of Pressburg, which gave Naples to Joseph Bonaparte, roused for a moment a patriotic feeling in Spain, but it was soon quelled by the victory of Jena. The crown prince saw no escape, except to vie with Godoy for the support of the emperor, and the shameless queen replied by declaring him to be a bastard. On December 30, he was arrested and excluded from the succession on the charge of having conspired against the king's life.

It was impossible that Napoleon could allow this state of things to continue. If bad government has ever justified the

**The French  
in Spain.**

intervention of one state in the affairs of another—and history is full of such cases—France was justified in her interference in the government of Spain. In December 1807, Dupont with 24,000 men occupied Valladolid, and on January 9, 1808, Moncey marched with an army of like strength into Castile. A large army of observation was collected at Bordeaux, and filled the passes of the Pyrenees. Prince Ferdinand sought with tears the forgiveness of his father, his mother, and Godoy, and asked to be allowed to marry a Bonaparte princess, an alliance which Charles IV. humbly solicited from the emperor. It was hardly likely that either Napoleon or his brother Lucien would consent to such a humiliation. Murat was sent to Spain to command the French troops, but the Spanish people, always bitterly opposed to foreign rule, rose in rebellion at Aranjuez and threatened the lives of the royal family, upon which Charles IV. dismissed Godoy from all his offices, to the great delight of the people. On March 19, 1808, the weak king abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand, whom he had recently declared incapable of reigning, while his mother called him a bastard. In default of any one better, he was the idol of the people, and was received with acclamation, while Godoy was imprisoned in the castle of Villa Viciosa and his property confiscated. Napoleon naturally hesitated to accept this arrangement. Ferdinand made a triumphal entry into Madrid, but was received with coolness by Murat and Beauharnais. Ferdinand, in despair, sought Napoleon at Bayonne, where he arrived on April 20. But Napoleon saw the truth. He wrote to Talleyrand, "The prince of the Asturias is very stupid, very unprincipled, and a bitter enemy of France." The plot deepened, and the tragi-comedy became more confused. Godoy was released from prison, and reached Bayonne on April 26, and a few days later was followed by the king and queen.

Father and son met in Napoleon's presence; the king overwhelmed the prince with the most violent abuse, and compelled him to resign the crown which he had received from his father's hands, so that he could do what he liked with it. At the beginning of May, a popular rising took place in Madrid. When Napoleon heard of it, he told the king that this disorder must be put an end to. Another scene took place, in which father and mother rivalled each other in abusing their unhappy son. Napoleon was shocked at this exhibition of undignified behaviour. "What creatures they are!" he said on retiring to Marrac. On May 6, Ferdinand resigned the crown to his father, and placed himself and his brother under his protection. In the meantime, Godoy gave Napoleon a document in which Charles IV. surrendered all his rights over the Spanish crown to the emperor of the French, as the only sovereign who could preserve order under present circumstances. The prince of the Asturias was sent with his two brothers to Talleyrand's country house at Valençay, where he employed himself in embroidering dresses for the Virgin. The king and queen went first to Compiègne, and then to Rome, where they both died at the beginning of 1819. They were allowed by the French government a pension of ten million francs.

Joseph reluctantly gave up his kingdom of Naples, where he had shown himself an excellent sovereign, left Bayonne on July 9, was accompanied to the Bidassoa by his elder brother, who took a most affectionate leave of him, placing on his breast the cross of the Legion of Honour, which he took from his own, and entered Madrid on July 20 among the acclamations of the people. He chose excellent ministers and founded an enlightened constitutional government, which was supported by the best elements in the nation, and would have regenerated the country, if that had been possible. But these efforts were shattered against the implacable enmity of England. The new sovereign found the peninsula in a condition of great disorder. Asturias had risen in May 1808 at the very time when its prince was sacrificing its independence at Marrac. Insurrections broke out in other places, directed by committees and juntas, who were more or less respectable, but who depended on the assistance of fanatical priests and reckless bandits, who were guilty of every kind of cruelty and outrage. The English

Charles IV.  
and his Son  
at Bayonne.

Joseph,  
King of  
Spain.

Spanish  
Resistance.

press dignified these crimes by the name of patriotism. Spain has always been a country which it is difficult either to subdue or to combine, but this national trait has been to it a source of weakness rather than of strength. France's prestige suffered a severe humiliation in the capitulation of

**The Capitulation of Baylen.** 20,000 of her soldiers under Dupont at Baylen on July 22, 1808, the result of which was to oblige Joseph to leave Madrid, and stimulate

Florida Bianca, as president of the local Junta, to proclaim Ferdinand VII. from the balcony of the palace at Madrid. Arthur Wellesley, who had distinguished himself in India and afterwards bore the immortal name of Wellington, had

**Battle of Vimiero.** landed in Mondego Bay in 1808, and had defeated the French at Vimiero on August 16. Junot's army would probably have suffered the fate of Dupont's at Baylen, had not Sir Henry Burrard, who superseded Wellesley, allowed it to depart in peace by the capitulation signed at Cintra, ten days later.

Napoleon determined to restore his brother by his own authority. Seven army corps, commanded by Ney, Lannes,

**Napoleon in Spain.** Soult, Victor, Saint Cyr, Mortier, and Junot—a magnificent army of 200,000 men—left Bayonne in November, and invaded Spain. Their opponents—

Castañõs, Blake, and the hero Sir John Moore—were powerless to withstand the onslaught of Napoleon, and the fiery charge of the pass of Somo Sierra by the Polish lancers is an emblem of the whole campaign. Napoleon and Joseph entered Madrid on December 9. On January 1, 1809, Napoleon, in pursuit of the English army, reached Astorga, where he heard that Austria was arming against him, and that Fouché and Talleyrand were intriguing in the interests of Murat and Caroline. He determined to return to France, and arrived at his capital in the morning of January 23, having ridden from Valladolid to Burgos with a change of horses, in six hours. The command of the army in Spain was entrusted to Soult, but after the withdrawal of the master spirit energy languished, and Sir John Moore's army was able to embark at Corunna, before Napoleon reached Paris. Saragossa, bravely defended by Palafox and the famous maid, was taken in February 1809 by Lannes, who sent Palafox as prisoner to Vincennes, and Soult, with ambitious hopes for his own advancement, established himself in Oporto at the end of March.

In the meantime, Austria, inspired by England, was arming,

and on April 13, Napoleon, after three months of the life of a brilliant court at Paris, left to join his army in Germany. The first battle was fought at Eckmühl nine days later, and the important city of Regensburg was taken on April 23, Napoleon being wounded in the foot as he was examining the fortifications. The march to Vienna continued. The battle of Ebelsberg was fought at the beginning of May, and Napoleon slept at Schönbrunn on May 10, after a marvellous campaign which even his enemies cannot refuse to admire. But, before he could be master of Austria, he had to defeat the Archduke Charles, who was established in the neighbourhood with 80,000 men. The effort was made in the battles of Aspern and Essling; where, after two days' fighting, on May 21 and 22, his army had to retire into the island of Lobau. This is one of the most remarkable epochs of Napoleon's career. Sleeping at Schönbrunn, he spent ten days in this island preparing for the great victory which was to obliterate the memory of these defeats. After a month of further preparation, during which he suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Lannes, and was excommunicated by the pope, he established his headquarters at Lobau on July 1, and won the battle of Wagram on July 6. The treaty of Vienna, which put an end to the war, was signed on October 14, 1809. Austria gave up Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and the Innviertel to Bavaria; Cracow and a part of Galicia were divided between Russia and the grand duke of Poland; and a new province of Illyria was formed, to be controlled by Napoleon, out of Carinthia, Carniola, and Dalmatia. Alexander tried in vain to mitigate the punishment of Austria, and the difference of opinion gave the first blow to the friendship between the two emperors, which had begun at Tilsit and been consolidated in the brilliant congress held at Erfurt in the autumn of 1808.

The arrangements of the peace of Vienna were not generally accepted, and led to the popular risings in the Tyrol of which the hero was Andreas Hofer, who paid for his patriotism by his death at Mantua; Schill also was shot at Wesel for his rising at Stralsund, and steps were attempted to murder Napoleon at Schönbrunn. Wellesley defeated Soult at Oporto and Victor at Talavera; but, now created Viscount Wellington, he retired to Portugal and entrenched himself in the lines of Torres Vedras. An expedition of the English to

**Austria  
renews  
the War.**

**Treaty of  
Vienna.**

**Hofer and  
Schill.**

**Schönbrunn.**

**Talavera  
and Torres  
Vedras.**

Walcheren, an island on the Scheldt, undertaken in July 1809, with brilliant hopes, ended in disastrous failure, through the incompetence of its leaders, Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan. If this army could have landed at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe, it might have gained over Prussia to the coalition and insured the victory of Austria. But the stars in their courses fought for Napoleon. The army was more than decimated by fever, and had to retire. The discussions on this result led to a duel between Castlereagh and Canning, in which Canning was wounded, and both had to retire from the cabinet. A new ministry was formed of which Perceval was the head, with Marquis Wellesley, the statesman, brother of Wellington, as foreign secretary, and Liverpool in charge of the colonies and the war.

After the treaty of Vienna, Napoleon stood at the height of his power, but he had no heir, and without a successor of his own blood it was probable that his empire would break up at his death and the glory of France would disappear. He therefore determined to divorce Josephine, and to take

**Divorce of Josephine.**

another wife. This was the worst action of his life, and is inexcusable. It was due partly to his desire for a marriage which would bring him into the family of the sovereigns of Europe, a far more important matter in those days than it would be now. Also, divorce was then considered a slight affair, and could be effected by the common consent of husband and wife. In a family council, held at Paris on December 15, 1809, papers were signed by the emperor and empress, expressing their desire to separate, and Josephine retired for the remainder of her life to Malmaison with a substantial income. It became necessary to contract a new alliance. Offers were made to Russia, which were defeated by the opposition of the empress mother, and by the intrigues of Metternich the prize was given to Marie Louise of Austria, who reached

**Napoleon's Second Marriage.**

Compiègne on March 27, 1810, and was solemnly married to Napoleon at Paris on April 2. It was marked, as the union of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had been, by a terrible calamity, the ball-room at the Austrian embassy catching fire and a princess perishing in the flames. On March 20, 1811, a son was born, who received the title of King of Rome, his birth being celebrated by festivities from Danzig to Cadiz. After Napoleon's marriage ensued a time of peace, except for the war in the Spanish peninsula, conducted

by Wellington. He fought no battles himself between Wagram and Borodino, but took steps to confirm and consolidate his power. In April 1810, Louis abdicated the throne of Holland, and his country was incorporated with France; while a grand duchy of Frankfort was created in the heart of Germany, which was intended for Eugène Beauharnais.

But all these plans were ruined by the expedition to Russia, which Napoleon at a later period condemned as a serious error. The causes of it are still obscure, but it did not entirely arise from the unrestrained ambition of the emperor. Alexander not merely cooled to-  
**Napoleon and Alexander.**

wards Napoleon, partly on account of his Polish policy, partly from the pressure of the continental blockade, but was also unfaithful to his friendship, and showed signs of joining the coalition of his enemies. Napoleon preferred to meet dangers rather than wait till they broke upon him, and made preparations for the invasion of Russia, which recalled the similar efforts made by the Persian empire for the subjugation of Greece. After a brilliant assembly at Dresden, Napoleon, having secured the assistance of Prussia and Austria, set out in the  
**The Invasion of Russia.**

middle of May with an army of half a million men, more than a thousand guns, and twenty thousand baggage waggons, to cross the Memel. The left wing, consisting mainly of Prussians, Bavarians, and Poles, destined for the conquest of Courland and Livonia, marched along the Baltic under the command of Macdonald. The right wing, consisting mainly of Austrians under Schwarzenberg, was opposed to the southern Russian army on the lower Bug. The central army, commanded by Napoleon himself, crossed the Memel in the middle of June. The Russians pursued a policy of retreat, and the first engagement took place at Smolensk on August 17. The great battle of Borodino, otherwise called La Moskowa, was fought on September 7, 1812, and the emperor entered the deserted city of Moscow on September 14. Napoleon supposed that the capture of the capital would put an end to the war, and that Alexander would sue for peace, but a totally different event occurred. Moscow, fired by incendiaries acting under the orders of Rostopchin, was entirely burnt to ashes, with the exception of the Kremlin. This was a fatal blow  
**The Retreat from Moscow.**

to Napoleon's hopes. He lingered on, always hoping for overtures which never came, and did not leave Moscow till October 19, when the autumn was well advanced. The retreat was full of horrors, which culminated



at the passage of the Beresina at the end of November. On December 3, knowing that his presence in Paris was absolutely necessary for the safety of his empire and of the retreating army, with great courage, he left the army in the evening, reached Dresden on December 14, and the Tuileries on December 19, where he had to announce his defeat to his ministers, to the Council and the Senate. Out of 600,000 men, 182,000 horses, and 1372 cannon, with which he invaded Russia, only 68,000 men, 18,000 horses, and 120 guns returned.

Disaster followed disaster. At the end of December, General Yorck deserted the French, and made a treaty of neutrality with the Russians under Diebitsch, at Tauroggen, an act of doubtful heroism. In January 1813, the Prussian king left Berlin for Breslau. A month later he issued an appeal to his people in the name of liberty, and at the end of February concluded an alliance with Alexander at Kalisch. The whole

**The German  
Rising.**

German nation rose, but they could not have have done so if they had not learnt the lesson of independence from Napoleon himself, and if they had not been fed and clothed by English gold. Napoleon met the attack with efforts of superhuman energy. He collected a huge army, deficient only in cavalry, and reached Weimar on April 27. He fought the battle of Lützen, a name immortalised by the death of Gustavus Adolphus, on May 2, liberated Saxony, and occupied Dresden. He hoped to get possession of Berlin, but it was occupied by Swedes, commanded by the ungrateful Bernadotte. Crossing the Elbe, he engaged in the important battle of Bautzen on May 2, and defeated Blücher and the Prussians, but committed the fatal error of concluding an armistice, which was eventually prolonged till June 20. England spent much money freely in subsidising the Russians and the Prussians, and used all her efforts to secure the adhesion of the Austrians to the coalition, in which she eventually succeeded, notwithstanding the powerful arguments of Napoleon in his interview with Metternich at Dresden. For Austria this was a most disastrous step, and led eventually to her abasement and the elevation of Prussia to be head of the German empire.

After the termination of the armistice, Napoleon found himself at Dresden opposed to a world in arms, the allies under Schwarzenberg numbering not less than 800,000 men. The Bohemian army under Wittgenstein and Barclay de Tolly, supported by Frederick William and Alexander, contained

250,000 men, the Swedes of the northern army numbered 80,000, Blücher was at the head of the Silesian army of 100,000 strong. To these forces, Napoleon could oppose 515,000 men, 180,000 under himself at Dresden, 130,000 under Ney in Silesia, 72,000 under Oudinot ready to attack Berlin, and 37,000 under Davout in Hamburg, the rest occupying the fortresses on the Elbe and forming a reserve.

On August 26, 1813, Napoleon won the brilliant victory of Dresden. During two days' fighting, the Russians and Prussians were driven back from the assault;

the Austrians were captured almost to a man by Murat; and Moreau, who had just returned

**Battle of  
Dresden.**

from America, was mortally wounded. The allies retreated to Bohemia and crossed the Erzgebirge, followed by Vandamme, St. Cyr, and Mortier. Napoleon rode as far as Pirna, and then returned, some say from illness, some because there was no further need of his presence, but in doing this he lost the chance of his life. Vandamme, crossing the mountains, was resisted by the allies at Kulm, and, receiving no help and being attacked in the rear by Kleist, who descended from Nollendorf, was defeated and taken prisoner. If Napoleon had been there, he could easily have captured the three allied sovereigns, who had mounted a hill to witness the battle. But he had determined not to pursue the enemy into Bohemia, as his mind was set on crushing Bernadotte and retaking Berlin. In this he made a fatal error, and Kulm was the beginning of the end. One Job's post after another reached him at Norden: Oudinot was beaten at Grossbeeren, Ney at Dennewitz, Mac-

**French  
Reverses.**

donald by Blücher on the Katzbach; Schwartzenberg crossed the mountains into Saxony; Blücher crossed the Elbe to unite with the army of the north; and Bavaria joined the coalition by the treaty of Ried. Napoleon spent four miserable days at the little castle of Düben, considering whether he should withstand the allies on their march towards the Rhine, or by a bold stroke collect the troops who were garrisoning the fortresses of the Elbe and fall upon their rear. He decided upon the first course, and the battle of Leipzig was the result.

The "Battle of the Nations," as it was called, which lasted from Thursday to Tuesday in the third week of October, is one of the greatest of modern times. It might be said paradoxically that there never was a battle of Leipzig, and that Napoleon

won it. On Thursday there was a brilliant cavalry skirmish, on Friday repose : on Saturday took place the battle of Wachau, in which Napoleon was completely successful, nearly capturing the allied monarchs, who were watching the battle from their Windsor chairs ; but the defeat of Marmont at Möckern by Blücher and Bernadotte rendered the victory useless. Sunday, October 17, was a day of rest, on which Napoleon made propositions of peace through the Austrian general Merveldt. On Monday, October 18, he fought what is popularly called the battle of Leipzig, but he did so, without any hope of victory, to cover his retreat, and the defection of the Saxons during the struggle had no influence on the result. On Tuesday he fell back with slow and sullen dignity towards Erfurt, which he reached on October 23, sleeping in the same apartment which he had occupied in the days of his splendour. On the last day of the month he arrived at Frankfort, having thoroughly beaten the traitorous Bavarians at Hanau, when they endeavoured to intercept his march, and on November 10 he was at Saint Cloud.

The results of the battle of Leipzig were the entire destruction of the Napoleonic policy in Germany, the liberation of the right bank of the Rhine, the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, the recovery of Holland by Bülow, the restoration of German princes to their dominions, and the loss of the Elbe fortresses. The allies had to consider whether they should rest content with their exploits, or should cross the Rhine into France. They offered terms of peace to Napoleon, which it was impossible that he should accept—indeed, they were never intended to be accepted. Napoleon could not with any honour leave France smaller than he had received it.

Wellington had taken advantage of the disasters of Napoleon to regain Spain. On March 6, 1811, Graham won the battle of Barossa ; Wellington defeated Masséna at Fuentes d'Onoro on May 5, and took Almeida ; on May 16, Beresford defeated Soult at Albuera.

On January 19, 1812, Wellington stormed and captured the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, and on April 6 that of Badajoz. On May 11, Perceval was assassinated, and a new ministry was formed with Liverpool as first lord of the treasury and Castlereagh as foreign secretary, Palmerston being secretary at war—the worst ministry that ever governed England excepting that of Harley and St. John in the reign of Anne. It lasted, however, till 1827. On

**Wellington  
in Spain.**

July 22, 1812, Wellington defeated Marmont at Salamanca, also called Arapiles, and entered Madrid, but was afterwards obliged to retire into Portugal. The disasters of the Russian campaign called into existence the fourth coalition, in which England was joined by Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Sweden. King Joseph was entirely defeated by Wellington in the battle of Vittoria, on June 21, 1813, and Soult in the battle of the Pyrenees in July.

**The Fourth  
Coalition.**

When the invasion of France had been decided upon, Schwarzenberg, in command of the chief army, passed the frontiers at Basel, while Blücher, on New Year's night, 1814, crossed the Rhine at Caub. Alexander was rather a hindrance to the allies, because

**Invasion of  
France.**

he was not so bitter against Napoleon as Blücher and the Austrians, nor was he so well disposed to the Bourbons—he rather favoured Bernadotte. Also, owing to the influence of his old tutor Laharpe, he was anxious to spare Switzerland the inconveniences of war. Napoleon's campaign of 1814 was almost hopeless from the beginning, but none is so favourable to his fame. He had with very inferior forces to make head against two or three armies advancing from different sides, and he not infrequently beat them. He knew that a decisive victory might at any time destroy the coalition and bring about a trustworthy peace. The indecisive battle of Brienne, on January 9, was followed by the victory of Schwarzenberg and Blücher at La Rothière on February 1. But Blücher was worsted at Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau Thierry, and Vauchamps; and would have been entirely crushed if it had not been for the cowardly treachery of Colonel Moreau at Soissons. Schwarzenberg lost at Montereau, but won at Bar-sur-Aube. Then followed the union of Blücher with Bülow, and the disasters of Napoleon at Craonne and at Laon. Napoleon, tired of these marches and counter-marches, resolved to place his whole army between the allies and the frontier and to cut off their communications. But his plans were discovered, a march on Paris was determined upon, Marmont and Mortier were defeated at La Fère Champenoise, and by Marmont's shameful capitulation the allies were allowed to occupy Paris. Napoleon, hearing of this disaster, hastened along the post road till he reached the post house at Juvisy, and then, seeing that all was lost, retired to Fontainebleau. On March 31, the allies entered Paris in triumph. The allied sovereigns declared that Napoleon had

**The Allies  
enter  
Paris.**

ceased to reign, that the Bourbons were restored, and that, until Louis XVIII. arrived to take up his sceptre, a provisional government should be formed with Talleyrand at its head.

**Napoleon  
Abdicates.**

Napoleon wished to continue the struggle, but he was opposed by his marshals, and, after a week's struggle, he resigned, for himself and his family, the thrones of France and Italy. The treaty of Fontainebleau, to which England was not a party, although the English government was acquainted with its contents, made Napoleon emperor of Elba on the condition that he should take no political part in the affairs of France, and promised him a sufficient subsidy for himself and his family, not a penny of which was ever paid. On April 20, he took solemn farewell of his generals in the courtyard of the palace, and embarking on an English ship, the *Undaunted*, Captain Usher, reached Porta Ferraio, the capital of Elba, on the evening of Tuesday, May 3, 1814.

The sojourn of Napoleon at Elba lasted from May 4, 1814, till February 26, 1815. During this time, he was engaged

**Napoleon at  
Elba.**

in developing with feverish activity the resources of the island, which he has made immortal. He enjoyed the society of his mother and of his devoted sister Pauline, but with revolting cruelty he was deprived of that of his wife and child. Indeed, during his absence, Marie Louise had been deliberately corrupted by Neipperg, whom she afterwards married, by the orders of Metternich, and probably with the connivance of her father. He was not a prisoner, as is generally supposed: this was, indeed, emphatically asserted by Castlereagh in Parliament, but his landing in France was undoubtedly a breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau, which had, however, already been broken by the allies. It would have been better if he could have delayed his departure till the Congress of Vienna had broken up, but it was impossible to do so, as he had no money, and steps were being taken to remove him to some safer place of residence—the Canaries or St. Helena. He left the island on board the *Inconstant*, a frigate of his own, and reached Golfe Juan on Monday, March 1, 1815, with about a thousand men and no horses.

Napoleon's march from Cannes to the Tuileries has no parallel in history. As he passed, he was saluted with equal enthusiasm by the army and the people. He forbade his troops to fire a shot. Reaching La Mure on March 7, he

found himself opposed by a battalion of the line and a company of engineers, who were ordered by their commanding officer to fire. He commanded his soldiers to place their muskets under their left arms, and advanced towards the enemy, saying who he was, and telling them to shoot if they wished to kill their emperor. After a moment's hesitation, they placed their shakos on their bayonets, acclaimed him as emperor, and marched with him to Grenoble. At Lyons, which he reached on March 15, he was joined by Ney, who had left Paris with a promise that he would bring the invader back in a cage. On March 20, he spent two hours at Fontainebleau, full of memories of his abdication, and at Juvisy, where he had learnt just a year before that Paris had been surrendered by Marmont, he heard that Louis XVIII. had left the Tuileries, and in the early evening his carriage rolled into the courtyard of the Carroussel, and he was borne up the stairs into his palace, which he found decorated for his reception, and full of the same brilliant court which had thronged it in the days of his splendour. In no more emphatic manner could the people of France have expressed their intention to be ruled by him and by no one else.

**He returns  
to France.**

The reign called the Hundred Days, which was really less, was a period of very hard work and terrible anxiety. Napoleon showed every desire for peace, and approached the powers of Europe with that object, but his ambassadors were not received and his letters were returned unopened. The allies, who had not left Vienna, signed a paper declaring him a public enemy, and exposing him to the vengeance of united Europe, a discreditable document, which Wellington should never have authorised, for England had always held that France had a right to choose her own sovereign. Armies collected for the invasion of France, which had done no wrong, as the Bourbons had voluntarily renounced the crown which they were incapable of wearing with efficiency or honour. The campaign of Waterloo has no justification. It was condemned on principles of liberty and self-government by a powerful minority in both Houses of Parliament, but the policy of Liverpool and Castlereagh prevailed, and a large number of the troops who fought against Napoleon at Waterloo were fed and clothed by the produce of English taxation. Napoleon, having collected an army by incredible exertions, went out to meet his foes. On June 1, he distributed eagles to

his army in the Champs de Mai. On June 7, he opened the Chambers which had been summoned in virtue of the constitution drawn up for him by Benjamin Constant, and called *La Benjamine*, a step which it would have been wiser to defer till the conclusion of the war. On Sunday, June 11, he heard his last mass at the Tuileries, and gave his last audiences, leaving next day to join the army at Avesnes.

It has been said that Napoleon, in the campaign of Waterloo, did not exhibit his usual energy of mind and body; but there is

**The** no foundation for this opinion. No plans were  
**Waterloo** ever more skilfully made, or carried out with  
**Campaign.** more secrecy and despatch. Wellington was entirely taken by surprise, expecting an attack from another quarter, and probably Blücher also. But Napoleon fought under great difficulties. His troops had lost their instinct for war and habit of instant obedience. Soult was a poor substitute for Berthier as chief of the staff. And Murat, in disgrace at Marseilles, had not been allowed to command the cavalry; his presence might have changed the fortune of the war. Debouching from Charleroi on June 15, Napoleon defeated Blücher at Ligny on the following day, while Ney attacked Quatre Bras, which he failed to occupy, in a battle which would have been more decisive if the corps of d'Erlon had not manœuvred idly between the two armies. On June 17, Napoleon approached the ground which both Wellington and himself had chosen for the scene of the decisive struggle, and slept that evening at the farm of Le Caillou. But he spent most of the night in visiting his outposts, and conferring with Ney. At ten, he held his last review on the plateau of La Belle Alliance, and the battle began shortly after midday. There was no manœuvring. Napoleon exerted all his powers to drive the English from the ridge, which Wellington held with incredible firmness and tenacity. As Wellington said, when asked to give an account of the battle, "We pounded and they pounded, and we pounded hardest." Napoleon was so confident of victory that he had detached a large body of troops under Grouchy, partly to keep back the Prussians, which he failed to do, and partly to secure the ruin of the English army when its lines had been forced. In the afternoon, the Prussians made its appearance on the French right, and in the evening, as the emperor was arranging the Old Guard for a last attack, Wellington gave the order, "The whole line will now advance," and the defeat of the French was complete. Waterloo is certainly one of the decisive battles of the

world, and victory was undoubtedly due to the unrivalled courage and determination of the British soldiers, and to the iron tenacity of Wellington. But Wellington said himself that it was a very close run thing, the most close run thing he ever saw, and that the battle would probably not have been won if he had not been there. For Napoleon, the defeat was a crushing blow, and to the day of his death he never could understand why he had been beaten. Whatever we may think of the justice of the war, all the praise which has been given either to the general or to the soldiers who won the battle is less than they deserve.

Napoleon reached the Elysée on the morning of June 21. He was deserted by the Chambers, was unable to rouse France to resist the enemy, and, on the following day, abdicated in favour of his son. He went to Rochefort, hoping to find ships which would take him to America; but, this hope having failed, he opened negotiations on July 10 for seeking a refuge in England. It is probable that he thought that he would be received in England as a guest, but it is certain that the English government had no other view than that of capturing him as a prisoner, of which they were eagerly desirous. The *Bellerophon* took him to Plymouth and Torbay, where he was received by the acclamations of an enthusiastic crowd. But Liverpool, being prevented by the magnanimity of Wellington from delivering him as a prisoner to Louis XVIII., on the condition that he should be shot as a rebel, determined to send him to St. Helena—a breach of the law of nations, and a blot upon the fair name of England. Admiral Keith, who was under personal obligations to Napoleon, had to make the announcement to him, and Napoleon answered that he would prefer death.

Napoleon landed at St. Helena on October 18, 1815, and lived till May 5, 1821—years of dolorous and despairing monotony which led eventually to his death. He was deprived of the exercise which was necessary to his health: he was refused the companionship not only of his wife and child, but of his mother, whom he loved with passionate devotion, and who had never left him. If the British government did nothing to kill him, it certainly did nothing to keep him alive. At the very time when he was too weak to crawl out of his bath without assistance, Bathurst wrote to Hudson Lowe to redouble his vigilance. After weeks of intense suffering and hard work,

**Napoleon at  
St. Helena.**



he passed away on the evening of the fifth of May, in the midst of a great storm. An officer announced the news to George IV. in the words, "Sir, your greatest enemy is dead." The king said, "Good God, when did she die?" thinking that it was his wife. Liverpool, in sending him to St. Helena, said that he would soon be forgotten; but now, nearly a hundred years after Waterloo, his career is still the subject of minute investigation, and the more it is examined, the more the hero of it is admired.

## CHAPTER XIV.

REACTION IN EUROPE, A.D. 1815-1830—ENGLAND, A.D.

1815-1837—EUROPE, A.D. 1830-1848.

THE second peace of Paris, signed on November 20, 1815, was very different from the first, and France was severely punished for having, even for a short time, submitted to the government of Napoleon. The country was seriously reduced in extent, and condemned to pay 790,000,000 francs towards the expenses of the war, to receive a federal army of 150,000 men in seventeen frontier fortresses, to accept the restoration of the Bourbons, and to banish the Bonaparte family from France, under penalty of death. The sentence of banishment also fell upon the civil and military officials who had supported the emperor during the Hundred Days, as well as all the regicides, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., including Fouché, Carnot, and Siéyès—a startling exhibition of severity and ingratitude. The Congress of Vienna at length concluded its sittings—its decisions being founded on the principles of legitimacy, which were put forward by Talleyrand, with the object of rewarding Napoleon's enemies and punishing his friends. Its leaders supposed that by ignoring everything that had been done in the last twenty-five years they continued the course of peaceful progress which had been interrupted by the Revolution and the Empire. Fortunately, few of its arrangements have lasted till our own time. Austria was increased by Illyria, Dalmatia, Lombardy, Venice, the Tyrol, Salzburg, and other districts; Prussia received large accessions of territory; Weimar, Oldenburg, and the two Mecklenburgs were made grand duchies; Frankfort, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck became free towns; a German Confederation was formed, which afterwards became a laughing-stock; Russia was aggrandised by the addition of a kingdom of Poland; Belgium was joined to Holland, and Norway to Sweden; Marie Louise received the duchy of Parma, as a

**The Peace  
of Paris.**

**Results  
of the  
Congress  
of Vienna.**

reward for deserting her husband; Sardinia recovered Savoy and received Genoa, to the disgust of English liberals, who wished to turn it into a republic; Naples went back to the Bourbons, and Murat was shot in an attempt to recover his crown; England was presented with Malta, Heligoland, and the Cape, together with the protectorate of the Ionian Islands, and, of course, regained Hanover. It is hardly worth while to describe the elaborate constitution of the German federation which induced so many changes and proved so unsatisfactory. The rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia formed

**The Holy Alliance.**

between themselves a Holy Alliance, with which England and the pope would have nothing to do. It proposed to found an international state system based upon the principles of Christian law, but became an instrument for the suppression of all liberal opinions; for, though it was founded with idealistic enthusiasm by Alexander, it was directed by the narrow-minded and heartless Metternich.

The object of Napoleon was to found a democratic empire, an idea which is expressed upon his coins, on which we

**Reaction and Revolution.**

find "Napoleon Empereur" on one side and "République Française" on the other. By the system which was established at his fall the aspirations of democracy were crushed. Castlereagh told the English Parliament that the aspirations of Italy for unity must give way to the general welfare, and Metternich said that his master the emperor wished to extinguish the spark of Italian unity and the idea of a constitution, and that for that reason he had broken up the Italian army and abolished all institutions which could pave the way for a great Italian kingdom. He desired to destroy the spirit of Jacobinism, and to secure the repose of the peninsula. But the poet tells us that the flag of freedom, though torn, was yet flying, driven as a thunder-cloud against the wind; and between 1815 and 1848 three waves of revolution passed over Europe, each more violent than its predecessor. The first, in 1820, affected mainly the southern nations,—Spain, Portugal, and Italy,—although it had some influence upon both France and England; the second, in 1830, although it failed of immediate results in Italy, produced a change of government in France and the separation of Belgium from Holland, and was among the causes which enabled the Reform Bill to be passed in England; while the third, in 1848, the most violent of the three, established a republic in France, and shook almost every throne in Europe except our own.

The congress held at Aachen in 1818 had the object of establishing the Holy Alliance and of crushing the spirit of liberty in Germany, which, having first been roused by the Napoleonic conquest, had afterwards destroyed the man who gave it life!

**The  
Congress  
of Aachen.**

France could not be said to be at peace under the government of Louis XVIII., who wished above everything else to retain the throne of France until he died, and was distracted by the ultra Royalists, Napoleonists, and

**France.**

Republicans, with whom he endeavoured to temporise. On February 15, 1820, the duke of Berry was murdered by Louvel, which allowed the reactionary party under the Comte d'Artois to dismiss Decazes and to establish Villèle in his place, so that the spirit of liberty was subdued in France for ten years. It was otherwise in Spain, Portugal, and Naples.

**Spain and  
Portugal.**

Ferdinand VII., on returning to Spain, abolished the constitution, which he had solemnly promised to observe, and revived absolutism, together with the Inquisition and the Jesuits. An army which had been formed for the purpose of reducing to obedience the rebellious colonies in South America was used by the liberal leaders, Riego and Quiroga, to compel the king to re-establish the constitution and to summon the Cortes. In Portugal a military insurrection in Oporto compelled John VI. to return from Brazil to the mother country, and to take the oath to a constitution, and when, during his absence, Brazil demanded similar liberties, which were refused, it declared itself independent and gave the government to John's eldest son, Pedro, with the title of emperor. In Naples, the Carbonari, or "charcoal-burners," the revolutionary society of which Byron had been a

**Naples.**

member, stimulated by the events in the Spanish peninsula, raised their banner, with the cry, "God, the king, and the constitution," and, led by Pepe and Carascosa, forced King Ferdinand to swear to a constitution. Without the slightest intention of keeping it, he raised his eyes to the crucifix and added to the prescribed oath the solemn words, "Omnipotent God, Whose eyes read the hearts of men and the future, if I take this oath in bad faith, or if I violate it, in that moment let the lightnings of Thy vengeance fall upon my head!" A similar rising took place in Piedmont, where the hopes of the insurgents were fixed upon Charles Albert, head of the younger line of Carignan, and where Victor Emmanuel was compelled to accept the Spanish constitution of 1812, a very worthless form of monarchy. The

temporal powers of Europe summoned a congress, which met first at Troppau and then at Laibach, and lastly at Verona in 1822. That of Laibach sent an Austrian army into Sardinia and Naples to restore order, and that of Verona despatched a French force into Italy under the duke of Angoulême, to destroy the constitution established by Quiroga and Mina, and, after the taking of Cadiz, to bring back the old order of things. Dom Pedro II. received the crown of Brazil by the abdication of his father in 1829, but had to fight for the throne of Portugal with his fanatical brother, Dom Miguel, until he obtained it for his daughter, Maria da Gloria, and accepted the constitution of 1821.

In Russia, Alexander I. abolished serfdom in the Baltic provinces and granted a constitution to his Baltic provinces ;

**Russia.**

but on his death in 1825 his brother Nicholas succeeded, after a revolutionary attempt to place his brother Constantine on the throne, and established a form of absolute monarchy. He, however, governed well, and, in a war with Persia, conquered Eriwan and Tauris, and established freedom of navigation in the Caspian Sea. The

**The Greek Revolution.**

six years from 1821 to 1827 witnessed the great work of the emancipation of Greece from the tyranny of Turkey ; the throne was given to Prince Otto of Bavaria. The movement began in the Danubian principalities under Alexander Ypsilanti, but was put down by the Turks because the Russians would give no assistance. At the same time, a rising took place in the Morea, which was supported by Demetrius Ypsilanti, Mavrocordato, Kolokotrones, Odysseus, and others, and by the capture of Tripolitza enabled a national congress to be held at Epidaurus in 1822, which led to the drawing up of a free constitution. The Hellenic cause excited great enthusiasm in many parts of Europe, and money was sent to support it. Byron, the poet, welcomed it with ardour, and gave his fortune and life for it, dying of fever at Missolonghi in 1824. Sultan Mahmoud II. entrusted the suppression of the rebellion to the viceroy of Egypt, who sent his son Ibrahim for the purpose. Landing in the Morea in 1825, Ibrahim captured Missolonghi, and used such cruelty in suppressing the insurrection that, under the guidance of Canning, England, Russia, and France were compelled to interfere. This led to the battle of Navarino on October 20, 1827, in which the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed. In 1828, Ibrahim was compelled to return to Egypt, and, in the

conference of London, Greece was declared an independent kingdom, with a frontier extending from the gulf of Arta to that of Volo. That it did not receive a large extension, together with the island of Crete, was due to the narrow-minded obstinacy of Wellington, who, detesting all rebels, had become prime minister in 1828, Canning having died on August 8, 1827, and Goderich, under whose ministry Navarino was fought, having held only a transient authority.

**The  
Kingdom  
of Greece.**

At this time also, a war broke out between Russia and Sultan Mahmoud II. of Turkey, a powerful sovereign, who had murdered the Janissaries and taken steps to place his army on a European footing and to reform his empire. This was marked by the conquest of Braila and Varna in Europe, and by that of Erzeroum in Asia, and was concluded by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, which placed Turkey in the power of Russia. The Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia obtained a position

**Treaty of  
Adrianople.**

which paved the way for their independence at a later date, and the passage of merchant ships through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles was secured for the commerce of Europe. Not long afterwards, the Porte was further weakened by the action of Mahomet Ali, who had made himself sovereign of Egypt by the destruction of the Mamelukes in 1811. His son, Ibrahim, became master of Syria after the battle of Konieh, and threatened Constantinople, but the powers of Europe intervened. In 1833, the

**Syria and  
Egypt.**

Sultan gave him possession of Syria, which he was compelled to surrender in 1840 by the action of France, England, and Austria, although it would have been a benefit to civilisation if he had retained it. By the hattisherif, or decree, of February 13, 1841, Egypt was placed under a viceroy, called the Khedive, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Porte, but held hereditary and almost independent authority.

We now come to the French Revolution of Italy 1830. The wise and temperate Louis XVIII. was succeeded in 1824 by his fanatical brother Charles X., a bigot and an autocrat, who had learned nothing and forgotten nothing from the overthrow of that *ancien régime* from which he sprang. He led a Royalist reaction,—establishing a censorship of the press, dissolving the National Guard, and recalling the Jesuits,—and he made a fatal error by entrusting the government to Polignac, who was even more bigoted than himself.

**Charles X.**

The conquest of Algiers in 1830, the first notable success which France had gained since the wars of Napoleon, could not save his government from defeat. The crisis came from the issue of the ordinances for the suppression of the press, the dissolution of the Chamber, and the alteration of the franchise, which he refused to recall. The aged Lafayette revived the National

**The** Guard, and three days' fighting from July 27 to  
**Revolution** 29 made Charles resign his crown to the duke  
**of 1830.** of Bordeaux, son of the duke of Berry. He

abdicated on August 2, 1830, went to England for a time, and died at Görz in 1836. After his departure, a provisional government was formed, consisting of Lafitte, Casimir Périer, Odilon Barrot, and others, and eventually Louis Philippe, son of the duke of Orleans who had been guillotined in the Revolution, was made "King of the French." Thus the direct Bourbon line was replaced by a cadet branch descended from a brother of Louis XIV.

The success of the revolution in France produced a revolution in Belgium with the object of establishing an independent

**The** kingdom and putting an end to the union with  
**Kingdom of** Holland, which never ought to have been made.  
**Belgium.**

A conference was held in London to prevent French intervention, and a neutral kingdom of Belgium was formed, of which Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the widowed consort of Princess Charlotte, was made king. William of Holland resisted till in 1832 the French captured the citadel of Antwerp, and even then he delayed for six years his recognition of the new kingdom. A rising also took place in

**Rising in** Warsaw in November 1830, which drove out the  
**Poland.** viceroy, General Grand Duke Constantine; the

leaders declared Poland an independent state, supported by France. A provisional government was at first established under Czartoryski, but Chlopicki was soon made dictator, with command of the Polish army. He summoned a Diet, which placed Radziwill at the head of the government, and threatened to dethrone the house of Romanow. But the assistance expected from France did not arrive, and the fatal battle of Ostrolenka put an end to the aspirations of Poland. Many thousands of Poles were sent to Siberia, and in 1832 Poland was incorporated in the Russian empire with certain conditions of self-government, and Paskiewich was made viceroy.

Italy was also affected by the movement of unrest. A rising took place at Modena in February 1830, and Ciro Menotti fell

a victim to the treachery of the duke, who sent a message to the neighbouring town of Reggio: "A terrible conspiracy has broken out; the conspirators are in my hands; send me the hangman!"

#### ENGLAND, A.D. 1815-1837.

In England we find the same tendency towards democratic advance, but what other nations acquired by revolution we reached by peaceful reform. Like the rest of Europe, England suffered from the reaction following Napoleon's fall, and the five years after 1815

**Distress in  
England.**

are an epoch of darkness and misery. Great distress was caused by the passing of a corn law in 1815, which forbade the importation of foreign corn, if the price of corn was under eighty shillings a quarter, and the following year Cobbett came forward as a potent agitator, urging radical opinions in his paper called the *Political Register*, which had an enormous sale. Popular discontent was shown in 1816 by riots in Spa Fields; by the throwing of stones at the Regent when he went to open Parliament, and next year by the march from Manchester to London of the Blanketeers, a number of working men and women, each carrying a blanket; and by a riot in Derbyshire in June. The government met these movements by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and by issuing a circular to the lords-lieutenant of counties, urging that persons who published seditious libels should be arrested. However, in 1818, the Habeas Corpus Act was restored, and it has never since been suspended in England. In 1819 matters became worse by the disturbance at Manchester, sometimes called in derision the Peterloo Massacre, as being the Waterloo of the Tories. A meeting in favour of reform, held in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, was attacked by the Yeomanry with the purpose of arresting one of the speakers, one man being killed and some forty injured.

In consequence of this, six repressive acts were passed which have remained notorious in English history, for the following purposes—to prevent delay in the administration of justice in case of misdemeanour; to check military training and the use of arms; to punish blasphemous and seditious libels—the movement in favour of independent religious thought being considered as dangerous as political propaganda and to be closely connected with it; to authorise the seizure of arms; to check the publication of pamphlets; and to prevent seditious meetings. Lord John

**The Six  
Acts.**



Russell attempted to remedy the real cause of the discontent by a motion for parliamentary reform, but it was rejected, to be brought forward with greater success at a more favourable time. Those who were opposed to repressive measures and were in favour of reform now began to bear the name of Radicals, as desiring changes in the government both in root and branch. In 1820 George III. came to the conclusion of his long reign, having for many years past been blind and insane, and his place was taken by George IV., probably the worst monarch who ever occupied the throne.

**The  
Radicals.**

In this year, when European sovereigns were meeting at Troppau, the discontent in England was shown by a conspiracy to murder the ministers, called the Cato Street Conspiracy, because the conspirators used to meet in a loft in Cato Street. Their den was stormed by the police, some were killed, and the leader—Thistlewood—was executed. Matters were made worse by the attempted divorce of the queen, who was detested by her husband, George IV. A “bill of pains and penalties” was introduced into the Upper House with the purpose of dissolving her marriage, but as it passed through its various stages the majorities in its favour dwindled, and it was eventually given up amid popular rejoicings. In 1821 a Catholic Relief Bill, introduced to remove another grievance by the repeal of unjust laws against Catholics, was rejected, and in the following session a second motion of Russell’s in favour of reform met with a similar fate. In this year, however, Castlereagh, the strongest supporter of Metternich’s policy, died by his own hand, and the prospects of liberalism brightened. In 1822, which was the year of the Congress of Verona, Canning returned to power as foreign secretary. To some degree, he was a liberal in foreign politics, and a bitter enemy of the Holy Alliance. He prevented England from joining in the intervention in Spain which was undertaken by France. In 1824, he recognised the independence of certain South American colonies, who had revolted against Spain, and, as he said, “called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.”

In 1827, Liverpool was obliged to resign his office from ill health, and Canning, after vain opposition from the king, took his place, but he could not carry his colleagues with him in the liberalism of his foreign policy and his support of Catholic Emancipation and some relaxation of the Corn Laws

in favour of Free Trade. Therefore seven of the ministers refused to take office under him, but he was supported by Lyndhurst as lord chancellor, by Palmerston, Goderich, Harrowby, and others. Unfortunately he died after only a few months in office, on August 8. His place was at first taken by Goderich, but he was not up to the work, and, in 1828, the duke of Wellington became premier, with Robert Peel as home secretary and leader of the House of Commons, Lyndhurst, Huskisson, and Palmerston remaining in office. By the wise statesmanship of Peel, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, and the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829. It admitted Catholics to Parliament and to all civil and political offices with the exception of regent, lord chancellor, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. An agitation began for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, but in 1830 George IV. died, and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Clarence, as William IV.

**Ministerial  
Changes.**

**Catholic  
Emancipa-  
tion.**

The year 1830 witnessed a liberal ministry in England, pledged to the cause of Parliamentary Reform. The Cabinet was a remarkable one, Lord Grey being prime minister, Althorp chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the Commons, Melbourne home secretary, Palmerston foreign secretary, and Lord Brougham lord chancellor. Russell was also a minister, but did not belong to the cabinet. The first two years of the ministry were spent in passing a measure of parliamentary reform. The first Reform Bill was brought in by Russell, and passed the House of Commons by a majority of one. This was not enough, so Parliament was dissolved and a larger liberal majority returned. In October a second Reform Bill was passed by the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords; and in December a third Reform Bill was read for the first time and passed the Commons on March 23, 1832. It was well known that the bill would be rejected by the Lords, and the only way to prevent this was to create a sufficient number of peers to pass it. This the king refused to do, and the ministers resigned. After an attempt to form a ministry under Wellington, Grey returned to office, and at last the Lords were persuaded to bow to the will of the country. Under this act, 56 boroughs were disfranchised altogether, 30 more returned one member instead of two, 43 new boroughs were created, half of which returned one member

**Lord Grey's  
Ministry.**

**The Reform  
Bill of 1832.**

and the rest two members each. The county members were increased from 94 to 159, votes were given in towns to all holders of premises of the value of £10 a year, and the county franchise was largely extended. It was undoubtedly a revolution, as it gave power to the middle classes and took it away from the peers.

The reform of the constitution led to the passing of a number of measures of a liberal character, which it had been impossible to get through the Tory house. The next two years saw the taking of oaths rendered optional by the passing of an Affirmation Act,—the number of Irish bishoprics reduced,—slavery abolished in the colonies from August 1, 1834, a compensation of twenty millions being given to the slave-owners,—the work of women and children in factories restricted by a Factory Act,—a grant given to popular education,—the treatment of the indigent poor improved by the abolition of the Settlement Acts and the restriction of outdoor relief,—and a movement started for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The ministry resigned in 1834, being divided in opinion as to a Coercion Act for Ireland. Melbourne became prime minister, but he was dismissed by the king and was succeeded by Sir Robert Peel, the duke of Wellington being foreign minister and the youthful Gladstone under-secretary for the colonies. Parliament was now dissolved, but Peel, not securing a majority in the Commons, was compelled to retire, his place being taken by Melbourne, who was supported by Russell and Palmerston. This second ministry of Melbourne reformed the municipalities as Parliament had been reformed three years before. All boroughs were to be

**The Municipal Reform Act.** governed by town councils, elected by all who paid the poor and borough rates, and who had resided in the borough for three years. Also the debates of the House of Commons were made more popular by the publication of the division lists, issued under the authority of the house. These measures mark the first two years of Melbourne's ministry. In the third year, 1837, William IV. died, and was succeeded by his niece, Queen Victoria, whose long reign formed one of the most brilliant periods in English history.

#### EUROPE, A.D. 1830-1848.

Meanwhile Italy dragged out a troubled existence under Austrian misrule, until the election to the papal chair, in June

1848, of Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, henceforth called Pius IX., a vigorous, upright man, with a zeal for liberal reform. Austria, alarmed at this, used every means to interfere with his policy, and at last took possession of Ferrara in the Papal States, which led to risings in many parts of Italy.

**Pius IX.**

On March 23, Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, issued a proclamation in favour of Italian unity; and marched into Lombardy to assist in the expulsion of the Austrians, who, however, gradually overcame all opposition and forced an armistice upon him. France and England made some attempt at mediation, but on

**Charles  
Albert and  
Italian  
Unity.**

March 20, 1849, Charles Albert terminated the armistice as the only means of saving his kingdom. By the 24th, however, the war was at an end, and Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, who purchased peace by the payment of 75,000,000 lire. Meanwhile, Radetsky, the Austrian general, was blockading Venice, which in August 1849 surrendered, the whole of northern Italy falling into the hands of the emperor.

In the Papal States, Pius IX. had done his best for the political regeneration of Italy, but was met by demands for a constitution, which he strove to quell by the appointment as prime minister of Rossi, a staunch opponent of democracy. Rossi, however, was

**The Roman  
Republic.**

assassinated on November 15, 1848, and eight days later the pope fled from Rome and took up his abode at Gaeta. On February 9, 1849, a National Assembly declared the pope's power at an end, and proclaimed once more a Roman republic. Pius waited in vain for his people to reinstate him in his temporal authority, and was at length compelled to call in the assistance of the Roman Catholic powers of Europe. A French army under Oudinot was sent to Italy, to crush the Roman republic, and, after a siege, Rome surrendered on June 30, 1849. Pius IX. returned to the capital a changed man, no longer zealous for reform, but intent upon the preservation of his sovereignty.

We must now pass to Switzerland, where, in January 1834, certain cantons drew up a document called the "Articles of Baden," with the object of defending the state against the encroachments of the church. The ill feeling engendered by this led to a civil war, which, though apparently of religious origin, was really the result of the revolutionary wave then passing over Europe. On

**The Articles  
of Baden.**

December 11, 1845, the seven Catholic cantons banded themselves into a league known as the Sonderbund, with Siegwan-Müller at its head. Europe in the main took the side of the league as an outwork against revolution, but, war becoming inevitable, in October 1847, General Dufour took the

**The  
Sonderbund.**

field against the Sonderbund, and, in twenty-five days, crushed its resistance. These events made a change in the Swiss constitution imperative. In a federal constitution, the main point is to determine which

**New Swiss  
Constitu-  
tion.**

powers are to be given to the central authority, and which are to be left to the separate states. The federal government now received control of the army; equality before the law, freedom of the press, and religious liberty were recognised as the fundamental principles of a democratic constitution. The legislature consisted of two houses—the Senate, to which each canton sent two members, and the Lower House, consisting of members elected in proportion to the population of the cantons. The executive was a council of seven, one of whom was chosen president for a period of three years. The constitution has continued unchanged, but for revisions in 1867 and 1874, to the present day, and is the model of a democratic government, the most successful the world has seen.

In France Louis Philippe had been selected to fill the throne, by the instrumentality of Lafayette, who, doubting the

**Louis  
Philippe.**

capacity of France to support a republic, preferred to give her a “throne surrounded by republican institutions.” For a time, Louis, with the help of an immense revenue, which he used freely for the purposes of political corruption, consolidated his government and obtained a reputation for firmness and political wisdom. But amid all this, the lower classes, disappointed as to the results of the Revolution of July, grew more and more dissatisfied, and this discontent led eventually to the Revolution of 1848, and the establishment of the Second Republic. The immediate cause

**The  
Revolution  
of 1848.**

of the outbreak was an attempt on the part of the government to put a stop to the political reform banquets which were becoming common in the country. On February 22, 1848, a large concourse of people met for the purpose of attending one of these banquets, but was dispersed without loss of life. In the evening, however, disturbances took place, and, on the following day, skirmishes occurred, and the colonel of the National Guard was sent to

inform the king of their desire for reform. Louis Philippe acceded immediately to their requests, dismissed Guizot, and entrusted the formation of the new ministry to Molé. The disturbances, however, continued, and in the evening the mobs were fired upon. Then their desire for revenge was aroused, and the cry, "Down with Louis Philippe! Down with the Bourbons!" was heard in the streets. Molé being unable to form a ministry, the task was entrusted to Thiers, who issued a proclamation ordering the troops to retire to their quarters. This was a virtual surrender, and the mob took advantage of it to march to the palace and demand the abdication of the king. During the day, Louis signed an abdication in favour of his son, the Count of Paris, and, with the queen, fled first to Saint Cloud, and thence to England, the palace, meanwhile, being sacked by the populace.

As soon as the abdication had been signed, the Chamber of Deputies assembled, and a provisional government was formed and adopted by the Parisians, the French Republic being proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The leading member of the government was Lamartine, who succeeded in calming the passions of the people and re-establishing tranquillity by vigorous repressive measures. On the 26th, the public departments resumed their duties, and the people of France, with extraordinary unanimity, accepted the republic. The Revolution of February was accomplished by the union of the Moderates and the Republicans; but, as soon as their object was obtained, dissensions broke out anew between them, and the Republicans, unwilling that the Moderates should have control of the provisional government, determined upon their overthrow. As yet, however, the power was in the hands of the Moderates, who could rely upon the support of the National Guard, and in the ballot in May for an executive committee for the government not one of the ultra-Republicans secured a place. On May 15, the populace, led by Barbés, gained a temporary command of the National Assembly, but was dispersed by the National Guard, the provisional government being reinstated.

In view of the possibility of another demonstration, the command of the troops in Paris was given to the minister of war, General Cavaignac. In June, the government determined to send out of Paris 12,000 workmen, who were unprofitably employed in the government workshops, in order to lighten the burden upon the treasury. This was the signal

**The Second  
Republic.**

for fresh disturbances, which began on June 22. On the 24th, Cavaignac declared Paris in a state of siege, and the fighting continued till the 26th, victory remaining with the government. The success of General Cavaignac led to his appointment to the control of the executive of the nation, a power which he used with moderation. The leaders of the insurrection fled the country, and those who were captured were treated with mildness. The Assembly meanwhile proceeded with the formation of the constitution, which was accepted on November 4, 1848. The Republican form of government was adopted, with a president at its head, to be elected every four years. Its principles were liberty, equality, and fraternity; its bases, family, labour, property, and order.

The Revolution in France led to risings in the German states, where the various rulers were petitioned for a larger share in legislation and similar privileges, the king of Prussia placing himself at the head of the reform movement. In Austria, also, disturbances took place, which brought about the fall of Metternich, one of the worst ministers who ever had a share in the government of Europe. During April and May 1848, Vienna was in the hands of the mob, and the emperor took refuge at Innsbruck. Returning in August, he was unable to regain the command of the city. Meanwhile, the Slavs had demanded a constitution from the emperor. This being refused, a congress was held in Prague, where, the people becoming excited by the presence of troops in the city, a rising occurred, which ended in the breaking up of the Slavic congress, after great slaughter. A second revolution took place in Vienna, where the people rose to protest against the sending of troops against the Hungarians, who were striving to preserve their integrity against Austrian encroachments. The insurgents triumphed, and the emperor fled to Olmütz. He was able, however, to concentrate an overwhelming force before Vienna, and the rebellion was crushed with great severity. The Hungarians had, meanwhile, advanced into Austrian territory, but, in view of the repression of the revolt in Vienna, were compelled to recross the frontiers. These events were favourable to peace in Germany, where the king of Prussia, calling in the army to his aid, dissolved the Assembly which he had summoned to construct a constitution, ignored his promises, and pursued his way as before, carrying with him the other German sovereigns. The absorption of Schleswig-Holstein by Denmark, which occurred

simultaneously, was a fruitful cause of future trouble, and ended finally in the establishment of the German empire.

The only effect which these revolutionary movements in the rest of Europe had upon England was shown in the publication of the People's Charter. Regarded from a modern point of view, this charter is not very formidable. The points demanded were six—  
The People's Charter.  
Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of property qualification for members, payment of members, and division of the country into equal electoral districts. Riots took place in various parts of the country, the worst being at Newport, where the mob was fired upon by the troops, but no great excitement was caused by the movement, and it gradually died out, leaving England practically unaffected by the revolutionary fever which was ravaging the rest of Europe.



## CHAPTER XV.

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, A.D. 1851-52—THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION, A.D. 1848-49—THE CRIMEAN WAR, 1852-56—THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857-58—ITALY, 1849-59.

**AFTER** the acceptance of the republican settlement in France in 1848, it became necessary, in accordance with the constitution, to elect a president to hold the chief power for four years. There were six candidates for the office—**Louis Napoleon President.** Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Raspail, Changarnier, Cavaignac, and Louis Napoleon, the son of Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother. It soon became evident, however, that the choice would lie between Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon, the chief claim of the latter being his relationship to the great emperor. The result of the election was a surprise, three quarters of the votes polled throughout the country being for Louis Napoleon. He was inaugurated president on December 20, 1848, swearing to "remain faithful to the democratic constitution."

Born in 1808, he had been always regarded as the representative of the Napoleon dynasty, and had made two attempts to stir up a revolution against Louis Philippe. After his second attempt, he was captured and imprisoned for five years, making his escape in 1846. After the Revolution of 1848, he was elected to the Assembly, and later, as has been seen, to the supreme magistracy. His first action was to make a declaration asserting that the principles of his government were strictly democratic and republican. The Assembly was composed of various more or less conflicting parties—the Legitimists, who supported the Bourbons; the Orleanists, in favour of the descendants of Louis Philippe; the Bonapartists, who were anxious for the re-establishment of the empire in the person of Napoleon; and the Republicans. From the first, the Assembly and the President were in opposition, the one intriguing against the head of the republic, the other furthering his ambitious designs by every means in his power. The policy pursued was strictly conservative: education was placed in the hands of the clergy, the liberty of the

press was restricted, and an army was sent to crush the newly created republic of Rome.

The constitution had provided for its revision by the votes of three-fourths of the Assembly, and declared the President ineligible for re-election. In 1851, however, a motion for its revision was easily defeated, and the Assembly, fearing that the President would seek re-election in violation of the constitution, proposed a bill for his impeachment if he made any such attempt. Matters were coming to a crisis, and anarchy seemed probable, when Louis Napoleon, by a *coup d'état*, crushing the constitution and the opposition of the Assembly, obtained the imperial power at which he aimed. On December 1, a ball was given by the President, at which all the fashion and beauty of Paris were present, but on the following morning the city was found to be full of troops, and all the surrounding country occupied by them, while a presidential decree, which was found posted on every wall, announced the dissolution of the Assembly, the restoration of universal suffrage, and the establishment of martial law in the city. The chiefs of the Assembly had been seized and thrown into prison, and no one was left with sufficient authority to take the lead of the people. The *coup d'état* was successful, and Louis Napoleon was dictator of France. Three hundred members of the Assembly, unable to enter their hall, met in another part of the city, and declared the President guilty of treason; but before they could disperse they were surrounded by troops and escorted to prison. All newspapers except the government organs were suppressed, and notices of an election to decide whether to grant Louis Napoleon power for ten years, with the authority to reform the constitution, were issued, fixing the voting to take place between the 14th and 22nd of December. On the 4th, an insurrection occurred, but was ruthlessly suppressed, about 1000 of the people being killed in Paris alone. Within three days, order was restored throughout the country.

**The Coup  
d'état.**

The army voted first, and decided almost unanimously in favour of Louis Napoleon, and this example was followed by the nation, which thereby showed its desire for the restoration of the empire. On January 1, 1852, the result of the election was celebrated in Paris, and on the 14th the new constitution was decreed. It entrusted the government to Louis Napoleon for ten years, made him commander-in-chief of both army and navy, and

**The Second  
Empire.**

gave him power over peace and war, as well as the control of legislation. He lacked only the name of emperor, and this he assumed, quietly and without protest, within a year of his re-election. The foundation of the empire, which was recognised and welcomed by all the European nations with the exception of Russia, seemed to promise a general peace; but, in reality, it brought to a crisis the various points of discord which were hovering over Europe, and led, indirectly, to the war in the Crimea.

#### THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION, A.D. 1848-49.

But it is necessary, first, to describe the Hungarian rebellion, which ended so disastrously for that country, placing it more firmly than ever under the sway of Austria, from which it has never been able to free itself.

**Revolution  
in Vienna.**

The immediate cause of the second revolution in Vienna had been the order to some Austrian troops to march against the Croats, who had revolted from Hungary. This war soon became one between Hungary and Austria. Hungary had, up to now, enjoyed a certain measure of independence, although her affairs were managed by a bureau in Vienna, and, after the first Revolution in 1848, when the emperor had conceded to the people of his hereditary states the rights demanded by them, a deputation of the Hungarians had waited upon him, asking for their kingdom similar liberties. The emperor gave his assent on April 11, and the news was received with great joy by the Hungarian nation. But, the people being unused to such liberty, the government was not allowed to exercise its functions, and a state of anarchy ensued. Worse than all, opposition to Hungary appeared within her own provinces, and was secretly encouraged by Austria.

**Hungarians  
and Slavs.**

This opposition at length showing itself in open revolt, war between Hungary and her vassals became inevitable, and the actual beginning of the struggle was the bombardment by Hungarian troops, on June 12, 1848, of Carlowitz, the centre of the Serbs of Slavonia. The discontented Slavs rose in support of their compatriots, and finally Austria, throwing off the mask, declared her intention to revoke the concessions recently granted, and so aid the insurgents openly.

The Hungarian Diet, by strenuous efforts, raised the army to 200,000 men, who, stirred by the eloquence of Kossuth, succeeded in repulsing Jellachich, the *Ban* or governor of Croatia, who had advanced against Pesth, the capital of the

kingdom. Meanwhile, the Emperor Ferdinand had abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. Not having taken the oath in the Hungarian capital to preserve the constitution, Francis Joseph was declared by the Diet to be incapable of ruling Hungary, but this decision was not accepted by the nation, which was averse to a conflict. The Austrian Parliament, however, desiring to recall the concessions which had been granted by the emperor, resolved upon the unconditional surrender of the Hungarians. The prospect of war aroused the nation to rally round the patriot Kossuth, but, when every possible effort had been made, the Hungarian army, which took the field in December 1848, amounted to only 65,000 men.

Windischgrätz, the Austrian general, invaded Hungary from nine points, and, meeting with little resistance from Gorgey, the commander of the Hungarian forces, entered Pesth on January 6, 1849. The Hungarian government retired to Debreczen, while the army slowly concentrated in the valley of the Theiss. After various misfortunes, Bem, who commanded the Hungarians and their allies in Transylvania, was able to defeat the Austrians, who had received aid from Russia, entered Cronstadt without opposition, and, in a few weeks, was in command of the whole of Transylvania. In the meantime, in the valley of the Theiss, important events had been taking place, which at last resulted in the Austrians being driven for the time out of Hungary; and had Gorgey, who had produced this result, been active in following up his advantage, he might have gained possession of Vienna itself. He lingered, however, and so allowed the Austrians to provide for its defence. On April 15, 1849, the independence of Hungary was declared, and the government was placed in the hands of Louis Kossuth, who had little less than regal powers.

Preparations for the renewed invasion of Hungary were rapidly carried on, and by June 400,000 men, of whom 160,000 were Russians, were assembled on the Hungarian frontiers, under Haynau. To meet this force, the Hungarians had raised 140,000 men, who were distributed throughout the country. The plans of the Austrians and Russians were entirely successful, and Haynau's severity earned him the title of "Hungary's Hangman." The struggle continued with varying fortune, until, at length, Kossuth, considering Gorgey the only man capable of saving Hungary, conferred upon him dictatorial powers, which, three days later, he betrayed, surrendering to the Russian general Rüdiger

**Invasion of  
Hungary.**

**Interven-  
tion of  
Russia.**

on August 13. This was the end of the war in Hungary. Kossuth fled to Turkey, and later to America, where he was kindly received, and his noble efforts on behalf of his country properly appreciated. The officers and soldiers of the Hungarian army were treated with revolting cruelty, and the country, which had preserved its national existence for a thousand years, was finally merged into the Austrian empire, more by the treachery of its own sons than by the forces brought against it.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE CRIMEAN WAR, A.D. 1852-56.

While these events had been happening in Hungary, Louis Napoleon had been consolidating his power. After the security of his own position, the object nearest to his heart was the liberation of Italy from the Austrian government. He was of Italian origin; in his youth he had been a member of the Carbonari; and he longed to see the rule of the double-eagle removed from the country with which he had so many ties. In order to do this, it was necessary that he should preclude the possibility of Austria's receiving assistance from Russia, and it therefore became imperative to cripple Russia before any decisive action could be taken. In furtherance of this project, he did his best to stir up war with that country, and the struggle in the Crimea must therefore be laid at the door of Napoleon, the British having little or no interest in it. The excuse for a quarrel, which he needed, was found in the revival of the Eastern question concerning the maintenance of the Turkish power. This was due to the dissensions between the Latin and Greek Christians for the control of the Holy Places in Palestine. The cause of the Greeks having been espoused by the Tsar, Napoleon naturally came forward as the champion of the Latins, glad of so good an opportunity of bringing about a quarrel with Russia. The Sultan tried in vain to satisfy the rival claimants, whereupon the Tsar proposed to Great Britain that the Turkish provinces in Europe should be made independent under Russian influence, and Great Britain should occupy Crete and Egypt. This she refused to do, whereupon the Tsar prepared for war, having been denied the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey. That country applied to the western powers for help. Great Britain and France sent a joint fleet to the Dardanelles,

while the Tsar, to enforce his demand, occupied the Danubian principalities. As a last resort before war, the great powers held a congress at Vienna, and proposals for peace were sent to the contending parties. These were accepted by Russia, and would have been accepted also by the Turks but for the advice of the English ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning. War was, therefore, declared between Russia and Turkey, and, upon the destruction of the Turkish fleet, in November 1853, Great Britain came to the assistance of the Porte, an alliance with France to support her in the enterprise being signed in March 1854.

In April 1854, about 20,000 English troops under Lord Raglan, together with 40,000 French under St. Arnaud, landed at Gallipoli in the Dardanelles, and marched to Varna, where plans for the campaign were concerted. It was decided to attack Sebastopol, and for this purpose a move was made to the Crimea. The whole army consisted of about 57,000 men, of whom 7000 were Turks. The advance began on September 19, and, on the 20th, a battle was fought in the valley of the Alma. The Russians, about 40,000 strong, held the heights beyond the river. The British advanced up the river, led by the Guards and the Highlanders, and the Russians began to give way, but the pursuit was not followed up, as Canrobert, in command of the French, refused to allow his men to march without their knapsacks. In the battle the British lost 2000, the French a much smaller number, while the Russian losses amounted to nearly 6000 men. Had the allies advanced at once, as the British generals desired, they might have entered Sebastopol without opposition, but they wasted two days on the battle-field, and when the advance recommenced the harbour had been blockaded by Menshikov, and his communications with Russia had been secured. It was determined, therefore, to march round Sebastopol, and attack it on its southern side. On the 26th, Balaclava, with its harbour, was captured, but was found to be of less importance than had been expected. When the army arrived before Sebastopol and had taken up its position, it was decided to bombard the city, and the army had therefore to wait, before commencing operations, until October 17, in order that the siege train might be got into position. The fire opened on October 17, but as the days went on little impression was made, the Russians repairing at night the damage which had been done during the day. By the end of October, Menshikov,

the Russian commander, had been reinforced until his army numbered 130,000 men, and he determined to attempt the recovery of Balaklava, which, since its capture, had been put in a better position for defence by the allies. On October 25, the Russians began to bombard the position. Canrobert Hill, which was held by the Turks, was stormed, and there was a danger of the shipping in the harbour falling into the hands of the enemy, but this was prevented by the 93rd Regiment, under Sir Colin Campbell. At this juncture occurred the famous charges of the Heavy and Light Brigades, the former, by a brilliant move, breaking up a huge body of Russian cavalry, the latter, through a terrible mistake on the part of Lord Lucan, failing to effect anything, and being cut to pieces in the effort. The French well described the charge in the phrase, "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre!*"

Matters dragged on without any decisive blow being struck on either side until November 5, when was fought the battle of Inkerman, which had for its object the expulsion of the allies from the Crimea. **Battle of Inkerman.** Menshikov aimed chiefly at Mount Inkerman, on the British right. The battle was without decisive results, though the Russians lost 12,000 to the 3,000 of the allies, but it had the effect of convincing Menshikov of the impossibility of driving the allies from the plateau. During the winter, which had now begun, the troops suffered terribly, and by the end of November, it is stated, the British alone had 8000 men in hospital, into which a better system had been introduced by Florence Nightingale, the apostle of modern scientific nursing.

**Fall of the Aberdeen Ministry.** In England public opinion was aroused against the Aberdeen ministry, who were held responsible for the war, and, in January 1855, the ministry having been defeated, the formation of a new government was entrusted to Lord Palmerston. On March 2 occurred the death of the Emperor Nicholas, who died of a broken heart, brought about, finally, by the defeat of the Russians by the Turks at Eupatoria.

The allied generals held the opinion that Sebastopol could only be captured by the fall of the Malakov Tower, but they were unable to effect this. On April 9, a second great bombardment began, in which the Russian defences suffered severely, but the result was disappointing, and the assault fixed for the 28th was not made. In view of the fact that the war seemed likely to be dragged out indefinitely, a conference was

held at Vienna, in which Austria showed herself favourable to Russia, and in the negotiation which followed no conclusion was reached, on account of the unwillingness of Austria to take decided action. In a council held at Windsor, between the Queen and the Emperor of the French, who paid a visit to England at this time, it was decided that the army of the allies should be divided into two sections, one for the siege, and the other for operations. The British, 25,000 strong, formed the nucleus of the army of operations. The allied generals determined to prepare the way for a general attack by a third bombardment, which began on June 6. By the 9th, the Green Hill was in the hands of the allies, though it was obtained only with considerable loss. A fourth bombardment took place on June 17, the Russian batteries being silenced by evening, but the attacks which followed on the 18th failed disastrously. Ten days later Lord Raglan died of dysentery.

It was now determined by the Russians to make a general attack to attempt to drive the allies from their position, but this was a complete failure, and the Russians were compelled to retire within their defences again. It was thought by the allies that the time had now come for the storming of Sebastopol, which was fixed for September 8. The attack itself was not successful, except in the case of the taking of the Malakov; but it was considered expedient to evacuate the town, great booty falling into the hands of the allies. The war was not yet at an end, but nothing of importance remained to do, the allies being content to hold Sebastopol, and the Russians being too much weakened to accomplish anything. By the end of 1855 hostilities were practically at an end, and on February 21, 1856, the peace congress met for the first time at Paris, the actual treaty being signed on March 30. Its most important result was the neutralisation of the Black Sea.

Fall of  
Sebastopol.

#### THE INDIAN MUTINY, A.D. 1857-58.

But, although all parties needed peace to recover from the exhaustion caused by the war, England, at any rate, was not left long at rest. In India the native troops had been becoming more and more restless for some time past, stirred up by fanatical native priests, who preached the expulsion of the whites from the country and the re-establishment of native rule. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the violation of religious



prejudices by the introduction of railways and the alleged use of cow's fat to grease cartridges. On May 10, 1857, a mutiny broke out among the Sepoys at Meerut; other risings immediately followed at Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Allahabad; and the movement spread throughout the country. Dreadful atrocities took place. At Cawnpore, after a brave resistance, the garrison, marching out to embark in boats to carry them to safety, under the promise of a safe conduct, were fired upon, nearly all the men being killed, while the women and children were butchered in cold blood, later, and their bodies thrown into a well. Delhi fell into the hands of the mutineers, and a descendant of the Mogul dynasty was declared emperor. But the city was recaptured on September 20, while Lucknow, which was closely besieged, was relieved by Havelock, after Sir Henry Lawrence had been killed, and finally rescued by Outram and Colin Campbell in March 1858. This was practically the end of the Indian mutiny. It owed its suppression to the prompt aid sent by Sir J. Lawrence to the Punjab, and the loyalty of the native princes as a whole, the majority of them being uninfluenced by the movements towards revolution. As a result of it, in June of this year, an Act was passed to change the government of India. The powers and territories of the East India Company were transferred to the crown; a secretary of state for India was appointed; and a governor-general, with the title of viceroy, was sent out to represent the crown in India. Ever since, India has enjoyed complete tranquillity, and at the present day the Indian empire is attached to us by bonds stronger than ever.

#### LOUIS NAPOLEON AND ITALY, A.D. 1849 TO A.D. 1859.

In order to understand the events which now took place in Italy, it is necessary for us to go back to the time when Charles Albert resigned his crown, after the defeat of Novara, to his son, Victor Emmanuel, then twenty-nine years old. On March 29, 1849, Victor Emmanuel swore fidelity to the constitution in the presence of the Chambers, but it did not seem as if he would be popular, for the armistice was generally distasteful.

When a new house was elected, however, the treaty was ratified by a large majority. At this time Cavour, who had always been regarded as an aristocrat, came forward in support of the liberal cause, and won great popularity, becoming minister of agriculture and marine,

on the death of Santa Rosa, in 1850. In 1852, thinking that the government should assume a more definitely liberal character, he formed a coalition with Ratazzi, the leader of the left centre, and on November 4, upon the resignation of d'Azeglio, who had offended the pope by the introduction of a bill authorising civil marriage, he became prime minister, at the head of what is known as the "Great Ministry." By allying Sardinia with France and England in the Crimean War, Cavour raised his country in the eyes of Europe, and set it as a brilliant contrast to the feeble waverings of Austria, securing it a place among the powers, while by his wisdom in the congress at Paris he brought the Italian question before the world, for which he received the thanks and gratitude of the country.

After the attempt by Orsini on the life of Napoleon III., Cavour, by the diplomatic skill which he displayed, cemented the friendship which the emperor had for Sardinia, and brought about an alliance between the two powers for the abolition of Austrian rule in Italy, which Napoleon now felt strong enough to undertake, having made it impossible for Russia to render aid to the Austrians. It remained only to find a pretext for the war with Austria, and Cavour used every means in his power to bring it about. Garibaldi was called in, and it was arranged that a revolution should take place in the spring of 1859, in central Italy, to force the Austrians to make war. In France the prospect of a war did not meet with favour, but the emperor, attached as he was to Italy, was anxious to accomplish it. However, when a congress was suggested, Napoleon gave it his support; but Cavour, who saw the likelihood of all his work being undone, was saved by the refusal of Austria to adhere to the plan of mediation. As a matter of fact, war had been decided upon at Vienna, as the only means available to crush the revolutionary spirit in Italy, once and for all. On April 10, an ultimatum was sent to Italy to disarm, and, on the 26th, the French ambassador at Vienna informed the prime minister, Buol, that any violation of the Sardinian frontier would be accepted as a declaration of war.

On the 29th the Austrians crossed the frontier 200,000 strong, with the object of crushing the Sardinians before the French could arrive, but the French had already crossed the frontiers of Savoy with 130,000 men, while 8700 men landed at Genoa, and 4000 went to aid the Piedmontese in the mountains. By May 14 the

**Alliance of  
France and  
Sardinia.**

**Outbreak  
of War.**

French and Sardinians had joined forces, making a total of 260,000 men, a number considerably superior to that of the Austrians. At this point, the Austrians made a grave strategical mistake by staying where they were, and confining themselves to a defensive policy, instead of attacking the combined army without loss of time. While the allies had full knowledge of the position of their opponents, the Austrians, in order to discover the movements of the enemy, sent Stadion to reconnoitre at the head of 18,000 men. This led, on May 30, to the battle of Montebello, the first encounter between the two armies, in which the allies were entirely successful, the Austrians being driven out of Genestrello, which they had occupied, and being forced to retreat to Casteggio, with a loss of 1293, while the French losses numbered 723. Napoleon's plan now was to attack the Austrian right wing, and advance upon Milan, the movement being masked by the Sardinians, who succeeded in capturing Palestro, which the Austrians were unable to regain. Both sides were aware that Palestro was the key of the position, as it commanded the passage of the Serio, but all attempts to recapture it proved to be in vain. In the meantime Garibaldi, who had been made a general, placed his headquarters at Varese, the Austrians being in full retreat, with their line stretching from Varese to Piacenza, and their troops in very bad condition.

The battle of Magenta, a village on the road between Novara and Milan, about four miles from the Ticino, was fought on

**Battle of  
Magenta.**

June 4. Between the town and the river lies a canal, which is crossed by six bridges, all of which were strongly defended by the Austrians. Neither of the rival armies was at anything like its full strength, but the forces opposed to each other were practically equal. From 10.30 A.M., when the first shots were fired, until 2 P.M. neither side gained any material advantage, but by 3.30 P.M. the position of affairs was decidedly favourable to the French. Still they were hard pressed, until, by the arrival of Macmahon, at five in the afternoon, the whole army was enabled to advance upon Magenta itself. Here fierce fighting took place, the village being strongly held; but by 9 P.M. the whole field of battle was in the possession of the French. The allies lost 4500 men, the Austrians 10,000, of whom 5000 were prisoners, and next morning Giulay gave the order to retreat, the emperor and Victor Emmanuel on

the following day entering Milan, where they were received with delirious joy.

The Austrians now retired to the Quadrilateral—*i.e.* the district between the Adige, the Mincio, the mountains, and the sea—without serious opposition, the French reaching the Adda a few hours too late. No further engagements took place until the 24th, when the victory of Solferino put an end to the war. The battle

**Battle of  
Solferino.**

was fought in a space twenty miles long and twelve broad, bounded to the north by the Lago di Garda, to the south by the Oglio, to the west by the Chiese, and to the east by the Mincio, and containing some of the most beautiful scenery in Europe. The allied army consisted of five French army corps, and five divisions of Sardinian troops, a total of about 160,000 men, the Austrian forces, under the command of Francis Joseph, being about equal in number. On the morning of the 23rd, the headquarters of the emperor of Austria were at Villafranca, his plan being to advance upon the allies, take them by surprise, and drive them towards the Alps, leaving the decisive battle to be fought on the following day. The Austrians therefore crossed the Mincio, intending to advance to the Chiese on the next morning. Before they could do this, the allies had crossed the Chiese, intending to force the passage of the Mincio. It thus happened that the two armies came into collision unexpectedly, and the problem was to convert a line of march into a line of battle with the least possible delay. The Austrian army at first attempted to carry out its original plan of turning the French right and driving it towards the Alps, the allies, however, concentrating towards the centre of the Austrian line, and attacking Solferino and San Casciano. The French succeeded in piercing the Austrian centre, the corps which had been sent to attack the French in flank being defeated. The only success gained by the Austrians was on the right, where they were able to hold the Sardinians in check, and this did not suffice to redeem the disasters elsewhere. The capture of Cavriano, the last village remaining in the hands of the Austrians, put an end to the battle, and the defeated army retreated beyond the Mincio. In the battle, the losses of the Austrians amounted to 21,500 men, those of the allies to 18,500.

On July 6, negotiations for peace were opened between Napoleon and Francis Joseph, and on the 8th an armistice was arranged at Villafranca, which was to last until August 15. Next day, the emperors met at Villafranca, and the terms of a

peace were discussed, which was finally concluded when Victor Emmanuel had given his consent, which it was practically impossible for him to refuse. Lombardy was ceded to Sardinia; an Italian confederation was to be formed, with the pope at its head, and was to include Venetia; the Papal States were to be reformed; Tuscany and Modena were to return to their dukes; Parma was surrendered for a time, but was afterwards retained. Cavour was heartbroken, yet could do nothing but resign.

After all, it was probably best that the war should be brought to an end at once. The peace of Villafranca freed Italy from the influence of France, both in fact and in the eyes of the other countries of Europe, and prepared the world for the final freedom achieved in 1870, when the Italian nation came into being, its nationality based upon principles which are likely to secure the permanence of Italian unity.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, A.D. 1861-1865.

THE Civil War in America owed its origin to the question of slavery, the North being opposed to the keeping of slaves, the South in favour of it. In 1815, the states of the Union were equally divided between slavery and "free soil," eleven being for slavery and eleven against it. The feeling between the two parties became more and more intense. In Boston, a paper called the *Liberator* was established, and, in 1832, the "New England Anti-Slavery Society" was founded. The dissensions came to a head on the question of admitting Texas, a slave-holding state, which had previously formed part of Mexico, to the Union. In 1850, feeling had risen so high that there was a danger of the breaking up of the Union, and every effort was used to effect a compromise. Gold had been discovered in California, and, when the question arose of the admission of that state to the Union, feeling ran high as to whether it should be slave or free, and a difficulty was also experienced in the question of the Mormon state of Utah. A compromise suggested by Senator Clay provided that California should be free, Utah and New Mexico slave-holding, and this was adopted. To the South, however, the possession of slaves seemed a necessity, as it was impossible for her to hold her position by any other means, and even now she found herself slipping behind the North in the race for pre-eminence. In the North, on the other hand, the "free soil" feeling took a stronger and stronger hold upon the people, and, while only a small number of persons desired to abolish slavery in the districts in which it already existed, there was a general determination that it should not be allowed in any new additions to the Union. In every extension this question had to be fought, and there could be no agreement while land remained to be occupied. A serious conflict ensued upon the creation of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which were opened

conditionally to slavery by the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in 1854.

In 1856 the Republican party was formed, which was of a decidedly anti-slavery complexion, but for a time was unable to effect anything, though public opinion was turned in its favour when the Democrats, who were headed by James Buchanan, the President, threw the new territories open unconditionally to slavery. In Illinois, Lincoln, an ardent opponent of slavery, was standing against Douglas, the father of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, for election to the Senate, and stated the issue with unflinching firmness. He said, "I believe the government cannot endure half slave and half free. . . . It must have all one thing or all the other." Douglas won, but Lincoln stood before the public as the champion of anti-slavery.

Still Buchanan continued the struggle, and advocated the acquisition of Cuba, which would mean a large extension of slave territory. On October 16, 1859, John Brown made a raid upon Harper's Ferry, in Virginia, for the purpose of liberating the slaves, and, though he was hanged and nothing came of the enterprise, he kindled a flame which spread through the whole country and ended in the abolition of slavery. In these circumstances, while public opinion was in a ferment, came the presidential election for 1860. The Democrats were divided among themselves, while the Republicans voted in a body for Abraham

<b>Lincoln</b>	Lincoln, who was elected by 180 votes. The
<b>elected</b>	South felt this defeat to be irreparable, and
<b>President.</b>	determined to sever its connection with the

North. South Carolina was the first to secede, and it was followed by Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, President Buchanan making no attempt to prevent the secession. Arsenal, forts, and custom-houses belonging to the Federal central government were seized, and, when Major Anderson took possession of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour, the batteries of the "Confederates" opened fire upon it, thus taking the initiative and firing the first shot of the civil war.

Lincoln, although elected in November 1860, did not take up his presidential duties till March 4, 1861; and during this time Buchanan was responsible for the government. He denied the right of the South to secede, but, by his weakness, offended both sides equally. Meantime, the South formed a government, under the name of the Confederate States of

America, and, on March 11, Jefferson Davis was chosen President, with his capital at Richmond. Lincoln, upon his election, made an appeal to the South not to bring about a war, and declared the acts of the secession government to be null and void; but after the attack on Fort Sumter, although no one was killed, civil war became inevitable.

On April 15, Lincoln issued a proclamation calling out 75,000 of the militia, to which Davis replied by offering to issue letters of marque against Federal commerce, but the President immediately published a counter proclamation declaring that, as the Confederates were rebels, privateers would be treated as pirates. Several times as many volunteers as had been called for by Lincoln were immediately placed at his disposal, and great preparations for active service took place. The first blood was shed at Baltimore, where a Massachusetts regiment came into contact with a Confederate mob, three of the militiamen being killed; while on May 24 four regiments of Federals crossed the Potomac, and seized the Arlington Heights. The President now summoned 42,000 volunteers for three years, and took upon himself to raise ten new regular regiments, in which he was supported by Congress, whereupon he asked for 400,000 men, and 400,000,000 dollars, receiving, without demur, even more than he had asked.

It was now determined to make an advance upon Richmond. The Confederate army under Beauregard, 22,000 strong, had occupied Manassas Junction, and MacDowell was sent to attack it with 30,000 men. The Confederates held the south side of the Bull Run stream, to the east of the junction. The battle of Bull Run took place on July 21, a Sunday, but skirmishes had taken place since the 18th, when the armies came into touch.

MacDowell determined to attack on the left wing, so as to secure the railway, and thus be able to prevent Johnston, who had 9000 men in the Shenandoah valley, from effecting a junction with Beauregard. The Federal army advanced in three divisions, but some of the troops were unable to cross the river, so that the force was split up and fought in detachments. Confederate reinforcements, 5000 strong, arrived upon the field, and turned the Federal right, upon which the whole army turned and fled for Washington, the defeat becoming a rout. The losses of the Federals were 1200, those of the Confederates 1500. Sherman,

**The  
Southern  
Confederacy.**

**Outbreak of  
War.**

**Battle of  
Bull Run.**



who commanded a brigade in the Federal army, said, "It was one of the best planned battles in the war, but one of the worst fought."

The defeat of Bull Run was a bitter disappointment to the North, but had the effect of deepening its determination to fight to the end. General McClellan was now summoned to Washington, and formed what was known as "the Army of the Potomac," out of the three years' volunteers. He had gained great renown by a brilliant success in western Virginia, where he had captured 1000 men and seven guns, with hardly any loss to his own troops. He was made the popular hero, but successes served only to make him over confident. He allowed opportunity after opportunity to pass by, and when at last he made a move to cross the Potomac, it ended in the complete and discreditable defeat of a reconnoitring force, in October 1861, at Ball's Bluff. In consequence of this blunder, a joint war committee of the two Houses was formed, which did much good by its criticism in inspiring the generals to their utmost efforts.

On the outbreak of the war, Great Britain took up a strictly neutral position, but the popular feeling was in favour of the Confederates, as the blockade of the southern ports deprived Lancashire of cotton. The North was annoyed at this attitude, and, at the end of 1861, a British royal mail steamer, the *Trent*, was stopped by a United States warship, and two Southerners, who were aboard her, were arrested. A war seemed likely, but was averted by the good sense of the Prince Consort. Meanwhile, the North exerted all its powers to capture Richmond, which was recognised as the principal objective, while a determined struggle also raged along the Mississippi, upon which were situated the great commercial cities of St. Louis, which belonged to the Federals, and New Orleans, which belonged to the Confederates. Thus the war, after 1861, was devoted to three objects—to maintain the blockade, to capture Richmond, and to gain possession of the line of the Mississippi.

In February 1862, Ulysses S. Grant, a subordinate Northern general, captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, involving the surrender of 14,000 men, and forcing the Confederates to evacuate Columbus. In March, the famous battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* took place, putting an end to the destruction of Federal shipping by the last named

General  
Grant.

vessel. Two days later, Lincoln relieved McClellan of his command, and gave Grant charge of the campaign against Richmond. Grant, moving against Corinth, on the Tennessee, with 40,000 men, was attacked by Johnston, with an equal force, and was driven back two miles, one of his divisions being captured, but, on the other hand, Johnston himself being killed. Next day, Grant, having been reinforced by Buell from Nashville, renewed the attack. Beauregard, who had taken Johnston's place, determined to hold Shiloh church, but he was forced to withdraw, leaving his dead on the field. The battle of Shiloh was really the turning point of the war, for it opened to the Federals the way to the sea, and made it possible for them to march to the rear of the Confederates and cut off supplies from Richmond. On April 28, 1862, Admiral Farragut, with a comparatively small loss, took New Orleans, thus making it practically impossible for France, who had long been wavering, to recognise the Confederates.

**Battle of  
Shiloh.**

On March 13, 1862, it had been determined to seize Richmond, and, for this purpose, 121,500 men were concentrated at Monroe under the command of McClellan. If he had advanced upon Richmond as soon as he arrived, on April 2, he might have captured it without difficulty; but instead he laid siege to Yorktown, which Joseph Johnston evacuated, leaving McClellan under the impression that he was still there, and being thus able to collect more troops and put Richmond in a position of defence. The Confederates now went into camp three miles from Richmond, and McClellan placed his forces, 127,000 strong, along the left bank of the Chickahominy. Johnston, who had 62,000 men, fought a battle at Fair Oaks, but without decisive result, and, being seriously wounded, was replaced by Robert E. Lee, in June 1862. As soon as he had assumed command, Lee, in a seven days' battle from June 25 to July 1, succeeded in driving McClellan from Richmond; but his plan to capture the Federal base failed—Jackson, for once in his life, coming late. Next day, however, followed the battle of Gaines Mills or Chickahominy, in which the Federals lost heavily and had to retreat to Malvern Hill, where McClellan made his last stand. Malvern Hill, on the side of the James River, is a broad plateau, on which the Federal army was arranged in a semicircle, with the right wing thrown back upon the river, the whole strongly defended by artillery. The battle was fought with little regard for concentration on the Confederate side, but McClellan was

**McClellan  
before  
Richmond.**

forced to retreat to the river. The losses during the three battles were 15,000 on the Federal and 19,000 on the Confederate side.

Lincoln now called for 300,000 volunteers, and made Halleck commander-in-chief. For the next four months numerous engagements took place, one side attempting to reach Richmond, the other Washington, but nothing was effected, though, on several occasions, greater energy on the Federal side would have achieved the defeat of the South. McClellan was superseded by Burnside, as he seemed unlikely to achieve anything. On August 30, the second battle of Bull Run was fought, between Lee on the Confederate and Pope on the Federal side. Before the battle Jackson was able to reinforce Lee with 18,000 men, and the result was the defeat, with heavy loss, of Pope, who had to retire to the Fairfax Court House, and later to the defences round Washington, where his forces were merged into the army of the Potomac. Lee now crossed the Potomac into Maryland, where he hoped to defeat McClellan and dictate peace in Independence Hall. The battle of Antietam was fought on September 17, 1862. Lee, with 40,000 men, occupied a strong position between Antietam and the Potomac. The battle, in which Burnside first captured a Confederate battery and then was forced to evacuate it, was indecisive, but it put an end to all idea of invading Maryland or Pennsylvania.

Lee withdrew to Winchester, and McClellan took up his position on the Potomac; but as he effected nothing decisive,

**General  
Burnside.**

even after he had been personally urged to do so by the President, he was, as we have seen, relieved of his command, and Burnside put in his place. Burnside aimed straight at Richmond, after organising his army into three divisions under Sumner, Hooker, and Franklin; but Lee, with a line  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, occupied the heights to the south of Fredericksburg. On December 13, Burnside attacked the Confederate army on the heights, but his attack was a complete failure, the Federals losing 12,353 men, under the murderous fire of the Confederates, who picked them off as fast as they could load, while Lee's losses amounted to only 4201. Lincoln, disgusted at the obvious incapacity of his general, ordered Burnside to make no further move without his knowledge; but in spite of this, on January 21, 1863, he started his army on what is known as the "Mud March," because it was stopped by a rainstorm, which probably saved it from still more disastrous losses. Burnside, in desperation,

sent in his resignation, which Lincoln accepted, appointing Hooker in his place.

Hooker, however, was no better than his predecessor. By April 30, 1863, he had collected four corps at Chancellorsville, eleven miles from Fredericksburg, where Lee was entrenched. Lee, however brought up his troops, and, attacking Hooker, completely defeated him in a four days' battle, in which the great General "Stonewall" Jackson was killed. Public opinion in the South now began to demand that Lee should invade the North, more especially as it was hoped that a brilliant victory would gain recognition for the Confederates from Great Britain and France. In the beginning of June, therefore, Lee began his northward march, and invaded Pennsylvania. Hooker thought this a good opportunity to attack Richmond, but was advised not to do so by Lincoln, whose advice he accepted, but, being unable to agree with his officers, asked to be relieved of his command, Meade being appointed in his stead. Lee continued to advance, and a battle took place at Gettysburg on July 3. The Federals were posted on the Cemetery Ridge, the Confederates on the Seminary Ridge. **Battle of Gettysburg.** The battle began at 1 p.m. with a cannonade.

Following this, Lee moved forward 15,000 of his best troops at the charge, but they were decimated by artillery fire, and forced to retreat. Next day, the Confederates retired, having been entirely defeated, and having lost 36,000 men to the 23,000 of the Federals. On the day of Lee's retreat, July 4, Vicksburg surrendered. It had been attacked by Grant and Sherman at the end of 1862, and the siege had continued ever since. On April 30, 1863, Grant, with 33,000 men, crossed the Mississippi, and, defeating the Confederates at Raymond and Jackson, moved upon Vicksburg. **Successes of Grant.**

At Champion's Hill, he entirely defeated the Southerners, who shut themselves up in the town, which he immediately invested. On May 22, Grant ordered an assault, but was repulsed with heavy loss, and therefore settled down to a regular siege. Food in the town became scarce, and after forty-seven days' siege, when a grand assault was imminent, Pemberton surrendered unconditionally with his army of 31,600 men. With the capture of Vicksburg, the Mississippi was opened to the Federals, and the Confederate forces were cut completely in two.

The chief interest of the war now centres in another part of the country, and it is to this that we must next turn our

attention. In Tennessee, Rosecrans, opposed by Bragg, the Confederate general, was striving to gain possession of Chattanooga, which is situated not far from the borders of Alabama and Georgia. He succeeded in capturing the town, and set out in pursuit of Bragg, who was in retreat. He came up with him on the bank of Chickamauga Creek, where, on September 19 and 20, 1863, one of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought. Bragg had 71,500 men and Rosecrans 51,000. Bragg took the offensive, and made a feint upon the Federals' right, hoping to be able to crush their left and seize the roads leading to the town of Chattanooga. On the 19th, at 10 A.M., the battle was begun, but when operations were suspended in the evening the situations remained unchanged, the projected attack on the left having failed. The next day Bragg tried to carry out his previous plan, but was unable to make any impression on the Federal line. By a mistake, however, a gap of two brigades was made in Rosecrans' line, and the Confederates poured through it, breaking the Federal right and part of the centre. Rosecrans retired, believing the day to be lost; but Thomas, having been sent to the extreme left, took up a strong position, and held it against every attack, retiring at night and taking up his position in the defences of Chattanooga, which had not been destroyed by Bragg when he evacuated it. Here, however, he was in turn besieged, and famine seemed unavoidable, when Grant, having been placed in command, established a better system of supply, and, with reinforcements under Hooker and Sherman, forced the Confederates to act on the defensive.

The battle of Chattanooga, one of the most important in the war, took place on November 24-25, 1863. Grant had about 100,000 men, under Thomas, Hooker, and Sherman. Thomas held the town of Chattanooga; Hooker Lookout Valley, to the south of the town; and Sherman the hills on the other side of the Tennessee. On the 24th, Hooker climbed Lookout Mountain, three miles from the town, and captured it. Sherman had attempted to take the Confederates in flank, by the capture of Missionary Ridge, but was able to accomplish little. On the 28th, Thomas, ordered to advance along the base of Missionary Ridge, captured the ridge itself, and the batteries which crowned it, and then, descending later into Chickamauga Valley, captured another ridge, and put Bragg to flight. The loss of the Confederates was 6687 and 6000 prisoners, while

that of the Federals was only 5824. In February, when Grant was placed at the head of all the Federal forces, the war took on a new complexion. He was in command of four armies, and he took up his own headquarters with the army of the Potomac, intending to advance to Petersburg, to cut off communications between Richmond and the south; Sherman to oppose Johnston in Georgia; Banks to capture Mobile and to close its harbour. The principal conflicts now took place in what is known as the Wilderness, south of the Rapidan. On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan with 122,146 men, and, on the following day was attacked by Lee. Nothing was effected, but during the night trenches were dug by the Federals, and the fight was resumed next day, 15,000 falling on either side, but no definite results being achieved. On May 7, Grant moved forward to Spottsylvania, but after six days' fighting had not succeeded in striking a crushing blow at Lee's army.

Grant made  
Commander-  
in-Chief.

On May 8, Grant had sent Sheridan to ride round to the rear of the Confederates and do as much damage as possible. This he accomplished with great success, even penetrating the defence of Richmond and recapturing 400 Federal prisoners. Grant now sent Hancock to Richmond, hoping that Lee would attack him with his whole army, and allow the Federals to meet him undefended by earthworks. Lee, however, having the advantage of a shorter line, was able to save his capital, whereupon he took up his position between Little River and Hanover Junction. In this position he was attacked by Burnside, who, however, could do nothing. The two armies came into contact again at Cold Harbour, not more than ten miles from Richmond. At 4.30 in the morning of June 3, the Federal attack was delivered, but, under the raking fire of the Confederate batteries, which had been constructed with considerable skill, 400 veterans lay dead in less than a single hour, while the losses of the Confederates were very slight. Grant, seeing that the Confederates were unwilling to take any risks, but were determined to act purely on the defensive, decided to cross the James River and attack Richmond from the south. This he accomplished with masterly skill, during the week following the attack on Cold Harbour. He left that place on June 12, crossed the Chickahominy by a pontoon bridge, and reached the James on June 14. He threw a bridge across this river, and by the seventeenth his whole army was on the south of the stream, and in junction with Butler, bringing up

the combined forces to 150,000 men. Seeing that he had been thus out-generalled, Lee retired with his 70,000 men into the defences of Richmond.

Part of Grant's plan had been that Sherman should move south from Chattanooga and capture Atlanta, and, accordingly, **Sherman's** on May 5, Sherman set out with 100,000 men **March to** and 254 guns, and followed the railway line **Atlanta.** to Atlanta. He was opposed by Johnston with 43,150 men, and a series of fights took place on the way, but by the end of May, with the loss of 10,000 men on each side, Sherman was well on the way to Atlanta. For the greater part of June, the two armies lay opposite each other at Pine Mountain, but, on June 27, Sherman made a vigorous attempt to capture Johnston's position in the battle of Kenesaw, but he was repulsed with considerable loss. He therefore determined to recross the railway, and move to the south, by which means, on September 2, 1864, he became master of Atlanta, Hood, who had superseded Johnston, being unable to resist him.

At this time the presidential elections took place, Lincoln, who was opposed by McClellan, being re-elected by a large majority. He remarked with regard to his candidature that "it was best not to swop horses when crossing a stream." By the end of October, Sherman had determined upon marching through Georgia to Savannah, upon the sea-coast, the **Sherman** capture of which city eventually put an end **Captures** to the war. On November 2, 1865, he left Atlanta **Savannah.** with 55,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and 68 guns, and a large number of ambulances and waggons. The distance to be covered was about 300 miles: the army was divided into two wings, marching along parallel routes, but always in touch with each other. Nothing was heard of it for six weeks, but then the news of the capture of Savannah reached Washington. The army, in its march, occupied a space forty to sixty miles wide, the wealthier inhabitants making their escape, the negroes following the troops. There was very little fighting, except within a few miles of Savannah and in the city itself. On December 21, Savannah was occupied, and Sherman wrote to tell the President of his success. He said, "I beg to present to you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, and plenty of ammunition: also, about 25,000 bales of cotton." During the whole march, which was a triumph of good generalship, Sherman lost only 764 men, whereas the capture of the city was an inestimable benefit to the Federal

side, being, in reality, the beginning of the end. But there was still work to be done before peace could be brought about. On February 1, 1865, he began to march northwards, through Columbia, a work of greater difficulty than his previous exploit. Columbia was captured on February 17, and, on the following day, Charleston was evacuated by the enemy. From Columbia, which he left on February 20, Sherman marched to Fayetteville, reaching it on March 11. He then fought a victorious battle, which gained him the possession of Goldsboro, on the road to Petersburg and Richmond.

At the end of February, Sheridan moved up the valley of the Shenandoah, with 10,000 cavalry, defeated Early, and joined Grant on the James River. At the beginning of April, he won the battle of Five Forks, while Grant broke through the Confederate lines.

**Sheridan's  
March.**

Sheridan moved up to Grant's support on the left, and Petersburg, only 23 miles from Richmond, was completely surrounded. Lee, thereupon, telegraphed to his government that Richmond must be evacuated, which was accordingly done, the capital being taken possession of by a detachment of the Federal army.

On April 9, 1865, the end came, Grant and Lee, at the Appomattox Court House, arranging the surrender of the army of Virginia. The terms

**Surrender  
of Lee.**

allowed the troops to lay down their arms, and return to their homes without hindrance. Johnston, in North Carolina, surrendered to Sherman on the same terms, and by the end of May all the Confederate armies had followed these examples. To crown all, on May 10, Jefferson Davis, the Confederate President, was taken prisoner. This was the end of the war, but, before peace had been concluded, the man who had done more by his cool judgment and unflinching courage to gain the victory for the North, the President, Abraham Lincoln, was murdered at Washington. On April 4, he was present, with Mrs. Lincoln, at Ford's Theatre, and, while sitting in his box, was treacherously shot by a young actor, named Booth, a violent secessionist. Thus died one of the greatest and most typical men the United States has ever yet produced; but he had done his work, and died for the cause for which so many of his fellow-countrymen had given their lives during the last four years—the cause of the emancipation of the slaves, which, it must be remembered, whatever other points of conflict were found as the war went on, was the fundamental cause of the struggle.

**Murder of  
Lincoln.**



## CHAPTER XVII.

### PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA, A.D. 1858-1866. THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR, A.D. 1870-71.

ON October 7, 1858, Prince William of Prussia became regent on behalf of King Frederick William IV., whose bad health prevented him from exercising his kingly functions, and took Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as his prime minister. As soon as he had definitely taken up the reins of government, proposals were made to Prussia by Austria to take a share in the war in Italy; but Prussia was unwilling to mix herself up in a quarrel whose only object was the confirmation of Austrian power, and the offer was therefore refused. The object nearest to the heart of the regent was the reconstruction of the Prussian army, and this he carried out thoroughly, with the assistance of Von Roon, the new war minister. On New Year's Day, 1861, the regent **William II.** became king of Prussia, and hoped to get **and** **Bismarck.** a military majority in the Landtag, but the new election gave a larger majority than ever to the progressive party. Determined, however, to hold to his policy, he made Bismarck-Schönhausen, an ardent upholder of it, prime minister. Bismarck's dearest wish was to substitute Prussia for Austria as the head of Germany, and all his actions were directed towards this result. Seeing that he would meet with great opposition from the Parliament, he governed for a time almost without its assistance, knowing that he was safe in the support of the army. At the beginning of 1863, Bismarck joined Russia in the suppression of a revolt in Poland, a step which, though it aroused considerable feeling throughout Europe, showed Prussia to be ready to act for herself in a case which she saw to be of importance.

In July 1863, the emperor convened a congress at Frankfort to discuss a federation scheme which should place the central authority in the hands of Austria, but, upon Prussia's refusing to attend the congress, the scheme fell to pieces. At this

moment, the Schleswig-Holstein question, which had been disturbing Europe for some time, entered into a new phase. On March 30, 1863, a new constitution was proclaimed in Denmark, by which Schleswig became a Danish province, Holstein still retaining to some extent her independent position.

**The  
Schleswig-  
Holstein  
Question.**

Upon this, Austria, unwilling to let pass a question which was of vital importance to the smaller states, proposed that the Confederation should demand the withdrawal of the new constitution, upon pain of "federal execution." Bismarck had no reason to desire the establishment of a separate sovereignty of the two duchies under the duke of Augustenburg, as had been proposed by Austria. He wished to see them under a German confederacy, of which Prussia should be the head, and this he eventually achieved, though only at the cost of a war with Denmark. Denmark herself refused every kind of compromise; but, at this juncture, King Frederick VII. died, and the whole question at once assumed a wholly different aspect. Prussia and Austria were bound by the protocol of 1852 to acknowledge King Christian IX. of Denmark as duke of Schleswig-Holstein, but the new constitution had violated this protocol by incorporating the duchies in the Danish kingdom. Holstein was therefore occupied in December by Saxon and Hanoverian troops, and was evacuated by the Danes without a blow, but the Danes were prepared to defend Schleswig with all their forces. The federal Diet therefore refused to acknowledge the right of King Christian to the duchies, and demanded the immediate acceptance of Duke Frederick, thus breaking with the provisions of the London protocol.

This action exactly suited Bismarck, who could now act as one of the great European powers who had signed the protocol. Austria adopted a similar policy, and threatened to occupy Schleswig with 60,000 men unless the constitution were repealed. This being refused, war was at once declared, and Schleswig was attacked by a joint force of Prussians and Austrians, 57,000 strong, under the command of Wrangel. Bismarck, in his own country, had to pursue an isolated policy, but, when supplies for the war were refused, he threatened resignation, and the king was forced to agree to the foreign policy which he wished to carry out. To the Austrians and Prussians the Danes opposed an army of 55,000, under de Meza. The duchy of Schleswig was protected by the Dannewerk (an ancient earthwork guarded

**The Danish  
War.**

by morasses), which was regarded as impregnable; but, by the freezing of the morasses, the allies were able to attack it directly, and the position was evacuated. On March 6, Jutland was invaded, and, on April 18, Düppel was stormed with great loss to the Danes, of whom 3600 were made prisoners. This victory aroused great enthusiasm in Berlin, the king himself going to Schleswig to review the conquering army on April 21. Great Britain, averse to the Prussian annexation of the duchies, summoned a conference in London, but it separated without result, the powers deciding to leave Denmark to her fate. As soon as the conference had broken up, hostilities were resumed, and Prince Frederick Charles attacked and captured the island of Alsens, which forced the Danes to sue for peace. Terms of peace were eventually signed at Vienna on October 30, 1864, Schleswig-Holstein being freed from Danish rule, and being placed under the joint administration of Prussia and Austria; and it was owing to the divergence between the policies of the two countries, which immediately became apparent, that the Austro-Prussian war took place.

Meanwhile, in Rome, a treaty had been signed on September 15, 1864, which provided that the French, who formed the garrison of the city, should evacuate it within two years, on condition that Florence instead of Turin should be made the capital of Italy. This caused discontent in Turin, but was, nevertheless, carried out, the government being transferred to Florence. The situation between Austria and Prussia still continued to be strained, Austria vacillating between Bismarck's policy and that of the Germanic Confederation, which still clung to Augustenburg. The differences became more and

**The Convention of Gastein.** more acute, until, by the Convention of Gastein in August 1865, it was agreed that Austria should be responsible for Holstein, and Prussia for Schleswig. In France this arrangement was regarded with suspicion, but Bismarck was able to reassure Napoleon, pointing out that a strong Prussia would be an assistance to France, whereas a weak Prussia would always be seeking allies against a hostile France. At this moment, the world was astonished by a proposal made by Austria to La Marmora, the prime minister of Italy, for the cession of Venetia. This offer Marmora refused: Venetia was only to be gained by fighting for it. Austria was, however, disposed to treat Italy with consideration, when, suddenly, Prussia acknowledged Victor Emmanuel as king of Italy, thus ruining all chance of continued good feeling between Austria and Italy.

Meanwhile, affairs in Schleswig and Holstein became worse and worse. Friction arose between the Prussian and Austrian representatives in the duchies, and, at last, on January 26, 1866, Bismarck wrote to Vienna to complain of the aggressive policy of Austria, and received a reply denying the right of Prussia to interfere in the affairs of Holstein. It was evident that the alliance between Prussia and Austria was at an end. It was now necessary for Prussia to gain over France and Italy to her side, and in April an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with the latter. Austria was seriously alarmed at this, and began to mass troops on the frontier, being unable to gain any satisfactory answer to her questions from Bismarck. It became necessary for Bismarck to bring about war with Austria within three months, the alliance with Italy having only been made for that period. He first attempted to secure his end by a proposal to reconstruct the Confederation, but this proved a failure, and, although it had the effect of making Austria mobilise her troops, which was replied to by the mobilisation of the Italian army, Prussia was held back by the unwillingness of the king to go to war.

On May 21, Bismarck made a final proposal for peace with Austria. The duchies should be united under the government of Prince Albert of Prussia, and Prussia and Austria should undertake the reform of the Confederation. Mensdorff, however, wrote, on May 28, that he was sorry that the strained relations between the two countries did not permit of intercourse on friendly terms. Napoleon now issued invitations to attend a congress, which was declined by Austria, who summoned the Diet to settle the difficulties in Germany. This was practically a declaration of war, as it was certain that the Diet would give its verdict against Prussia. On June 14, the resolution of the Diet was taken, and decided against Prussia, upon which the Prussian ambassadors were recalled and war began. The forces, as regards numbers, were fairly equally matched, the Prussians having 263,000 men, the Austrians 261,000, but in quality the Prussians were infinitely superior. The Prussians lost no time before beginning operations. Within three days, Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse were in their hands, and 75,000 troops had been rendered useless to the Confederation. In Italy, the outbreak of the war was the occasion of great joy, over 240,000 men were immediately mobilised, and it was thought that the Hungarians might also be roused against their Austrian

**Outbreak  
of War.**

neighbours, it being proposed to send Garibaldi into Hungary for the purpose, with 35,000 volunteers. At length, a declaration of war was sent to the Archduke Albert, and three days later, La Marmora made an attack on the Quadrilateral. In the battle fought at Custozza, La Marmora had 140,000 men, Archduke Albert only 82,000. But La Marmora was completely defeated, not more than half of his troops ever coming into action at all.

On June 18, the Prussians entered Dresden, the Saxon armies retreating into Bohemia, in order to join the Austrians. The Prussian troops were well received, and treated the inhabitants with great kindness, even assisting the peasants to carry in the hay harvest. The occupation of Saxony rendered the invasion of Bohemia easy. It was undertaken by two armies, one under the crown prince, the other under Prince Frederick Charles, and by the last day of June, after a series of conflicts, the two armies were able to open communication with each other, the Austrian general, Benedek, being forced to retreat to Königgrätz, from whence he telegraphed to the emperor begging him to make peace. To this, the emperor replied that it was impossible to make peace, and implied that he wished a decisive battle to take place. Accordingly, on June 3, Benedek fought the battle of Königgrätz. This, at first favourable to the Austrians, was decided in favour of the Prussians by the timely arrival of the crown prince, Benedek retreating to Königgrätz with the fragments of his army. The way now lay open to Vienna, and Benedek said that he had lost everything except the life which he desired to lose. The effect of this victory in France was immense, and the French were alarmed to see that a great power had suddenly sprung into existence by their side, a power whose intentions they were at a loss to determine.

Meanwhile Prussia was gaining victories in other parts of Germany. In the first days of July battles were fought at Dermbach, Hammelburg, and Kissingen, all favourable to the Prussians, while, on July 16, Frankfort was occupied, Prince Alexander retiring to the Odenwald. The main army, after resting for a few days after the battle of Königgrätz, advanced to Prague, which it occupied without resistance. The Austrians still held the railway between Olmütz and Vienna, but, before Benedek could convey his army to Vienna for the defence of the city, these communications had been destroyed, and, on July 18, 1866, King William encamped within sight of Vienna.

A last struggle took place on July 22, and Pressburg, the key of the passage between Austria and Hungary, was on the point of being captured, when it was reported to the Prussians by an Austrian messenger that a truce had been agreed upon. Austria was anxious for peace, as she could expect no assistance from France, and the peace of Prague was therefore concluded as soon as possible, the result of which was the exclusion of Austria from the Bund, the annexation by Prussia of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau, and the payment by the Austrians of an indemnity of 20,000,000 thalers. The war between Italy and Austria continued until the signature of the peace of Prague, but, though, in a sea battle at Lissa, the Austrians gained a victory, an armistice was signed on July 25, by which Italy was recognised as a kingdom by Austria, and Venetia was ceded to her. The French garrison departed from Rome before the end of the year, but when Garibaldi made a raid on the Papal States he was completely defeated at Mentana and taken prisoner.

**Peace of  
Prague.**

The close of the Austro-Prussian war left the Emperor Napoleon in a worse condition than ever, but it was his policy in Mexico which gradually brought about his downfall. Napoleon wished to establish the Archduke Maximilian of Austria on the throne of Mexico, and therefore, in the early part of 1862, he sent a French force to that country, with the object of deposing Juarez, the President, and placing Maximilian on the throne. This was effected, and, on April 14, 1864, Maximilian set out for Mexico, France guaranteeing to see him firmly established on his new throne. This was done, but the French acted in a disgraceful manner to the new emperor, and, owing to the insistence on the part of the United States on the withdrawal of French troops from Mexico, Maximilian was betrayed to his enemies, the revolutionaries, and, after making the best defence possible at Queretaro, he was captured by Juarez, and executed. The whole business was an ineffaceable stain on the honour of France and the Emperor Napoleon, and undoubtedly hastened the fall of the empire. In 1867 was held the Paris Exhibition, a glorious prelude to the tragedy which was so soon to be played. From this time on matters in France went from bad to worse, and the emperor could not disguise from himself the fact that his ascendancy must soon come to an end.

**The French  
in Mexico.**

On December 11, 1866, the French garrison left Rome, and the revolutionaries in Italy sought for a leader to help them to realise their dream of having Rome as the capital of Italy. This leader was found in Giuseppe Garibaldi, who immediately stirred up feeling against the pope. But the French determined that, if any move were taken against papal territory, they would send an army to the support of the Holy Father. An attempt having been made to enter Rome by the Tiber, a French expedition was immediately sent to the Eternal City, the Italians, alarmed at the return of the French, immediately placing an army in papal territory, so that there were now four armies in the pope's dominions—the French, the papal troops, the Italians, and the Garibaldians. A battle took place at Monte Rotondo, in which Garibaldi was defeated and taken prisoner, as has been already related. At the beginning of 1868 the emperor was extremely anxious concerning the designs of Prussia, the more so that all hope of an alliance with Italy was at an end, and France would have to stand alone in any contest.

#### THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR, A.D. 1870-71.

Meanwhile Bismarck, desiring above everything to make war upon France, and feeling confident that the Prussian army was quite capable of overwhelming that of France, was anxious not to allow any chance of a quarrel to slip through his hands. The actual cause of the war was the revolution in Spain. Queen Isabella was expelled from her country by the Spaniards, and it became necessary to find a new king, supposing that a monarchy were decided upon. One candidate for the throne was Leopold of Hohenzollern, to whose candidature Bismarck was very favourable. France, however, was determined that Leopold should not receive the Spanish throne, as this would greatly strengthen the Prussian position in Europe, and when he had agreed to put himself forward as a definite candidate, Gramont, the French foreign minister, sent an imperious message to Berlin. War now began to be seriously thought of in France, and at a council at St. Cloud, held on July 6, Lebœuf, the war minister, promised 250,000 men within four days. Benedetti was sent to Prussia to see King William and ask him to order Prince Leopold to withdraw his candidature, but, not receiving an immediate answer, was informed by Gramont that he could not wait for it longer than the following

day. On July 12, the candidature was withdrawn, but France was not satisfied. She had not humiliated Prussia as she desired, and Benedetti was therefore ordered to demand from the king a guarantee that he would never support such a candidature. This was naturally refused, but matters might have closed smoothly had not Bismarck deliberately stirred up strife between the two countries. He altered portions of a despatch which he had received from the king, and made it appear that negotiations had been broken off. In the two capitals the publication of this despatch raised passions to fever heat. In Berlin it was believed that Benedetti had insulted the king, in Paris that the king had insulted Benedetti. Even now, however, peace might have been preserved, but, in reality, both nations were straining for war, and the final touch which inclined the balance to the side of war was given by the empress, who insisted that peace was incompatible with the honour of France. France declared war on July 19, and the rival armies immediately began their mobilisation.

**Policy of  
Bismarck.**

It now became apparent how greatly France had overrated her preparedness for war, whereas the Prussian army was absolutely ready for action, in every detail, and was prepared to march at almost a moment's notice.

**The War  
begins.**

At the end of July, the French main army, 200,000 strong, was placed in the neighbourhood of Metz, and was joined by the emperor, the prince imperial, and Lebœuf. In the direction of Alsace lay the southern army under Macmahon, while at Châlons lay a third, composed of reservists and *gardes mobiles*, who were, however, by no means fit for a campaign. The German army was also divided into three main divisions, or sections—the right wing, under Steinmetz, 61,000 strong—the left wing divided into two divisions, one, 206,000 strong, under Prince Frederick Charles, the other, 180,000 strong, under the crown prince—while the centre was under the command of the king, with Moltke as chief of staff. The whole German forces were reckoned at about 984,500 men, the French at 798,000, but the numbers actually in the field were considerably less than these estimates.

The first action took place at Saarbrücken, where the French drove the Prussians back, and succeeded in occupying some Prussian territory. This attack was answered by the crown prince in the battle of Weissenberg, on the Lauter, whence the French, under Douay, who was mortally wounded in the battle,



were driven with considerable loss, 700 being made prisoners. Macmahon, seeing a general attack by the Germans to be imminent, took up a strong position on the left bank of the Sauer, with his centre holding Würth, placing his headquarters at Froeschweiler. Here he was attacked by the crown prince with 90,000 men, as against his own 40,000. Würth was captured, and the French army took to flight, leaving France open to the Germans. On July 6, the army of Lorraine was also defeated. Frossard established his headquarters at Forbach, his army stretching from Stiringen to Spicheren. The battle began at eleven in the morning, and by evening the French, overwhelmed by the continual reinforcements of the Prussians, were compelled to retreat, losing 4000 men in the struggle.

By the 7th, news of the defeats reached Paris, and a demand for the deposition of the emperor was heard, coupled with a determination to put Paris in a condition of defence. Napoleon surrendered the military command to Bazaine. It was now determined to withdraw the whole army behind the Meuse, and the retreat was begun on August 14. They were followed by

**Bazaine  
shut up in  
Metz.**

the Prussians, and at Borny, in the neighbourhood of Metz, Bazaine, wishing to free himself from the rear attacks made by the Germans, fought the battle of that name, which produced no decisive result, the Prussian losses being rather larger than those of the French. On August 16, the French were surprised at Vionville, but a furious resistance was made. On the arrival of the crown prince, however, Bazaine retired to the neighbourhood of Metz, which was immediately invested by an army of 175,000 men, under Prince Frederick Charles. It was Bazaine's intention to retreat to Verdun, but, by wasting seven days, he gave the Prussians time to cut off his retreat, so that he had to remain in his original position, with his headquarters at Plappeville. In the operations occasioned by this, an action was fought at St. Privat, in which the Prussians were successful, the French being gradually forced back upon Metz.

In the meantime, matters going so hardly for the French, they began to look round for an ally, but they had previously

**The Capitulation of  
Sedan.**

alienated all those who could have been likely to help them, and, after the events of August it was hopeless to expect assistance. Macmahon set out from Reims with 130,000 men, to try to effect a junction with Bazaine, but this he was unable to do, the Prussians under

Moltke closing in upon him on every side. On August 30 was fought the battle of Beaumont, where all the French baggage and a large number of prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy, the French camp being finally pitched at Sedan. At Sedan, on September 1, was fought the bloodiest, and, to the French, the most disastrous battle of the war. Early in the day Macmahon was wounded, and the command was taken by Wimpffen. But Moltke had laid his plans too carefully for any escape for the French to be possible, and, in the evening the emperor, who was present at the battle, surrendered to the king of Prussia, all the army being made prisoners, to the number of 104,000.

In Paris, the news of the surrender caused a revolution, which was probably engineered by the advanced liberals, under Blanqui. On the proposal of Thiers, a "government of the national defence" was formed, of which Trochu, whom Napoleon had made commander of Paris, was the head. The empress, seeing that all was lost, fled to England, and it was determined to defend Paris against the Prussians, who were already almost at its gates. By September 19, the investment of the city was complete, 250,000 men being employed. Paris was extremely strongly defended, but the Prussians had no desire to storm the capital, knowing that the 2,000,000 people who were shut up in it could not long be supplied with food, and that the city must then fall. The lines of investment were therefore made quite impenetrable, and the Parisians were left to "stew in their own juice," as Bismarck said. Meanwhile, Strassburg had been captured by the Prussians, and Toul, in Lorraine, fell on September 23, after a terrible bombardment.

**End of the  
Second  
Empire.**

A natural result of the fall of the empire was the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, and the establishment of it as the capital of Italy. On August 29, a declaration was made that the capital would be transferred to Rome before the end of September.

**The Italians  
in Rome.**

Victor Emmanuel proposed that the pope should be left in charge of the Leonine city—that is to say, the part of the city across the Tiber—but this the pope refused, and the division between church and state still continues. On September 11, the Italian troops entered the papal territory, and Viterbo was occupied without opposition. The city of Rome was garrisoned by 9000 men, but the extent of wall to be defended was too great for an adequate provision to be made at all points against

attack. The storm began on September 20, and after three hours' fighting the Italians had penetrated the walls, and Rome was in their hands. A plebiscite taken on October 2 decided, by 136,681 votes to 1507, for the annexation of the papal territory, an event which, in the general turmoil of European affairs, passed almost without notice.

On October 5, King William moved his headquarters to Versailles, while St. Cloud and Malmaison were destroyed, at least partially, by the French themselves.

**Siege of  
Paris.**

Sorties from Paris were of frequent occurrence, but little was gained by them. Bazaine, who might, even now, have changed the fortunes of the war, if he had continued to hold out in Metz, capitulated at the end of October, his whole army—160,000 strong—becoming prisoners of war. During the remainder of 1870, numerous engagements took place around Paris; indeed it may be said that the northern half of France was one large battlefield, the *gardes mobiles* and free corps, who had been joined by Garibaldi and his sons, giving great trouble to the Prussians. But the general result was that town after town fell, and the position of Paris became more and more hopeless, although numerous attempts were made to relieve it. In the city itself, Trochu did his best to second these attempts by repeated sorties, but all was in vain. On December 26, St. Stephen's Day, the bombardment of Paris, which had been long deferred, was begun, and continued until January 19, when Trochu made one last effort and marched with his whole force of 100,000 men in the direction of St. Cloud. After an obstinate fight, he was driven back upon Paris, with a loss of 7000 men. An armistice was eventually signed on January 28, to last until February 19.

Before this the peoples of Germany had offered the crown of the German empire to King William, in view of the brilliant success of his arms in the war. On December 18, 1870, a deputation waited upon the king asking him to accept the new dignity, and he personally acceded to it, the new state of things being arranged to come into existence on January 1 of the following year. William was crowned emperor at Versailles, on January 18, 1871, the 117th anniversary of the foundation of the Prussian kingdom under Frederick I. In Paris, preparations were being made for a capitulation, which was carried out without difficulty, but the republicans refused to accept the situation, and fighting broke out again, Bourbaki being directed to invade Alsace.

**The German  
Empire.**

He was, however, surrounded by Werder, and his army, to avoid a capitulation, crossed the frontier into Switzerland, thus putting out of action the last of the four armies of France which had tried in vain to oppose the superior discipline of the Prussians.

**End of  
the War.**

So ended one of the most remarkable wars in history, in which larger masses of troops were employed than in any previous conflict. The losses of the Germans amounted to 118,000 men; those of the French are too numerous to calculate; while, whereas only 10,000 Germans were captured, at least, 400,000 Frenchmen fell into the hands of the Prussians.

When Paris had been occupied by the Prussians, a new National Assembly was elected, which met at Bordeaux, consisting of 750 deputies, of whom the majority were republicans, while Paris itself elected many revolutionaries. Thiers was placed at the head

**The Third  
Republic.**

of the executive, and on March 1 peace was ratified by the Assembly, by 546 votes to 107, Napoleon III. being formally deposed. On the same day, the German troops marched through the streets of Paris, a severe blow to French *amour propre*. The Parisians refused to acknowledge the Bordeaux Assembly, saying that the terms of peace to which it had agreed were disgraceful. On March 15, the National Guards established themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, hoisted the red flag, and formed the central committee of the Commune, the

**Paris  
and the  
Commune.**

president of which, Edward Moreau, was a commission agent. Arrangements were made for the elections, and several battalions of the National Guard were assembled in the Place Vendôme. On March 21, fighting took place between the troops of the Commune and the supporters of the National Assembly, which did not weaken the power of the committee. The elections were held on March 26, and the Commune was proclaimed, but the new committee was made up of men of very various opinions, few of whom were in agreement with each other. However excellent were the intentions of the Commune, it was made up of elements too contradictory to be able to effect anything, and Paris was continually harassed by the soldiers of the Assembly which was sitting at Versailles. It was finally decided by Thiers to besiege Paris

**Second  
Siege of  
Paris.**

a second time, and this was undertaken, with the help of the troops who had returned from captivity in Germany, under Macmahon. As he gradually conquered quarter after quarter of the city, the Commune was driven to

terrible lengths in its determination to leave nothing but a ruin to fall into the hands of the enemy. The hostages were murdered—Darboy, archbishop of Paris, being murdered at the altar—public buildings were destroyed ; but MacMahon at length became master of the city. The supporters of the Commune were treated with ruthless severity : 17,000 were executed, and the Socialists were entirely stamped out. New elections were held on May 1, and the moderate Republicans obtained a victory. Thiers, against whom there was no real opposition, as he held the predominant place in the country, was elected President of the French Republic, with the power of appointing and dismissing ministers. It was provided, however, that he as well as his ministers should be responsible to the Assembly. This meant the formation of a moderate republic, opposed equally to monarchy and to socialism, and it was on these principles that the final and definite constitution was formed in 1875. During

**The Treaty of Frankfort.** the height of these disturbances the peace of Frankfort was signed on May 10, by Bismarck on the one side and by Jules Favre and Pouyer-Quertier on the other. The arrangements concerning the indemnity of five milliards and the tracing of the frontier between Belfort and Thionville received the approval of the German Emperor and of the French Assembly. The closing of the war was received with great joy by the Germans, the foundation of the Empire being regarded as a kind of religious duty imposed upon them by God, which had been safely and honourably discharged.

The first German Reichstag or Parliament met on March 21, 1871, in Berlin, and had to consider the question of the government of Alsace and Lorraine. A sum of 12,000,000 marks was voted as a present to the generals and statesmen who had contributed to the success of their country in the war, and a similar sum was granted to the various governments as assistance towards the support of the reservists and others who were liable to military service.

To sum up the results of the Franco-Prussian war, which was so full of consequences to either country : To the Germans it meant the creation of the Empire and the unity of the country under Prussia ; to the French it meant the establishment of the Third Republic and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, together with the disappearance of the Bonaparte name from the annals of France ; while in Italy, through the enforced withdrawal of French support from the Papal States, it meant the overthrow of the temporal power of the pope, and the establishment of the Italian capital at Rome.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### TURKEY AND EGYPT, A.D. 1875-1898—THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, A.D. 1895-1902.

ENGLAND had witnessed the aggrandisement of Prussia and the fall of France, if not with indifference, at least with outward calm. She had desired to interfere in defence of Denmark, but was convinced by reflection how unwise such a course would be. The struggle between Prussia and Austria was one in which she could well remain neutral, there being no reason why she should favour one party rather than the other; and in the mighty struggle between France and Germany, although there were reasons which impelled her to action on both sides, an attitude of strict neutrality was a prudent if hardly a dignified course. Consequently when peace came, although Gladstone's ministry had covered itself with credit in respect of liberal progress at home and of temperate abstention from complications which might be dangerous abroad, and had set an example of high-minded love of peace in the settlement of the Alabama dispute with America, yet when a new Parliament had to be elected in 1874, the dissatisfaction with Gladstone's pacific policy was shown by a triumphant victory for the Conservative party at the polls. Contrary to his own expectations and to those of Europe generally, Disraeli found himself called to power without a policy and without a cry, except a mandate to reverse the conduct of his predecessor.

The new prime minister therefore determined that the voice of England should be heard in foreign politics, and a dispute was raging at the moment between Russia and Turkey, which gave him an opportunity of carrying this into effect. The condition of Turkey at this time was one of great disorder, several of the smaller states included in her dominions being anxious for separation. It was impossible for her to carry out reforms in these subject provinces, however anxious she might be to do so, and she had

**Gladstone  
and  
Disraeli.**

**The Con-  
dition of  
Turkey.**

recourse to those methods of violent repression which have always been her resource, but which in more civilised times can no longer be treated with the toleration which they once received. After the treaty of Frankfort, the relations between the Christians and their Mohammedan masters became less endurable, and, the condition of finance in Turkey being that of a national bankruptcy, the Turkish tax farmers in the provinces resorted to the most cruel methods to extract money to pay

**The Revolt in Herzegovina.** themselves and the troops. In July 1875, an armed insurrection caused by these abuses broke out first in Herzegovina and then in Bosnia.

Women, children, and old men took refuge in Austria and Montenegro, while the men and youths began a regular warfare against the Turkish troops. The rising rapidly gained strength, and the insurgents took up strong positions in the passes and the ravines.

Russia now came forward as the protector of the Slavs. Prussia and Austria were not unwilling to support her in this action, but England refused to take their side.

**Russia Intervenes.** Matters became worse by Bulgaria's joining the insurrection and its being put down by atrocities

which horrified the public opinion of Europe. Thousands of Christian men, women, and children were murdered, mutilated, or violated. The news came before Parliament, investigation proving the truth to be worse instead of better, and it was now seen that the policy of Disraeli, shortly to become Lord Beaconsfield, was entirely different from that of Gladstone, as he treated the matter with cynical indifference. Gladstone published a pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Atrocities," demanding the entire withdrawal, "bag and baggage," of the Turks from their European provinces. Beaconsfield at the Guildhall, on November 9, seemed to threaten war against Russia. A conference was held at Constantinople, which produced no effect, and the emperor of Russia determined to proceed with his work alone, and in April 1877 declared a war which he hoped might be the harbinger of a new day for the Slavic race.

After a severe struggle, the war was decided in favour of the Russians by the fall of Plevna. The victorious army descended

**The Treaty of San Stefano.** the valley of the Maritza, and, on the last day of January 1878, an armistice was signed at San Stefano which led to the treaty of that name, the

wisest measure ever proposed for the pacification of the Balkan Peninsula. It created a new Bulgaria, with a seaport; Servia,

Montenegro, and Roumania were acknowledged as independent, Bosnia and Herzegovina being made self-governing provinces, Russia receiving an indemnity of twelve millions. This excellent arrangement was received in England with a shout of indignation, which was ignorant and irrational; war nearly broke out, but it was agreed that the treaty should be laid before a congress to be summoned at Berlin. There it was settled that Bulgaria should be divided into two parts, one of which, called Eastern Roumelia, was to remain under the control of the Sultan; Bosnia and Herzegovina became practically the property of Austria; and Servia was made independent, as well as Montenegro. Beaconsfield and Salisbury returned to London, saying that they had brought back "peace with honour." But the treaty of Berlin meant neither: it secured neither the peace of the Balkan peninsula nor the proper treatment of the Christians whom it left to the Turks. It has since been violated by almost every power which signed it. Two wars have followed it, which it should have prevented. Its history gives rise to a train of melancholy reflections.

**The Treaty  
of Berlin.**

The imperial policy thus inaugurated was carried out in other parts of the world. Attempts were made to found what is called a scientific frontier in India, by taking in the Hindu Koosh and its spurs, with such outposts as might be necessary to secure the passes. This policy was opposed by all those who were best acquainted with India. A similar policy was pursued against the Zulus in South Africa. This war, in which the French prince imperial met his death, ended with the defeat and captivity of Cetewayo, but brought no honour to the English arms. The war in Afghanistan was as disastrous as these enterprises have generally been, as a country which is easily overrun is difficult to leave. It was illustrated by the brilliant march of Roberts to Kandahar, by which that important city was saved, but the "forward policy" had to be given up, Kandahar being evacuated in 1881. Since then, by the wisdom of five succeeding viceroys—Ripon, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Elgin, and Curzon—the mistakes of Beaconsfield have been remedied, and for many years there have been no serious wars upon the Indian frontier. But waters once stirred into commotion are with difficulty quieted, and in Egypt Gladstone inherited the results of a policy which he had not created, and founded on principles of which he disapproved.

**The N.W.  
Frontier of  
India.**



The condition of Egypt was one of great difficulty. It had been proposed at the Congress of Berlin that it should be occupied by England, but the liberals were reluctant to do this, partly from unwillingness to increase the national responsibilities, partly from regard to France, so that the management of the country was left under the joint control of England and France. The French republic was not strong enough to carry these arrangements out, and a movement for independence took place in Egypt,—

**Arabi and  
the Army.**

Arabi, an Egyptian colonel, determining to secure the self-government of his country. This might have been reasonable had he been able to achieve his end, and had it been certain that his enterprise would not end in anarchy. On June 11, 1882, a riot took place in Alexandria, during which the English, Greek, and French consuls were attacked and about 200 people were killed. It was certain that Arabi could not control this revolt, and the powers had to interfere. France refused to act, and the work was left to the English. Alexandria was bombarded by the English fleet, a military expedition under Wolseley was sent from England, the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was fought, and Cairo was captured. England ought to have undertaken the duty of controlling Egypt, but Gladstone and Granville were afraid of the responsibility, and our position remained most unsatisfactory and ill-defined.

What was to be done with the Soudan and other provinces, which were now being attacked by a religious fanatic, the Mahdi?

**The  
Mahdist  
Outbreak.**

Gladstone resolved to evacuate them, but it was necessary to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the places attacked, especially Khartoum. Charles Gordon, who had gained a great name in China, was sent to effect this, being told that he could receive no further support from England. This, however, was impossible, and public opinion demanded that he should be reinforced or at least protected from personal violence. Much time was lost in deciding by which route Khartoum should be approached,

**Gordon at  
Khartoum.**

but eventually, when the steamers sent down by Gordon to meet the relieving force returned to Khartoum, it was found that it was too late—that Khartoum had been taken by the Mahdi, and Gordon killed. The news reached England on February 5, and caused an outbreak of universal indignation. The queen blamed her ministers in an open telegram: a vote of censure was moved

in both Houses, and lost in the Commons by only fourteen votes. No adequate defence could be made, and the Soudan had to be given up. All the circumstances connected with the loss of Khartoum were most discreditable, and the death of Gordon remains an indelible stain on the liberal government of 1880.

Meanwhile, difficulties were caused by new activity on the part of the Irish Nationalists, by dynamite outrages in various parts of London, and, above all, by the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish in Phoenix Park on the day on which he was admitted as Irish secretary. The prestige of the government had been also weakened by giving independence to the Boers in the Transvaal, just after they had inflicted a serious defeat on the English at Majuba Hill—a wise measure which was sure to be misconstrued. In 1884, by the extension of the county franchise, the number of voters was increased from three millions to five. But the strength of the government was gradually exhausted, and, in 1885, being beaten by twelve votes on a trifling question, it resigned.

The consequent elections produced a majority for the liberals, and Gladstone determined to settle the Irish question by introducing a measure of Home Rule, establishing a subordinate government in Dublin, under the control of the Imperial Parliament. Many leading liberals now refused to follow Gladstone, and the bill was defeated by thirty votes. Gladstone resigned, and was succeeded by Salisbury. It was now determined to enforce upon Ireland a period of resolute government, the carrying out of which was entrusted to Arthur Balfour, who became Irish secretary. In spite of his severity, his honesty and straight-forwardness made him respected and even beloved by those who were most opposed to him. The Parliament of 1886 came to a natural end in 1892, and the general election made Gladstone prime minister for the fourth time, eager to carry Home Rule but without a majority sufficient to pass any important measure without the help of the Irish. A Home Rule Bill was carried in the Commons in 1893 by 43 votes, but defeated in the Lords by 457 to 41, the largest division ever taken in the House. The result of this was that Gladstone's last cabinet council was held on March 1, 1894, and his last speech in the Commons, delivered the same afternoon, was a vigorous attack upon the House of Lords. Lord Rosebery succeeded by the queen's wish to the post of prime minister, but resigned in 1895, the government having been defeated by a majority of 7 on a paltry question.

Egypt became civilised under British rule. The land was both irrigated and drained. In ten years, the cotton and sugar crops were trebled, and the country was covered by a network of railways and agricultural roads. In 1898, a dam was established at Assuan. The native soldiers were well fed and clothed, and trained to become efficient instruments of war. The army was strengthened by the enrolment of black volunteers from the Soudan. This progress created a desire to recover the Soudan, which had been abandoned, and this was stimulated by the danger of the Italians, losing Kassala, which they had occupied at our suggestion, and, to some extent, for our convenience. It was therefore determined to save Kassala by a diversion in the direction of Dongola. There were also other rivals for the possession of the territory which we desired. The French were advancing from the south-west, the Belgians from the south. So the government determined to advance to Akasha to avert the danger which threatened Italy, Egypt, and Great Britain. This was opposed by the liberals in the House of Commons and elsewhere. Kitchener, starting on March 21, 1896, completely defeated the Dervishes at Firket, and cleared forty miles of the Nile valley. The Dervishes received a second severe blow on April 8, 1898, in what is known as the battle of the Atbara. Mahmoud was taken prisoner, and Kitchener made a triumphal entry into Berber. Omdurman, lying opposite Khartoum, could not be taken until the Nile had risen sufficiently to make an attack possible. However, at last, the battle was won, and the victorious army was able to take possession of Khartoum. The prisoners found there were released—one of them, a German, having been kept in chains for eleven years—and large stores of ammunition were found in the arsenal. The Mahdi's tomb was destroyed as an act of necessary vengeance, and a memorial service was held in the remains of Gordon's palace at Khartoum.

The taking of Khartoum was followed by an incident which nearly caused a war between England and France. Lieutenant Marchand had occupied Fashoda and hoisted the French flag. Kitchener hastened to the spot, told Marchand that his position was impossible, landed some troops, and hoisted the Egyptian flag 500 yards from the French flag, after which he returned to Cairo. For twenty-four hours war between the two countries seemed probable, the French holding that Fashoda had been abandoned, and might

be claimed by either France or Belgium, while the British asserted that the whole valley of the Nile belonged to Egypt. But by the end of the year peaceful counsels prevailed. By an agreement signed in January 1899, Great Britain obtained sovereign rights in the Soudan, in conjunction with the Khedive, based upon the right of conquest, thus avoiding mistakes which had produced such disastrous results in Egypt. Consequently, the Soudan has advanced greatly in prosperity, the population has increased, and Port Soudan on the Red Sea has become a serviceable harbour. The White Nile has been rendered navigable by the removal of 400 miles of *sudd*, conglomerated water weed; and a centre of enlightenment for the Soudan has been provided by establishing the Gordon University at Khartoum.

#### THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, A.D. 1895-1902.

The last years of Queen Victoria's reign were saddened by troubles in the Transvaal, the economical condition of which had been entirely altered by the discovery of gold mines. The revenue of the Transvaal, which was £177,876 in 1885, had increased to £4,480,217 in 1897. Crowds of all nations flocked to this new source of wealth, the foreign settlers—Dutch, German, French, and English—being known as Uitlanders. Differences naturally arose. The Boers were wedded to a country life: the new settlers lived in towns for the purpose of making money. The Boers regarded the natives as little better than wild animals, whereas the English endeavoured to convert and teach them. But the chief cause of difference was undoubtedly the gold mines, which had made the Transvaal so unexpectedly valuable. The Uitlanders put forward grievances which had little foundation, and were greatly exaggerated by the English press, though the condition of the Transvaal was certainly peculiar, as the number of foreign settlers was nearly double that of the Boers, and they paid nineteen-twentieths of the taxes.

#### The Transvaal.

These smouldering embers burst into a blaze when Jameson made a raid into the Transvaal on December 29, 1895, with the view of joining the Uitlanders in Johannesburg, who, it is said, were ready to rise. The insane enterprise collapsed entirely; the raiders surrendered, and might justifiably have been shot, but Kruger magnanimously surrendered them to the English government. This

#### Jameson's Raid.

raid convinced Kruger, president of the Transvaal, that it was necessary to arm if he wished to preserve the independence of his country. A fort was built, and arms were imported by way of Delagoa Bay. There was no organised conspiracy against British rule, but the idea of a Dutch South Africa came again into prominence.

In February 1897, Sir Alfred Milner was sent out as Governor to examine the situation, and, unfortunately, came to the conclusion that war was inevitable, believing that it would be short and decisive, but that any attempt at conciliation would be a mistake. A conference held at Bloemfontein came to nothing. The Boers issued an ultimatum which expired on October 11, 1899, and the British Parliament, meeting a few days later, voted £10,000,000 for the conduct of the war. The public opinion of Europe was strongly opposed to our action. England had hitherto posed as the supporter of liberty and the defender of the weak. Germany took full advantage of the opportunity. Though preserving a neutrality which the Boers always hoped would not continue, she set herself to extend her commerce and increase her fleet. The Boers invading Natal, the English retired on Ladysmith, where eventually 12,000 British troops were shut up. It was recognised that the week between December 10 and December 17, 1899, was the blackest known in that generation, and the most disastrous of the century to British arms. In seven days the British had lost, in three separate actions, 3000 men and 12 guns, causing their enemies to triumph and themselves to despair. England now realised the importance of the enterprise she had rashly undertaken, and sent her best general, Lord Roberts, to take command, with Kitchener as chief of the staff.

After long struggles, the enormous forces at the disposal of Roberts began to produce an effect; Johannesburg was occupied on May 31, and Pretoria on June 5. The war became a guerilla conflict, in which De Wet played a conspicuous part. Farmhouses were destroyed, with everything that they contained, and the women and children were collected together in concentration camps, where they suffered great hardships. Long lines of blockhouses were erected, never more than a thousand paces from each other, joined together with barbed wire, and so placed that they were visible to each other. Present opinion is that the burning of the farmhouses tended rather to prolong than to shorten the war, as it created great resentment among

the famishing Boers. Fortunately, orders given to destroy many more farmhouses in Cape Colony were disregarded. De Wet has expressed the opinion that the blockhouses prolonged the war for three months, by enabling the elusive Boers to escape their pursuers, and it is certain that they did not repay the cost of building them. At the end of January 1902, a drive was formed with the object of forcing De Wet against one of the two lines of blockhouses, but it was entirely unsuccessful.

By this time King Edward had succeeded Queen Victoria, and it was obvious that a coronation could not be held during the continuance of the war, as nations opposed to us would take the opportunity of offering insults. It was therefore suggested that some informal overtures towards peace should be made. Kruger was now in Europe, so that his place was taken by Schalkburger, vice-president of the Transvaal, while Stein represented the Orange Free State. A meeting was held at Klerkdrorp, on April 9, 1902, Louis Botha and De Wet also being present. They declared that unconditional surrender was impossible, but that terms for peace might be put forward.

The final treaty was signed at Vereeniging, the negotiations continuing from May 18 to May 29, and, the treaty being signed at Kitchener's house in Pretoria on May 31, the war came to an end, having cost this country £270,000,000. A constitution for South Africa was ratified by act of Parliament in September 1909. By this instrument, a governor-general is appointed by the crown, and there is a Parliament of two houses, the members of which must be British subjects of European descent. Lord Gladstone, the son of the great minister whose life occupied so many pages of English history, was appropriately appointed to be first governor-general.

**The Treaty  
of Vereeni-  
ging.**

A war between China and Japan, of which we are not able to give a detailed account, was closed by the treaty of Shimonoseki, signed in the spring of 1895. The success of Japan in this war was entirely unexpected by those who knew the belligerent countries best, but it led to a still more unexpected result—a war between Japan and Russia. This was declared on February 5, 1904. A small Asiatic power, only a short time ago a stranger to European affairs, challenged a colossus, of whose encroachments all the world was afraid, who had her feet in the east and west, and seemed to bestride the habitable globe. Japan, however, had well calculated

**Rise of  
Japan.**

**The Russo-  
Japanese  
War.**

the task which lay before her, and deserved the success which she achieved. We must content ourselves with a short account of this momentous struggle, which has produced important results and may produce more. The first object of the Japanese was to capture Port Arthur, which was effected on January 1, 1905. After this the interest of the war centred round Mukden. The Japanese had five armies, numbering altogether about 300,000 men, concentrated within striking distance of the enemy. Mukden was defended by Kuropatkin, who was finally obliged to execute a disorderly retreat.

A notable incident in the war was the entire failure of the Russian fleet, especially that part of it commanded by Rozhdeshtvensky, whose operations began by firing at English trawlers on the Dogger Bank, imagining that some of them were Japanese. He stopped a long time at Madagascar to train his crews, and got his squadron together in the China Sea on May 9. He had eight battleships, twelve cruisers, nine destroyers, and a number of auxiliary ships, but he was entirely defeated by Admiral Togo in the battle of Tushima. In less than three-quarters of an hour from the beginning of the engagement, the battleships of the two main Russian columns were out of action, and the admiral himself was severely wounded. On the following day, the Russian fleet was annihilated, and only four ships out of the whole armada reached Vladivostok. Peace was made by the mediation of Roosevelt, president of the United States, and the treaty of Portsmouth gave to Japan most of the objects for which she had begun the war. The victory of Japan was a great surprise to the world, but also a great lesson. She owed her success to the patriotic devotion with which statesmen, diplomats, soldiers, and sailors had worked harmoniously together to achieve a common result, whereas the Russians had been inspired by no enthusiasm, nor did their leaders possess unity, either of purpose or action. By the system of Bushido the Japanese were trained to prefer the interest of the state to that of the individual, and to consider death preferable to dishonour.

We must hurry to the end of our period. Mr. Gladstone died on May 19, 1898, and was buried on May 28 in Westminster Abbey. A more impressive sight was never seen in a church which has witnessed so many solemn spectacles. Both Houses of Parliament marched in procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, and the majestic appearance of the Speaker

at the head of the Commons will never be forgotten. Gladstone's death was followed by Sir William Harcourt's resignation of the leadership of the liberal party in the House of Commons. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, whose abilities were only surpassed by his modesty. He died in 1908. He was not actually buried in Westminster Abbey, but the memorial service held there in his honour was as impressive as any funeral. Queen Victoria died on Friday, January 22, 1901, being eighty-one years of age, and having reigned for sixty-three years seven months and two days. Her death produced an indescribable effect all over the world, especially perhaps in India, where she was regarded not only as a sovereign, but almost as an object of worship. No one who witnessed it will ever forget the passage of the queen's coffin across London, from Paddington to Victoria, attended by her son and grandson, the new King and the German Emperor.

King Edward was now advanced in years, and nearly forty years had passed since his father's death, but during that time he had been, by a fault of judgment on his mother's part, carefully excluded from every share in the government. At the coronation, Lord Salisbury could not be present as prime minister, and his place was taken by his nephew, Arthur Balfour. Indeed, the death of Lord Salisbury on August 22, 1903, shows that his resignation could not have been much longer delayed. King Edward is generally known as the "Peace Maker," because he followed a policy of coming to a friendly understanding with other nations between whom disputes were pending which might, under certain circumstances, bring about a war. The consequence was that during his reign personal dislike of Great Britain gradually faded away. It was interesting to see him, when visiting a foreign bath, welcomed with enthusiasm by Russians, French, Austrians, and, above all, Germans, those thronging to do him honour who had been most embittered against England and against him personally during the Boer War. Asquith now became prime minister, and Lloyd-George chancellor of the exchequer. The step of making the veto of the House of Lords suspensive instead of absolute, which had been passionately urged by Gladstone and Rosebery, and had been promised by Campbell-Bannerman, was being brought to a practical settlement by the king and the prime minister when, at the very moment of this crisis, King Edward died, after a short illness, on Friday, May 6, 1910.

King  
Edward VII.





# I.—INDEX OF PERSONS

- AARON**, 51  
**Abbasids**, the, 280, 281  
**Abbio**, 287  
**Abdallah**, 281  
     — father of Mohammed, 274  
**Abdel Mumin**, 402  
**Abderahman**, of Cordova, 281, 400  
     — of Seville, 304  
**Abdul Malek**, 279  
**Abercromby**, General, 675  
**Aberdeen**, earl of, 724  
**Abeshu**, 30  
**Abgarus of Edessa**, 230  
**Abijah**, king of Judah, 58  
**Abizid**, the, 488  
**Abraham**, 50  
**Abu Bekr**, 275-277  
**Abu Dial**, 275  
**Abulkasem**, 33  
**Abu Taleb**, 275  
**Acca Laurentia**, 132  
**Accursi**, Francesco, 429  
**Achmed III.**, sultan, 618, 619  
**Achtol**, 12  
**Adalbero**, bishop of Augsburg, 299  
     — archbishop of Reims, 335  
**Adalbert**, king of Italy, 327  
**Adalbert**, St., of Prague, 338, 339  
**Adalgis**, 285, 286  
**Addington**, Henry (Viscount Sidmouth), 675, 678  
**Adela of Blois**, 408  
**Adelheid**, wife of Louis the Stammerer, 297  
     — wife of Otto I., 327, 329, 333, 335, 336  
**Adhemar of Puy**, 346  
**Adherbal**, 187, 188  
**Adimari**, the, 488  
**Adolf of Nassau**, emperor, 445  
**Adorno family**, 487  
**Aegidius of Soissons**, 261  
**Aelfred the Great**, 305-308  
     — [the Atheling], 313  
**Aelfrida**, mother of Aethelred II., 310  
**Aemilianus**, Roman emperor, 233  
**Aeschines**, 126, 128  
**Aeschylus**, 70, 95, 97  
**Aethelbald**, king of Wessex, 306  
**Aethelbert**, king of Kent, 271  
     — king of Wessex, 306  
**Aethelgiva**, wife of Edwy, 309  
**Aethelred I.**, king of Wessex, 306  
     — II., the Unready, 310-318, 397  
**Aethelstan**, king of England, 301, 308, 309  
     — king of Kent, 305  
**Aethelwold**, nephew of Aelfred the Great, 308  
**Aethelwulf**, king of Wessex, 305, 306  
**Aethius**, 252-255  
**Afranius, L.**, 200  
**Agathocles**, king of Sicily, 157  
     — son of Lysimachus, 176  
**Agesilaus II.**, king of Sparta, 109, 110, 112, 115-117, 119, 120  
**Agilulf**, king of Lombards, 263  
**Agis IV.**, king of Sparta, 176  
**Agnes of Meran**, 439  
     — of Poitou, wife of Henry III., emperor, 341  
     — daughter of Ottokar of Bohemia, 446  
**Agricola**, Gn. Julius, 223  
     — Johann, 523  
**Agrippa**, M. Vipsanius, 212, 215, 227  
     — (Postumus), 215  
**Agrippina I.**, wife of Germanicus, 215, 218, 219  
     — II., wife of Claudius, 220, 221  
**Ahab**, king of Israel, 58-61  
**Ahaz**, king of Judah, 64  
**Ahaziah**, king of Israel, 61  
     — king of Judah, 61, 62  
**Ahenobarbus**, Gn. Domitius, 221  
     — L. Domitius, 200  
**Ahijah**, 56  
**Aiguillon**, Armand, duke of, 649  
**d'Ailly**, François, 476  
**Aistulf**, king of the Lombards, 273  
**Aladdin**, sultan of Iconium, 494  
**Alan of Brittany**, 298  
**Alaric**, king of the Visigoths, 249-251  
**Alba**, Fernando, third duke of, 522, 536, 537, 541, 542  
**Albergati**, Niccolo, 480  
**Alberic I.**, patrician of Rome, 302  
     — II., 302, 327, 330  
     — of Romano, 377, 385  
**Alberoni**, Cardinal, 623  
**Albert I.**, emperor, 444-446, 448, 492  
     — II., emperor (V. of Austria), 481  
     — count of Hapsburg, 375  
     — II., duke of Austria, 450, 471  
     — III., duke of Austria, 471  
     — archduke of Austria, 746  
     — cardinal archduke, 538  
     — the Bear, 347, 348, 359  
     — of Brandenburg, 516  
     — of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, prince consort, 734  
     — of Saxony (duke of Meissen), 508, 509  
     — Jeanne de, queen of Navarre, 540, 542

- Albinus, Clodius, 229  
 Albinski, General, 660  
 Albizzi family, 500  
 Alboin, king of the Lombards, 263  
 Albornoz, Cardinal, 483, 484  
 Alcibiades, 106-108  
 Alcmaeonid family, 84, 85  
 Aleuin, 286, 290  
 Alexander, Cardinal, 518  
 Alembert, J. B. le R. de, 628  
 Alexander of Macedon, I., 121  
   — — II., 118, 122  
   — — the Great, 122, 124, 165-175  
   — son of Alexander the Great, 174, 175  
   — of Phœnæ, 118, 119, 125  
   — (dope) III., 356, 357, 365, 402  
   — — IV., 384, 386, 427  
   — — V., 474, 476, 484  
   — — VI., 510, 513  
   — czar of Russia, 675, 681, 682, 685, 686,  
     691, 693, 694, 697, 706  
   — bishop of Lincoln, 409  
   — Nevski, 493  
 Alexis III., emperor, 363  
   — IV., emperor, 363  
   — czar of Russia, 614  
   — son of Peter the Great, 621  
 Alexius Comnenus, emperor, 317, 346  
 Alfonso, king of Aragon, I., 402  
   — — V., 467  
   — king of Castile, VI., 400, 401  
   — — — VII., 402  
   — — — X., 388, 389, 392, 443  
   — — — XI., 404  
   — IV., king of Portugal, 467  
 Ali, son of Abu Taleb, 275-278  
 Al Kamil, 370-372  
 Allemand, Louis de, bishop of Arles, 480  
 Allen, Cardinal, 553  
 Almanzor, caliph, 402  
   — James, 402  
 Almoravids, the, 401, 402  
 Almuazzam, 369  
 Alps, 299  
 Alphonse of Poitou, 440  
 Althorp, viscount, 711  
 Alva, duke of. *See* Alba  
 Alyattes, king of Lydia, 80  
 Amadeus, duke of Savoy. *See* Savoy  
 Amalasunta, 257-259  
 Amanrich, 246, 248  
 Amasis, 44, 80  
 Amaziah, king of Judah, 63  
 Ambrose, St., 248, 249  
 Amenemhet, king of Egypt: I., 12, 13;  
   III., 13-15; IV., 15  
 Amenophis III., king of Egypt, 39  
   — IV., king of Egypt, 39, 40  
 Amos, 62, 63  
 Amru, 277, 278  
 Amulius, king of Alba, 132  
 Amyntas I., king of Macedon, 76, 121  
   — III., king of Macedon, 112, 122  
   — son of Perdiccas, 122  
 Anacletus II., anti-pope, 318  
 Anacreon, 82  
 Anala, Danish king at York, 309  
 Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, 97, 105  
 Anaximander, 82  
 d'Ancre, Marshal, 573  
 Ancus Martius, 132, 133  
 Anderson (Roger), Major, 732  
 Andocides, 110  
 Andrew II., king of Hungary, 367, 491  
   — III., king of Hungary, 445, 492  
   — of Hungary, husband of Joanna I., 482,  
     484  
 Androcleides, 113  
 Andronicus, emperor, II., 494; III., 494;  
   IV., 495, 496  
 Angoulême, Louis Antoine, duc de, 706  
 Angus, Archibald Douglas, earl of, 548  
 Anhalt, Bernhard of, 359  
   — Prince Christian I. of, 559  
 Anjou, Francis, duke of, 537, 538, 543  
 Ann, wife of Henry of Carinthia, 446  
 Anna, czarina of Russia, 621  
   — wife of Rudolf of Hapsburg, 444  
   — of Savoy, wife of Andronicus III., 495  
 Anne, queen of England, 565, 603, 605-607,  
   610-613, 619  
   — of Austria, wife of Louis XIII., 573-577  
   — of Bohemia, wife of Richard II., 456  
   — Boleyn, wife of Henry VIII., 528-530,  
     532  
   — of Brittany, 465, 507, 510  
   — of Brunswick, regent of Russia, 621  
   — of Cleves, wife of Henry VIII., 530  
 Anno. *See* Hanno  
 Anselm, St., 405, 407  
 Ansgar, wife of Louis the Stammerer, 296  
 Anson, George, first viscount, 626  
 Antalcidas, 110; peace of, 110-11  
 Antef, 12  
 Anthemius, 253  
 Antigonus, 174, 175  
   — Doseu, 177  
   — Gonotæ, 176  
 Antinöus, 227  
 Antiochus I. (Soter), king of Syria, 178  
   — II. (Theos), king of Syria, 178  
   — III. (the Great), king of Syria, 178, 182,  
     183  
   — IV (Epiphanes), king of Syria, 184  
   — Hierax, 178  
 Antipater, 127, 166, 174, 175  
 Antoin of Bourbon, king of Navarre, 539-  
   541  
 Antonia of Bourbon-Vendôme, 539  
 Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor, 225, 227,  
   228, 234  
 Antoninus, G. (Hybrida), 196  
   — Lucius, 212  
   — Marcus, Triumvir, 190, 202, 210-213  
 Apokaukos, 495  
 Aprakin. *See* Apraxin  
 Apraxin, Stephen, 638  
 Apries (Hophra), king of Egypt, 44, 67, 68  
 Aquaviva, Cardinal, 434  
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 392  
 Arabi, Ahmad, Pasha, 758  
 Aratus of Sicron, 176, 177  
 Arbogast, 248  
 Arcadius, emperor, 249, 252, 253  
 Archelaos, of Macedon, 122  
 Archelaus, general of Mithradates, 192  
 Archias of Thebes, 113, 114  
 Archidamus II., king of Sparta, 106

Archidamus III., king of Sparta, 124  
 Archimedes, 102  
 Ardscher. *See* Artaxerxes  
 Aretino, L. Bruni, 476  
 Argyle, ninth earl of, 599  
 Argyros, 316  
 Ariarathes of Cappadocia, 179  
 Aribio, archbishop of Mainz, 341  
 Arichis of Beneventum, 287  
 Ariobarzanes, Persian general, 160  
 Ariovistus, German chief, 199  
 Aristides "the Just" 88, 92, 94, 95  
 Aristogiton, Pisistratid, 82, 83, 169  
 Aristogoras of Miletus, 75, 84, 85  
 Arius, heretic, 246, 249  
 Arkwright, Richard, 645  
 Arlington, earl of, 595, 597  
 Arminius, German chief, 214, 218  
 Arnold of Brescia, 351-353  
 Arnold, archbishop of Cologne, 350  
 Arnulf, emperor, 297, 300, 305, 307  
 — bishop of Metz, 283, 287  
 Arpad, king of Hungary, 300  
 Arrian, 227  
 Artabanos, 100  
 Artaphernes, brother of Darius Hystaspes, 84  
 — nephew of Darius Hystaspes, 86  
 Artavasdes, king of Armenia, 212  
 Artaxerxes I., king of Persia, 74, 96, 100, 102,  
 103, 108, 109, 111, 119, 120  
 — III., king of Persia, 172  
 — (Ardscher), founder of the Sassanidae, 232  
 Artemidorus, 202  
 Arteveld, James von, 435  
 Arthur of Brittany, 415, 417, 419  
 Arthur Tudor, son of Henry VII., 528  
 Artrad of Thuringia, 287  
 Arundel, Archbishop, 457, 460  
 — earl of, 456, 457  
 Aryandes, 75  
 Asa, king of Judah, 57, 58  
 Asinibaldi, Theobald, 388  
 Aspasia, 105  
 Asquith, H. H., 765  
 Asur Nasir Habib, 46, 47  
 Astyages, 69, 75, 80  
 Asurbanipal, 49  
 Ataulf, king of the Visigoths, 251  
 Athalaric, king of the Ostrogoths, 258  
 Athaliah, queen of Judah, 59  
 Athanaric the Goth, 248  
 Athanasius, St., 246  
 Athenais. *See* Eudoxia  
 Atossa, 71, 76  
 Atoti, 5  
 Attalus I., king of Pergamum, 179  
 — III., king of Pergamum, 185  
 Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, 624  
 Attila, king of the Huns, 254, 255  
 Augereau, Marshal, 680  
 Augustenburg, Frederick, duke of, 743, 744  
 Augustine, St., of Canterbury, 271  
 — St., of Hippo, 252  
 Augustus (Octavian), emperor, 202, 204-217  
 Augustus II. (the Strong), king of Poland,  
 616, 617, 619, 620, 630  
 Aurelian, emperor, 233, 234  
 Aurungzebe, 636  
 Ausonius, 246

Austria, duke of. *See* Albert, Charles,  
 Frederic, Otto  
 Autharis, king of the Lombards, 263  
 Avitus, emperor, 255  
 Ayasha, wife of Mohammed, 276, 278  
 d'Azeglio, Marquis, 727  
 Azzo of Este, 377, 378

BABINGTON, Anthony, 552  
 Bacchylides, 97  
 Bacciochi, Felix, 680  
 Bacon, Francis, 466  
 Baden (Charles F. T.), duke of, 679  
 — (Louis), margrave of, 373  
 Baesha, 57, 58  
 Bajezid I., sultan, 495, 496  
 Baldwin I., king of Jerusalem, 345-7  
 — II., king of Jerusalem, 347  
 — Latin emperor, 362-3  
 — *See* Flanders, Baldwin, count of  
 Balfour, A. J., 759, 765  
 Ballard, John, 552  
 Balliol, Edward, 434, 435  
 — John, king of Scotland, 430  
 Banks, N. P., 739  
 Barbara of Cilly, wife of Sigismund, 475,  
 476, 480  
 Barbarossa, Hairaddin, 520  
 Barbaroux, C. J. M., 652  
 Barbes, Armand, 715  
 Barclay de Tolly, Prince, 694  
 Bardi, the, 398  
 Barebones, Praise-God, 580  
 Barnave, Antoine, P. J. M., 652  
 Barras, Paul, F. J. N. de, 656  
 Barrère, Bertrand, 656  
 Barrot, C. H. Odilon, 708  
 Barrow, Henry, 535  
 Basina, 261  
 Basinus, king of the Thuringians, 261  
 Basset, Sir Philip, 425  
 Basseville, N. J. H. de, 660  
 Bassianus. *See* Elagabalus  
 Bathurst, third earl, 701  
 Bavaria, dukes of—  
 Arnulf, 322  
 Henry I., 321, 323, 327, 328  
 — II., the Quarrelsome, 332, 335  
 — the Proud, 347  
 — the Lion, 348, 352, 353, 358, 359, 362  
 — (Wittelbach), 389  
 — Louis, 373, 390, 443  
 Otto, I. 359  
 — II., (the Illustrious), 373, 374, 377  
 — electors of:  
 — — Charles Albert. *See* Charles VII.,  
 emperor  
 — — Charles Theodore, 693  
 — — Maximilian I., 557, 561  
 — — — II., (Emanuel), 590, 601-3, 606  
 — — — III. (Joseph), 629, 633  
 — Joseph, electoral prince of, 601, 610  
 Bayard, Chevalier, 519  
 Bazine, Marshal, 750, 752  
 Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli, earl of,  
 755-7  
 Beatrice of Falkenstein, wife of Richard of  
 Cornwall, 389

- Beatrice, of Provence, wife of Charles of Anjou, 386, 388  
 — Turin, wife of Henry IV., emperor, 342  
 — wife of Otto IV., 363  
 — daughter of Manfred, 390  
 — — Henry VII., emperor, 447, 448  
 Beaufort, François, duke of, 576  
 — Henry, Cardinal, 460  
 — Margaret, 464  
 Beauharnais, Eugène, 680, 688, 693  
 — See Hortense and Josephine  
 Beaulieu, Baron P. J. de, 660  
 Beauregard, P. G. Toutart, 733, 735  
 Becket, Thomas à, 410-14  
 Bedford, John, duke of: First, 461, 462; fourth, 638  
 Bela III., king of Hungary, 491  
 — IV., king of Hungary, 378, 491, 492  
 — brother-in-law of Ottokar, 389  
 Belesme, Robert of, 406  
 Belisarius, 259, 260  
 Bella, Glano della, 487  
 Belshazzar (Nabonetus), 76  
 Bem, Joseph, 721  
 Benedek, F.-M. Ludwig von, 746  
 Benedetti, Count Vincent, 748, 749  
 Benedict (pope): V. (anti-pope), 330; VII., 333, 334; VIII., 315, 341; XI., 441; XIII. (anti-pope), 475-7; (pope), 459  
 — of Nursia, St., 271  
 Benhadad, 57, 58, 60, 61  
 Berengar of Friuli, emperor, 298, 299  
 — Ivrea, 327-30  
 Berengaria, wife of Richard I., 417  
 Beresford, Viscount, 696  
 Bernadotte, Marshal (Charles XIV., king of Sweden), 659, 664, 680, 683, 694, 697  
 Bernard, St., 348  
 — archbishop of Sahagun, 401  
 Bernhard, king of Italy, 293  
 — son of Charles the Fat, 297, 299  
 — of Barcelona, 294  
 — Cardinal, 483  
 Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, 336, 339  
 Berry, C. F. d'Artois, duc de, 705, 708  
 Bertha, queen of Kent, 271  
 — of Burgundy, 327  
 — of Savoy, wife of Henry IV., emperor, 485  
 — wife of Pepin the Short, 284  
 Berthier, Marshal, 672, 673, 679, 680, 683, 700  
 Berthold, archbishop of Mainz, 512  
 — (V.) of Zähringen, 472  
 Bertrand de Born, 418  
 Bessaron, Cardinal, 497  
 Beatières, Marshal, 680  
 Beccos, 169, 170  
 Bestia, L. Calpurnius, 188  
 Bethlen Gabor, 558-60  
 Beza, Theodore, 525, 540, 541  
 Bias of Priene, 80  
 Bibulus, L. Calpurnius, 141  
 Bigod, Hugh, 408, 414  
 — Roger II., earl of Norfolk, 431  
 Billaut-Varennes, J. N., 663  
 Binnirar II., king of Assyria, 47  
 Biren, J. E., regent of Russia, 621  
 Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von, 742-5, 748, 749, 751, 754  
 Björn, king of Sweden, 303  
 — Ironside, 303, 304  
 Blake, Joachim, Spanish general, 690  
 — Robert, admiral, 579, 581  
 Blanche of Artois, 432  
 — Bourbon, wife of Pedro the Cruel, 451, 467  
 — Castile, mother of Louis IX., 395, 419, 422  
 — Valois, wife of Charles IV., emperor, 460  
 Bleda, king of the Huns, 251  
 Blücher, Field-Marshal, 694-7, 700  
 Boccanera, Simon, doge of Venice, 486  
 Bocchus, 189  
 Boemund of Antioch, 317, 346, 347  
 Boëthius, 257  
 Bokchoris, 43  
 Boleslav I., of Bohemia, 326  
 — II., of Bohemia, 326, 339  
 — duke of Poland, 340  
 Bollingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount, 605, 606, 611, 613, 622, 624  
 Bomilcar, 161  
 Bonaparte: Caroline, 682, 683, 690; Eliza, 680; Jerome, 686; Joseph, 658, 664, 674, 682, 683, 688-90, 697; Louis, 677, 682, 683, 693; Lucien, 664, 665, 672; Napoleon (see Napoleon); Pauline, 683, 696  
 Boniface, Count, 252  
 — St., 272, 273, 283  
 — Pope: VI., 300, 333; VII., 333; VIII., 394, 395, 430, 431, 441, 445; IX., 475, 476, 484  
 — of Savoy, 425  
 Bonner, bishop of London, 533  
 Booth, J. W., 741  
 Bordeaux, H. C. F., duc de, 708  
 Borromeo, St. Charles, 584, 585  
 Boeo, king of Provence, 296, 297  
 Boesuet, bishop of Meaux, 591  
 Botha, Louis, 768  
 Bothwell, James, fourth earl of, 548, 549  
 Boucicaut, Marshal, 452, 487  
 Bouillon, Henri, duc de, 574  
 Bourbaki, C. D. S., general, 752, 753  
 Bourbon, Charles, duke of (Constable), 519, 520  
 — Louis Henry II., duke of, 678, 679  
 — family, 539  
 Bourchier, Elizabeth, wife of Oliver Cromwell, 578  
 Bourrienne, L. A. F. de, 673  
 Brabant, duke of, 366  
 Braddock, Edward, 637  
 Bradshaw, John, 582  
 Bragg, Braxton, 738  
 Brancasione, degli Andalo, 384  
 Brandenburg, Albert of. See Albert  
 — electors of:  
 Frederic I. (VI. of Nuremberg), 474  
 Frederic William (the Great Elector), 587-589, 627  
 Joachim II., 522  
 John Sigismund, 626  
 Louis, margrave of, 450, 470  
 Brasidas, 106  
 Breakpear, Nicholas. See Hadrian IV.  
 Breaté, Fulk de, 424  
 Brettone, 483

Briant, Alexander, 551  
 Brienne, Walter of, duke of Athens, 488.  
     — See John of Brienne  
 Brigit, St., 475  
 Brissot de Warville, J. P., 652, 654  
 Britannicus, son of Claudius, 220, 221  
 Brito, Richard, 412  
 Brogni, J. A., 476  
 Brougham and Vaux, Lord, 711  
 Brown, John, 732  
 Browne, Count M. U. von, 680  
 Bruce, Edward, 433  
     — Robert, the claimant, 430  
     — See David and Robert, kings of Scotland  
 Brueya, Admiral, 664  
 Brühl, Count, 630  
 Bruna, Marshal, 680  
 Brunhilde, 264  
 Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, 321, 329  
     — of Carinthia, See Gregory V.  
 Brunswick, dukes of—  
     Charles William Ferdinand, 630, 631, 654,  
         684  
     Christian, 560  
     Otto, 482, 484  
         — of Lüneburg, 375  
 Brutus, Decimus Junius Albinus, 210  
     — I. Junius, 134  
     — M. Junius, 202, 211  
 Bryant (Briant), Alexander, 551  
 Buchanan, James, American president, 732  
 Buckingham, dukes of : George Villiers (I.),  
     566-8 ; (II.) 595, 597 ; Henry Stafford,  
     463, 464  
 Buell, Don Carlos, 735  
 Bülow, Friedrich Wilhelm, 696, 697  
 Buol, Count K. F. von, 727  
 Buontelmonte, the, 488  
 Burchard of Swabia, 328  
 Burgundy, dukes of—  
     Charles the Bold, 505-7, 510  
     John the Fearless, 459, 460  
     Louis, 604, 607  
     Philip de Rouvres, 452  
         — the Bold, 452, 453, 505  
         — the Good, 505  
     Rudolf. See Rudolf of Burgundy  
 Burke, Edmund, 639, 642-4, 666, 678  
 Burleigh William Cecil, Lord, 546, 551-3  
 Burnell, Robert, 429  
 Burnside, A. E., 736  
 Burrard, Sir Henry, 690  
 Burrus, Afranius, 221  
 Butte, John Stuart, third earl of, 637, 638  
 Butler, Colonel Walter, 563  
     — William Orlando, 739  
 Byng, Admiral, 637  
 Byron, Lord, 706  
  
 CABEIRICHOS, 114  
 Cabrera, Bernardo de, 467  
 Cade, Jack, 462  
 Cadoudal, Georges, 678, 679  
 Cæpio, Gn. Servilius, 190  
     — Q. Servilius, 185  
 Cæsar, G. Julius, 141, 148, 194, 196-204,  
     208, 210, 216, 217  
     — I. Julius, 191  
 Cajetan, Cardinal, 518

Callias, 103 ; peace of, 103-4  
 Callistrates, 107  
 Calonne, C. A. de, 648  
 Calpurnia, wife of Caesar, 202  
 Calvin, John, 516, 517, 525, 526  
 Cambacères, J. J. R. de, 665, 666, 672  
 Cambridge, Edmund of. See York  
     — Richard, earl of, 460, 461  
 Cambyses, 45, 69, 71, 73, 74, 76, 80, 82  
 Camillus, M. Furius, 149, 150  
 Campbell, Sir Collin, 724, 726  
 Campbell-Pannerman, Sir H., 765  
 Campeggio, Cardinal, 528  
 Campion, Edmund, 551, 552  
 Canning, George, 675, 687, 692, 706, 707,  
     719, 711  
     — Sir Stratford, 723  
 Canrobert, Marshal, 723  
 Canute, king of England, 311-3, 341  
 Caorsini, the, 397  
 Capranica, Domenico, 480  
 Caprara, Cardinal, 676, 677, 682  
 Caracalla, emperor, 230  
 Carascosa, Michele, 705  
 Carbo, Cn. Papirius, 189  
     — G. Papirius, 191  
 Carinus, M. Aurelius, 234  
 Carloman, son of Pepin the Short, 273, 283,  
     284  
     — See Karlmann  
 Carlstadt, Andrew Bodenstein of, 518  
 Carnagnole, Francesco de, 479, 485, 490  
 Carmarthen, Marquis of (fifth Duke of Leeds)  
     645, 646  
 Carnot, L. N. M., 656, 672, 673, 703  
 Carot, king of Hungary, 445, 448, 482,  
     492  
 Caroline, wife of George II., 625  
     — wife of George IV., 702, 710  
 Carrara, Francis of, 473  
 Carrier, J. B., 657  
 Carteret. See Granville  
 Cartwright, Edmund, 645  
     — Thomas, 550  
 Carus, Roman emperor, 234  
 Casca, P. Servilius, 202  
 Casimir III., king of Poland, 493  
 Caesander, 175  
 Caesiodorus, 256  
 Cassius (Longinus), C., 199, 202, 211  
 Castaños, F. X. de, 690  
 Castlereagh, Viscount (marquis of London-  
     derry), 687, 692, 696, 698, 699, 704, 710  
 Castriota, George (Skanderbeg), 497, 498  
 Castro, Inez de, 467  
 Castruccio Castracani, 449  
 Cathelineau, Jacques, 656  
 Catherine of Castile, mother of John II., 367  
     — queen of England, wife of Henry V., 460  
     — — — wife of Henry VIII. (C. of  
         Aragon), 466, 516, 527-9, 532 ; C. Howard,  
         530 ; C. Parr, 530  
     — — — C. of Braganza, wife of Charles  
         II.  
     — Morosini, queen of Hungary, 492  
     — of Russia, wife of Peter the Great, 619  
     — I., cæarina, 618, 631-4  
     — daughter of Charles IV, emperor, 470

- Catherine of Siena, 84, 484  
 Catiline, L. Sergius, 186, 197  
 Catinat, Marshal, 586, 593, 602  
 Cato, M. Porcius (Censor), 182, 185  
 — (Uticensis), 197, 200  
 Catulda, 218  
 Catulus, C. Lutatius, 158  
 — Q. Lutatius, 190  
 Caulaincourt, A. A. L. de, 679  
 Cavaignac, Louis Eugene, 715, 716, 718  
 Cavalcanti, the, 488  
 Cavendish, Lord Frederick, 759  
 Cavour, Camillo, Count di, 726, 727, 730  
 Cawdor, first baron, 668  
 Cecil. *See* Burlleigh and Salisbury  
 Cellini, Benvenuto, 521  
 Cerchil, the, 487  
 Cervantes, 480  
 Cesarini, Cardinal, 480  
 Cetewayo, Zulu king, 757  
 Cetheus, C. Cornelius, 196  
 Chabrias, 110, 115, 123  
 Chalals, Comte de, 574  
 Championnet, J. E., 659  
 Changanier, N. A. T., 718  
 Chares, 125  
 Charette, F. A., 656  
 Charles :  
   Emperors—I. (the Great), 264, 273, 274, 283-93, 304, 321, 338-40  
   II. (the Bald), 294, 296, 305, 306  
   III. (the Fat), 295, 297, 298, 305  
   IV., 450, 469-72, 474  
   V., 466, 499, 503, 512, 515, 516, 518-25, 527, 528, 532, 535  
   VI. (III. of Spain), 603-606, 610, 625, 626  
   VII. (Albert), 623, 629  
   Kings of England—  
     I., 565-72, 574, 576, 578, 587, 600  
     II., 579, 583, 593-8, 611  
   Kings of France—  
     (the Simple), 297, 299, 301, 308, 309  
     IV., 433, 441, 442, 449  
     V., 452, 453, 471, 484  
     VI., 459, 461, 485, 496  
     VII., 462  
     VIII., 465, 499-507, 510, 511  
     IX., 540  
     X., 600, 647, 678, 679, 705, 707, 708  
   King of Lothringia, 293  
   Kings of Navarre—  
     II. (the Bad), 451-3, 467  
     III., 467  
   Kings of Sicily and Naples—  
     I. (Charles of Anjou), 373, 384, 386-8, 390-5, 423, 440, 492  
     II., 393-5  
   Kings of Spain—  
     I. (*see* V., emperor)  
     II., 586, 601  
     III. (Don Carlos), 624, 625, 630  
     IV., 687-9  
   Kings of Sweden—  
     X., 614  
     XI., 614  
     XII., 614-20, 623  
     XIV. *See* Bernadotte  
   — son of Charles the Great, 292  
 Charles, archduke of Austria, 662, 691  
   — of Blois, 436  
   — of Calabria, 448, 488  
   — of Durazzo (I.), 482, 484; (II.) 484  
   — d'Espagne, 451  
   — of France, duke of Berri, Normandy, or Guienne, 506  
   — of Valois, 394, 395, 435, 442  
   — Albert, king of Sardinia, 705, 713  
   — Emmanuel (IV.), king of Sardinia, 662  
   — Louis, elector palatine, 564, 588  
   — Martel, mayor of the palace, 272, 287  
   — — of Naples, 445, 492  
   — — — son of Joanna I., 482  
 Charlotte, Princess, 708  
 Charon of Thebes, 113, 114  
 Chasse, General, 708  
 Chatham, John Pitt, second earl, 692  
   — William Pitt, first earl, 624, 625, 628  
   630, 681, 635-40, 642, 644  
 Chatillon family, 539  
 Chauvelin, Marquis de, 667  
 Chefru, 7, 8  
 Chent, 5  
 Cheops, 7, 10, 13  
 Chesterfield, fourth earl of, 621  
 Chian, 16  
 Childbert, king of the Franks (I. and II.), 264  
 Childeric, father of Clovis, 261  
   — II., 272  
 Chilperic I., king of the Franks, 264  
 Chlodio, 261  
 Chlodomer, king of the Franks, 264  
 Chlodwig. *See* Clovis  
 Chlopicki, Joseph, 708  
 Chlothar, king of the Franks (I. and II.), 264  
 Chosroes I., king of Persia, 259  
   — II., 274  
 Christian III., king of Denmark 516  
   — IV., 560, 561  
   — V., 616  
   — IX., 743  
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 562, 614  
 Chrysoloras, Manuel, 476  
 Cibo, Franceschetto, 502  
 Cicero, M. Tullius, 196-7, 200, 203, 210, 211  
 Cid, the, 401  
 Cimber, L. Tullius, 202  
 Climon, son of Miltiades, 94-9, 102, 103  
 Cinna, L. Cornelius, 192, 196  
 Cinq Mars, Marquis of, 574  
 Civilis, Claudius, 222  
 Clairfait, 659  
 Clarence, George, duke of, 463, 464  
   — Lionel, 457  
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, earl of, 594, 595  
 Claudius Appian (Cæcus), 153  
   — — (Caudex), 158  
   — — (Pulcher), 187  
   — I., Roman emperor, 208, 219-21  
   — II., Roman emperor, 233  
 Claypole, Lady, 582  
 Clearchus, 109  
 Cleisthenes, 82-4  
 Clement (pope) III., 364; IV., 373, 379, 387, 389-92, 427; V., 441, 449; VI., 450, 482, 483; VII. (anti-pope), 454, 469, 470, 475; VII. (pope), 503, 519, 520

Clément, James, 544  
 Clementina, daughter of Rudolf I., emperor, 444  
 Clementine, wife of Louis X., 442  
 Cleombrotus, regent of Sparta, 90, 92  
 — I., king of Sparta, 115, 116  
 Cleomenes II., king of Sparta, 177  
 Cleon, 106  
 Cleopatra, 168, 200, 211-3  
 Clerfay, Comte de. *See* Clairfait  
 Clermont-Tonnerre, Count, 649  
 Clifford, Lord, 438  
 — of Chudleigh, first lord, 595-7  
 Clitus, 166, 170  
 Clive, Robert, Lord, 636, 637  
 Clodius (P.), Pulcher, 197-9  
 Clothilde, wife of Clovis, 262  
 Clovis, king of the Franks, 261-3, 265, 279  
 Cnut. *See* Canute  
 Cobbett, William, 709  
 Coburg (Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld), Prince Frederick Josias of, 659  
 Coelestine III. (pope), 364  
 — V. (pope), 394  
 Coke, Sir Edward, 567  
 Colbert, J. B., 585  
 Colligny, Gaspard de, Admiral, 539, 541, 542  
 Colonna, family the, 394  
 — John, Cardinal, 378  
 — Stephen, 483  
 Columba, St., 271  
 Communes, Philip de, 505  
 Commodus, Roman emperor, 228, 229  
 Comyn, John, the Red, 431, 432  
 Concini. *See* d'Ancre, Marshal  
 Condé, Prince of, Henry II., 573, 575  
 — — Joseph Louis, 678, 679  
 — — Louis I., 589-91  
 — — — II. (le Grand Condé), 576, 577, 586-8  
 Condorcet, Marquis de, 652  
 Conon, 107, 109, 110  
 Conrad I., emperor, 301, 319  
 — II., emperor, 312, 341  
 — III., emperor, 347, 348  
 — IV., emperor, 370, 374, 375, 379, 380, 382, 383  
 — son of Frederick of Antioch, 390  
 — of Burgundy, 327  
 — (the Red) of Lorraine, 324, 328, 329  
 — Shortpole, Count, 323  
 Conradin, 383-6, 390-3  
 Constance of Aragon, wife of Frederick II., emperor, 365, 367, 491  
 — of Castile, wife of John of Gaunt, 456, 467  
 — of Sicily, wife of Henry VI., emperor, 318, 360, 362, 364, 365  
 — — daughter of Manfred, 386, 393  
 Constans, emperor, son of Constantine the Great, 244  
 Constant, Benjamin, 700  
 Constantia, daughter of Constantine, 244  
 Constantine, emperor—  
 — I. (the Great), 234, 236-43, 344  
 — II., 244  
 — V. (Copronymus), 281  
 — VI. (Porphyrogenitus), 281, 282  
 — XII. Palaeologus, 498

Constantine, usurper in Britain, 250  
 — grand duke of Russia, brother of Nicholas I., 706  
 — — — son of Nicholas I., 708  
 Constantius I., Chlorus, Caesar, 235  
 — II., emperor, 244  
 — III., emperor, 251, 252  
 Conti, Armand, Prince of, 576, 577  
 Conway, General, 639  
 Cook, Captain, 640  
 Cope, Sir John, 636  
 Corday, Charlotte, 655  
 Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, 186  
 Cornwallis, Charles, first marquis, 641  
 — Sir William, admiral, 681  
 Cotta, M. Aurelius, 195  
 Coverdale, Miles, 529  
 Cranmer, Thomas, 528, 533  
 Crassus, M. Licinius (Dives), 194, 196-9, 204  
 Craterus, 166, 172-5  
 Crescentius I., 333, 334  
 — II. (John), 336, 337  
 Crispus, son of Constantine, 242  
 Critias, 108  
 Critolaus, 183  
 Croesus, king of Lydia, 75, 80, 126  
 Crompton, Samuel, 645  
 Cromwell, Henry, 582  
 — Oliver, 570, 571, 577, -82  
 — Richard, 582  
 — Thomas, 529, 580, 578  
 Cumberland, William Augustus, duke of, 636  
 Cunigunda, wife of Henry II., emperor, 341  
 Curatili, the, 133  
 Curle, Hippolitus, 552  
 Curzon, George, Viscount, 757  
 Cusanus, Cardinal, 480  
 Cyaxares, 69, 75  
 Cypselus, 133  
 Cyrus the Great, 68-71, 73-5, 80  
 — the Younger, 108, 109  
 Czartoryski, Prince Adam George, 708

DACHYLIDES, 109  
 Dagobert, king of the Franks, 264  
 Damasus, pope, 246  
 Damocles, 113  
 Damonides, 98  
 Danby, Sir Thomas Osborne, earl of (marquis of Carmarthen, duke of Leeds), 594, 597, 607  
 Dandolo, Henry, doge of Venice, 362, 363, 489  
 Dante, 487, 503  
 Danton, G. J., 652-4, 656  
 Darboy, Archbishop, 754  
 Darius I. (Hystaspes), king of Persia, 70, 71, 73-6, 82, 84  
 — son of Xerxes, 100  
 — III., Codomannus, 166-9  
 Darnley, Henry, Lord, 548  
 Datis, 86, 87  
 Dattus, 315  
 Daun, Field-Marshal, 604, 630, 631  
 David, king of Israel, 54  
 — I., king of Scotland, 408, 409  
 — (Bruce), king of Scotland, 435, 436  
 — earl of Huntingdon, 430



Davidovitch, Paul von, 660  
 Davidson (Davison), William, 553  
 Davis, Jefferson, Confederate president, 733, 741  
 Davout, Marshal, 680, 684, 695  
 Deborah, prophetess, 53  
 Decazes, Elie, duc, 705  
 Decius, Roman emperor, 233  
 Deinon, 116  
 Deloos, 69, 75  
 Demaratus, of Corinth, 133  
 — king of Sparta, 88  
 Demetrius (Pollorces), king of Macedon, 175, 176  
 — II., king of Macedon, 177  
 — son of Philip III. (V.) of Macedon, 183  
 — Phalereus, 175  
 De Mema, C. J., 743  
 Demophron, 114  
 Demosthenes, Athenian general, 106, 107  
 — orator, 123, 126-9, 165, 175  
 Dermot, king of Leinster, 413  
 Derwentwater, James, third earl of, 623  
 Desaix, L. G. A., 673, 674  
 Desideria, wife of Charlemagne, 284  
 Desiderius, king of the Lombards, 284  
 Desmond, fifteenth earl of, 551  
 Desmoulins, Benet-Camille, 649, 652, 656  
 Dessau (Anhalt-), Leopold of, 604, 627  
 — Moritz of, 628  
 Devonshire, first duke of, 600  
 — fourth duke of, 637  
 De Wet, General, 762, 763  
 Diadumenianus, emperor, 231  
 Diaphantos, 120  
 Diebitsch, Comte de, 694  
 Diniz, king of Portugal, 467  
 Diocletian, emperor, 228, 234-41  
 Dionysius of Syracuse I., 157  
 — — II., 118, 157  
 Dispenser, Hugh, 433  
 Disraeli. *See* Beaconsfield  
 Dolgoruki family, 621  
 Domitian, emperor, 207-10, 219, 221, 223-5  
 Donati family, the, 487, 488  
 — Corso, 487, 488  
 Doria family, the, 486  
 — Andrew, 520  
 Dorset, Henry Grey, marquiss of, 532  
 — Frances, marchioness of, 532  
 Douay, Abel, 749  
 Douglas, Archibald, fourth earl of, 459  
 — James, 433  
 — Regent, 434  
 — S. A., 732  
 — William, 431  
 — — of Liddesdale, 434  
 Drake, Sir Francis, 553-5  
 Drogo of Hauteville, 316  
 Drusus, M. Livius, consul, 187  
 — — Tribune, 191  
 — Nero Claudius, 214, 215  
 — son of Germanicus, 218, 219  
 Dubourg, Anne, 539  
 Duclos, Roger, 665  
 Dudley, Edmund, 466  
 — Lord Guilford, 532  
 Dufferin and Ava, marquess of, 757  
 Dufour, General, 714

Dullius, Gaius, 158  
 Dumouriez, C. F., 653, 667  
 Duncan I., king of Scotland, 314  
 Duncan, A. (earl of Camperdown), 668  
 Dundas, Henry (viscount Melville), 666, 667  
 Dundee, John Graham, Viscount, 608  
 Dungi, 24  
 Dunstan, St., 309, 310, 312  
 Duplex, Joseph, 636  
 Dupont, Comte Pierre, 688, 690  
 Duquesne, Marquis, 636  
 Duroc, G. C. M., 687  
  
 EANNATUM, 21  
 Eberhard, duke of Franconia, 319, 322, 323  
 — bishop of Constance, 390  
 Eck, John, 518  
 Eckhard, margrave of Meissen, 337, 340  
 — III., margrave of Meissen, 341  
 — of Thuringia, 334, 335  
 Edgar, king of England, 309, 310  
 — Aetheling, 406  
 Edgitha, wife of Edward the Confessor, 313  
 Edgiva, wife of Charles the Simple, 301, 306  
 Edico II., 298  
 Edith, wife of Otto I., 308, 331  
 Edmund (I.), king of England, 309  
 — Ironside, 311, 312, 406  
 — (St.), king of East Anglia, 306, 312  
 Edred, king of England, 309  
 Edric (Streona), of Mercia, 311  
 Edward the Elder, king of Wessex, 307, 308  
 — — Confessor, king of England, 313-6, 406  
 — king of England: I., 394, 397, 427-32, 441, 442; II., 431-3, 442; III., 433-8, 450, 451, 471; IV., 463, 464, 506, 507; V., 463, 464; VI., 529-32; VII., 763, 765  
 — the Black Prince, 436-8, 452, 453  
 Edwy, king of England, 309  
 — son of Ethelred II., 312  
 Egbert, king of Wessex, 305  
 Egeria, 132  
 Egerton, Sir Thos. (Lord Ellesmere), 556  
 Eginhard, 290, 291  
 Egmont, Lamoral, count of, 535, 536  
 Egremont, second earl of, 637, 638  
 Ehud, 53  
 Elgil, 308  
 Elagabalus, 231, 232, 234  
 Elah, king of Israel, 58  
 Eldon, first earl of, 687  
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II., 409, 410, 414, 415, 417-9  
 — daughter of Henry II., 410  
 — of Provence, wife of Henry III., 425, 427, 428  
 — sister of Henry III., 425  
 — mother of Ferdinand I. of Aragon, 467  
 — Guzman, mother of Pedro the Cruel, 467  
 Eleanore, daughter of Charles II. of Naples, 395  
 Elgin, ninth earl of, 757  
 Eli, 53  
 Eliakim. *See* Jehoiakim  
 Elijah, 59-61  
 Elliot, Sir John, 567, 568  
 Elishah, 61, 62

Elizabeth, wife of Albert I., emperor, 446  
 — — Conrad IV., emperor, 383, 385  
 — — Charles IV., emperor, 484  
 — daughter of Charles IV., emperor, 471  
 — wife of Wenzel II. of Bohemia, 446  
 — (Stuart), queen of Bohemia, 559  
 — (Tudor), queen of England, 530, 532, 541, 542, 545-56  
 — (Woodville), queen of England, wife of Edward IV., 463  
 — (of York), queen of England, wife of Henry VII., 464, 466, 507  
 — sister of Edward IV., 464  
 — of France, Princess, 655  
 — czarina of Russia, 621, 630, 631  
 — queen of Spain, wife of Philip V., 624, 625  
 — landgravine of Thuringia, 369  
 Emma of Normandy, queen of England, 310-8  
 Emmeran, of Poitou, 271, 272  
 Emmerich, king of Hungary, 491  
 Emmet, Thomas, 666  
 Empeon, Sir Richard, 466  
 Engelburga, wife of Boso, 296  
 d'Engliem, Duc, 674, 678, 679  
 Enzo, son of Frederick II., 376-8, 381, 382  
 — son of Manfred, 390  
 Epaminondas, 113-20  
 Ephialtes, 98, 99  
 Epictetus, 227  
 Eric, king of Northumbria, 312  
 — king of Norway, 399  
 — king of Sweden, 303  
 — the Victorious, 303  
 Erlach, Rudolf of, 472  
 Erskine, Thomas, Lord, 684  
 Ertughrul, 494  
 Earrhaddon III., 48, 49  
 Espé, Walter, 409  
 Essex, Robert Devereux, second earl of, 555  
 d'Estreys, Gabrielle, 544  
 Eudamidas, 112, 113  
 Eudoxia (Athenais), wife of Theodosius II., 253  
 — daughter of Theodosius II., 252, 255  
 Eugénie, Empress, 751  
 Eugenius, (pope): III., 351; IV., 479-81, 497, 500  
 Eumenes of Pergamum, 175, 178, 179, 183, 184  
 Euric, king of the Visigoths, 255, 279  
 Euryblades, 89  
 Eurydice, 118, 122  
 Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, 242  
 Eustace, count of Boulogne, 408  
 — brother of Godfrey of Lorraine, 345  
 — son of Stephen, 410  
 — the Monk, 424  
 Eutharic, 258  
 Eutropius, historian, 246  
 — chamberlain to Arcadius, 249  
 Eyck, John van, 555  
 Ezeiel, 67  
 Ezra, 68  
 Ezzeino da Romano, 374, 375, 377, 378, 383, 385, 386

FABRUS MAXIMUS, QU. (Rullus), 154  
 — — — (Cunctator), 160-2  
 Fabricius (Bohemian regent), 558  
 Faggiuola, U. della, 447  
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 571, 583  
 Faliero, Marino, doge of Venice, 489, 662  
 Faramund, 261  
 Farel, William, 625  
 Farragut, D. G., 735  
 Fatima, 277, 278  
 Favre, Jules, 754  
 Felix V., anti-pope, 481  
 Felton, John, 550  
 Feodor, czar of Russia, 614, 615  
 Ferdinand I., emperor, 512, 515, 522-5  
 — II., emperor, 557-64  
 — III., emperor, 561, 564, 587  
 — emperor of Austria, 716, 720, 721  
 — king of Aragon: I., 467; II. (V. of Spain)  
 — king of Castile, III., 403  
 — king of Naples and Sicily, I. (IV.), 662, 663, 705  
 — king of Spain: V., 466, 510; VII., 687-90, 705  
 Fernando, king of Portugal, 468  
 Ferrand of Portugal. *See* Flanders  
 Ferrers, Alice, 438  
 Fesck, Cardinal, 682  
 Ffoliot, Gilbert, 414  
 Ficino, Marallo, 501  
 Fieschi family, the, 486  
 — William, cardinal, 384  
 Fimbria, C. F., 192  
 Finch, Sir John, 568  
 Firman, Leopold, archbishop of Salzburg, 627  
 Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester, 529  
 Fitzgerald, James Fitzmaurice, 551  
 — Maurice, 413  
 Fitzgilbert, Robert. *See* Strongbow  
 Fitzmaurice (Fitzgerald), James. *See* Fitzgerald  
 Fitzpeter, Geoffrey, 421  
 Fitzstephen, Robert, 412  
 Fitzurse, Richard, 412  
 Flaccus, L. Valerius, 192  
 Flambard, Ralph, 405, 406  
 Flamininus, T. Quinctius, 181-3  
 Flaminus, C., 160  
 Flanders, Counts of—  
 Baldwin IV., 340; Baldwin V., 315  
 — (Latin emperor), 362, 363  
 Ferrand of Portugal, 366, 421  
 Philip of Alsace, 357  
 Florida Blanca, count of, 690  
 Formosus, pope, 300  
 Fortebraccio, Niccolo, 479  
 Foscau, Francesco, doge of Venice, 490  
 Fouché, Joseph, 656, 672, 690, 703  
 Fox, Charles James, 642-4, 666, 673, 677, 684  
 Francis I. (of Lorraine), emperor, 629, 633  
 — II. (I. of Austria), emperor, 653, 659, 670, 683  
 — Joseph, emperor of Austria, 721, 729, 742, 746  
 — I., king of France, 515-20, 527, 528, 539, 540

Francis II., king of France, 539, 540, 545  
 Francis de Sales, St., 535  
 Frangipani, the, 369, 377, 382, 384  
   — John, 391, 394  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 642  
   — W. B., 786  
 Fredegunde, 264  
 Frederick, emperor (Holy Roman), I. (Barbarossa), 318, 348-60, 409; II., 364-82, 384, 398, 420, 425, 472, 485, 487, 491; III., 481, 504-6, 509, 510  
   — III., German emperor, 746, 749, 750  
   — IV., king of Denmark, 616, 617, 623  
   — VII., king of Denmark, 743  
   — I., king of Prussia, 617, 627  
   — II. (the Great), king of Prussia, 586, 624, 626, 628-34, 684, 685  
   — (of Aragon), king of Sicily, 394, 395, 447, 448  
   — king of Sweden, 620  
   — elector of Palatine; III., 526; IV., 557; V., 558-60, 566  
   — of Antioch, duke, 390  
   — of Austria (Bamberg), 373, 374, 377  
   — — (titular), 390-2, 394  
   — — (Hapsburg), the Fair, 445, 446, 448, 449  
   — — — (of the Tyrol), 476-8  
   — son of Frederick Barbarossa, 360  
   — — Henry (VII.), 383  
   — — Manfred, 390  
   — — William of Holland, 383  
   — archbishop of Mainz, 323, 328  
   — prince of Wales, 625  
   — William, king of Prussia, I., 627, 628; II., 646; III., 662, 682, 684-6, 696; IV., 716, 742  
 Fregoso family, the, 487  
 Fréron, L. S., 656  
 Frescobaldi, the, 398, 488  
 Fridigern, 248  
 Fronto, 227  
 Frundsberg, Georg von, 519  
 Fugger family, the, 508, 509, 512  
 Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, 298, 299  
 Fulk (V.) of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, 407  
   — of Neully, 362  
 Fulvia, wife of Mark Antony, 212  
 Fulvius, M., Nobilior, 183

GAD, 56  
 Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, 252, 254, 255, 259  
 Gaius (Caligula), emperor, 218-20  
   — son of Agrippa, 215, 216  
 Galba, emperor, 219, 221, 222  
 Galerius, emperor, 235  
 Gallas, Count Matthias, 563  
 Gallienus, emperor, 233  
 Gallus, emperor, 233  
   — Cestius, 222  
   — St., 271  
 Gantheaume, Count H. J. A., 681  
 Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, 530, 532  
 Garibald, king of the Bavarians, 263  
 Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 727, 728, 746-8, 752  
 Gaston of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII., 574, 575

Gauda, 189  
 Gaudin, M. M. C., 672  
 Gaveston, Piers, 432, 433  
 Gebhard of Lorraine, 300  
 Gello, 285, 286  
 Gelsa II., king of Hungary, 490  
   — III., king of Hungary, 491  
 Gellner, king of the Vandals, 259  
 Gelon of Syracuse, 88, 157  
 Genghis Khan, 396, 494, 496  
 Geoffrey (Plantagenet), of Anjou, 407, 408, 410  
   — of Brittany, 414, 415, 417, 419  
   — archbishop of York, 416, 417  
 George, king of England—  
   I., 606, 613, 620-2, 625  
   II., 622, 625, 631, 635, 637  
   III., 622, 631, 634, 637, 641-3, 651, 666, 669, 675, 710  
   IV., 702, 709-11  
   — of Denmark, Prince, 611  
   — Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, 504  
   — David Lloyd, 765  
 Gérard, Balthazar, 588  
   — Marahal, 708  
 Gerbert. *See* Sylvester II.  
 Germanicus, 217, 218  
 Gero, 325  
 Gerson, Jean, 475-7  
 Gertrude of Meran, 491  
 Geta, brother of Caracalla, 230  
 Gideon, 53  
 Gifford, Gilbert, 552  
 Gimlestin, 24  
 Ginkel, earl of Athlone, 609  
 Gisela, daughter of Charles the Simple, 306  
 Giselbert, duke of Lorraine, 320, 322, 323  
 Ghulay, General, 728  
 Glabrio, M. Atilius, 182  
 Gladstone, W. E., 712, 755-9, 765  
   — Viscount, 763  
 Glaucia, C. Servilius, 190  
 Glendower, Owen, 458, 459  
 Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, earl of, 427, 428  
 Godegisel, king of Burgundy, 262  
 Godemar, king of Burgundy, 262  
 Goderich, Viscount, 707, 711  
 Godfrey de Bouillon, 345, 346  
 Godolphin, first earl of, 607, 611, 612  
 Godoy, prince of the peace, 687-9  
 Godwin, earl of Wessex, 313, 314  
 Goethe, J. W. von, 684  
 Gohler, L. J., 664  
 Gordian, emperor, 232  
 Gordios, 166  
 Gordon, General, 758-60  
 Gorgey, 721  
 Gorgias, 106  
 Gorgidas, 114, 115  
 Gorm the Old, king of Denmark, 303, 321  
 Götz, Baron, 619, 620  
 Gottfried the Viking, 297  
 Goudimel, 525  
 Gracchus, G. Sempronius, 187, 190  
   — Tiberius Sempronius: I., 161; II., 185; III., 186, 187  
 Grafton, second duke of, 639, 640  
 Graham, Sir Gerald, 696  
 Gramont, Duc de 749

Grant, Ulysses S., 734, 735, 737-41  
 Granvella, Cardinal, 535  
 — Sieur de, 516, 535  
 Granville, John Carteret, Earl, 626, 635, 684, 688  
 — G. G. Leveson-Gower, second earl, 758  
 Grasse, Comte de, 642  
 Gratian, emperor, 246-8  
 Grattan, Henry, 642  
 Greenwood, John, 555  
 Grégoire, Bishop, 649  
 Gregory (pope): I., 271; II., 273; III., 273; V., 336, 337; VII., 317, 342, 344, 345, 364, 376, 490, 503; IX., 368-72, 374, 376-8, 425; X., 392, 428; XI., 471, 475, 484; XII., 475, 476, 484; XIII., 550  
 Grenville, George, 637-9  
 — Sir John, 583  
 — Sir Richard, 555  
 — Lord, 638, 664, 669, 670, 684  
 Grey, Lady Jane, 532  
 — John de, bishop of Norwich, 420  
 — Sir Richard, 463  
 — Sir Thomas, 460  
 — second earl, 684, 711  
 — de Ruthyn, Lord, 458  
 Griffith, king of North Wales, 313  
 Grimaldi, the, 486  
 Grindal, Archbishop, 550  
 Grossette, Bishop, 425, 426  
 Grouchy, Marshal, 700  
 Gualo, Cardinal, 423, 424  
 Guesclin, Constable du, 437, 452, 453, 467  
 Guido of Blandrate, 353  
 — Spoleto, emperor, 298  
 — Tuscany, 302  
 Guise family, the, 539, 540  
 — Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, 539-41, 543, 550  
 — Francis, duke of, 539, 541  
 — Henry, duke of, 541, 543  
 — Mary of, 533, 539, 546  
 — René II., duke of Lorraine, 539  
 Guisot, F.-P.-G., 715  
 Gundebald, king of Burgundy, 262  
 Gundikar, king of Burgundy, 254  
 Gunhild, 311  
 — daughter of Canute, 312  
 Günther of Schwarzenburg, 469  
 Gustavus I. (Vasa), king of Sweden, 516  
 — (Adolphus) II., 561-3, 614  
 — III., 646  
 Guthrum (Aethelstan), Danish king, 306, 307  
 Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, 360, 361  
 Gudea, 20  
 Gylippus, 107  
 HADRIAN, emperor, 205, 225-8  
 — pope: I., 282, 293; III., 297; IV., 351, 352, 355, 410; VI., 519  
 Hadwisa of Gloucester, wife of John of England, 419  
 Haeston, 308  
 Hagenbach, Peter von, 506  
 Halfdan the Black, 303  
 Halifax, first marquis, 598, 599, 607  
 — first earl, 622  
 — second earl, 638  
 — — — See Montagu

Hallam, Robert, bishop of Salisbury, 476  
 Halleck, H. W., 736  
 Hamilcar, son of Mago, 92  
 — Barca, 158, 159  
 Hamilton, first duke of, 571  
 Hammurabi, 25, 28-30, 51  
 Hampden, John, 569, 570  
 Hamza, 275  
 Hancock, W. S., 739  
 Hannibal, 159-63, 181  
 Hannibalianus, 244  
 Hanno (Anno), of Cologne, 341  
 Harcourt, Sir W. V., 765  
 Hardenberg, Prince of, 659  
 Hardicanute, king of England, 313  
 Hardy, Thomas, 667  
 Hargreaves, James, 640, 645  
 Harmodius, 82, 83, 169  
 Harold I., king of England, 313  
 — II., king of England, 313-5  
 — Danish king, 305  
 — Bluetooth, king of Denmark, 303, 309, 326, 335  
 — Hardrada, king of Norway, 314  
 — Harfager, king of Norway, 303  
 — Hildeland, 303  
 — son of Sven Forkbeard, 311  
 Harpalus, 172  
 Harrington, first earl of, 636  
 Harris, Sir James (first earl of Malmesbury), 646  
 Harrowby, first earl of, 678, 711  
 Hartmann, son of Rudolf I., emperor, 444  
 Hasdrubal, son of Gisikon, 163  
 — son-in-law of Hamilcar, 159  
 — brother of Hannibal, 159, 162  
 — brother of Massinissa, 184  
 Haselrig, Sir Arthur, 570, 582  
 Hasting, 304  
 Hastings, John (Scottish claimant), 430  
 — Lord, 463  
 Hatheburg, 322  
 Hatto of Mainz, 299, 300  
 Haugwitz, Count von, 682  
 Havelock, Sir Henry, 726  
 Hawkins, John, 554  
 Hawley, Henry, 636  
 Haynau, Baron J. J. von, 721  
 Hazael, 47  
 Hébert, J. R., 653, 655, 656  
 Hecataeus, 82  
 Hedwig, daughter of Louis the Great, 493  
 — of Swabia, 332  
 Hegelochus, 168  
 Heinsius, Anton, 602, 607, 611  
 Helena, mother of Constantine, 235, 344  
 — daughter of Constantine, 246  
 — wife of Manfred, 390, 391  
 Helmichia, 263  
 Hengist, 253  
 Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, 596  
 — Maria, wife of Charles I., 566, 574  
 Henry I. (the Fowler), 319-22  
 — Emperor: II., 340, 341; III., 316, 341; IV., 341, 342, 345, 485; V., 342, 347; VI., 318, 360, 362, 364, 446-9, 486  
 — (VII.), son of Frederick II., 366, 373-5, 388  
 — son of Manfred, 390

- Henry, son of Albert I., 449  
 — Raspe, anti-king, 380  
 — of Carinthia, 446, 470  
 — the Palegrave, 363  
 — the Lion, *See* Bavaria  
 — king of Castille: II. (of Trastamara), 437, 462, 463, 467; III., 467; IV., 467  
 — king of England: I., 406-8, 421; II., 359, 397, 409-16; III., 368, 375, 383, 385, 423-8, 440; IV., 456-60; V., 459-61; VI., 461-8, 485; VII., 464-6; VIII., 466, 516, 516, 519, 526-30, 546  
 — son of Henry II., 412, 414, 415  
 — of Almaine, 427  
 — bishop of Winchester, 408-10  
 — son of David of Scotland, 409  
 — king of France: II., 520, 523, 539; III., 538, 541-4, 566; IV., 538-45, 592  
 — the Navigator, Prince, 468  
 Hephæstus, 166, 172, 173  
 Heracitus, 82  
 Heraclius I., emperor, 275, 277, 281  
 — (eunuch), 255  
 Hereford, Humphrey Bohun, third earl of, 431  
 — — — fourth earl of, 433  
 Herihor, 42  
 Hermann the Billing, 324  
 — archbishop of Cologne, 299  
 — duke of Swabia, 322, 340  
 — of Salza, 374, 376  
 Hermanrich, *See* Amanrich  
 Herod Agrippa, 220  
 Herodes Atticus, 227  
 Herodian, historian  
 Herodotus, 27, 38, 40, 42, 44, 70, 73  
 Heseekiah, king of Judah, 43, 48, 65, 66  
 Hlempaal, 187, 188  
 Hlerio II., king of Syracuse, 157, 158, 161  
 Hildebald, bishop of Worms, 337  
 Hildebrand, *See* Gregory VII.  
 Hildegard, wife of Charlemagne, 293  
 Hilderic, king of the Vandals, 259  
 Hilperic, king of Burgundy, 262  
 Hincmar of Reims, 296, 297  
 Hipparchus, son of Charmos, 87  
 — — Pistratus, 82  
 Hipphas, 81, 82, 84  
 Hippocrates, 122  
 Hipponax, 82  
 Hiram, king of Tyre, 55, 56  
 Hirtius, A., 210  
 Hlham III., 400  
 Histæus, 75, 85  
 Hoche, Lazare, 660  
 Hofer, Andreas, 691  
 Hobenlohe, Frederick Louis, Prince von, 684  
 Hohensollern (-Sigmaringen)—  
 — Anton, prince of, 742  
 — Leopold, prince of, 748  
 — *See* Brandenburg  
 Holko of Saxony, 336  
 Holles, Denzil (Lord), 570  
 Holstein Gottorp, duke of—  
 — Charles Frederick, 620  
 — Frederick IV., 616, 617  
 Honorius, emperor, 249-52  
 — son of Constantius, 251, 252  
 III., pope, 367, 368, 424, 425  
 Honorius IV., pope, 394  
 Hood, Viscount, 667  
 — J. B., 740  
 Hooker, Joseph, 736-8  
 Hooper, John, bishop of Gloucester, 533  
 Hoorn, Count, 535, 536  
 Hophra, *See* Apries  
 Hopton, Sir Ralph, 570  
 Horatili, the, 133  
 Horsa, 253  
 Hortense (Beauharnais), wife of Louis Bonaparte, 677, 682  
 Horus, 2-6, 9  
 Hosea, king of Israel, 48, 65  
 — prophet, 63, 64  
 Howard of Effingham, Charles, Lord, 554  
 — Richard, first earl, 667  
 — William, fifth viscount, 641  
 Howick, *See* Grey  
 Hubert de Burgh, 419, 423-5  
 — Walter, 418, 419  
 Hugh the Great, duke of France, 301  
 — count of La Marche, 425  
 — (de Puiset), bishop of Durham, 417  
 Hugo, king of Italy, 302, 326, 327  
 — son of Waldrade, 297  
 Humbert, *See* Savoy  
 Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 461  
 — of Hauteville, 316  
 Humi, 7  
 Huneric, 259  
 Hunyadi, John, 497, 498, 504  
 Huskisson, William, 711  
 Huss, John, 476-8, 518  
 Husseln, 278  
 Hütten, Ulrich von, 518  
 Hyksos, the, 15, 16, 30, 39, 50, 51  
 Hyrcanus (Maccabæus), 195  
 Hystaspes, 76  
 IANUS, 24, 28  
 Ibnabed, 368  
 Ibrahim Pasha, 706, 707  
 Ida, wife of Lindolf, 327  
 Inarus, 101, 102  
 Ingeborg, wife of Philip Augustus, 439  
 Ingvar, 306, 307  
 Injaldrada, 303  
 Innocent (pope): II., 318, 348; III., 362-7, 374, 403, 419-23, 439, 503; IV., 379, 380, 382-4, 425; VI., 469-71, 483; VII., 475, 484; VIII., 502; XI., 591  
 Iolaisdes, 120  
 Iolanthe, wife of Andrew II., 491  
 — wife of Frederick II., emperor, 367, 369, 370  
 Iphicrates, 110, 115, 123  
 Irene, empress, 281, 282  
 Isa, son of Bajezid I., 496  
 Isaac Angelus, emperor, 360, 363  
 Isabella (the Catholic), queen of Castile, 404, 466, 467, 510  
 — II., queen of Spain, 748  
 — "Archduke," 538  
 — of Angoulême, wife of John of England, 419  
 — of England, wife of Frederic II., 375, 379, 383, 425

Isabella of France, wife of Edward II., 431, 433, 434  
 — wife of Richard II., 456, 459  
 — of Portugal, wife of Charles V., 523  
 Isaiah, 63-6  
 Isidore, St., 403  
 Ismenias, 113  
 Isocrates, 113  
 Ithlin, 23  
 Ivan III., czar of Russia, 615  
 — VI., czar of Russia, 621  
 — brother of Peter II., 621  
 — Kalita, 303  
 — the Wild, 493  
 JACKSON, "Stonewall," 735-7  
 Jacob, 50  
 Jacquetta of Luxembourg, 463  
 Jagello, king of Poland, 493  
 Jagellons, the, 615, 616  
 James I. (VI.), king of England, 549, 553, 655-7, 606  
 — II., 596-600, 602, 608-10  
 — (III.), the Old Pretender, 602, 611, 623  
 — I., king of Scotland, 459  
 — IV., 466  
 — (of Aragon), king of Sicily, 394  
 — of Majorca, 482  
 Jameson, Sir Starr, 761  
 Jane (Seymour), queen of England, 529, 530  
 — Grey, Lady. *See* Grey  
 Jansen, Cornelius, and the Jansenists, 591, 592  
 Jarislav of Russia, 493  
 Jason of Phrae, 115, 117, 125  
 Jechoniah. *See* Jehoiachin  
 Jeffries, Judge, 599  
 Jehoshaphat, king of Israel, 62  
 Jehoiachin, king of Judah, 67  
 Jehoiakim, king of Judah, 67  
 Jehoidah, 62, 63  
 Jehoram, king of Israel, 61  
 — — Judah, 59, 61  
 Jehosaphat, king of Judah, 58, 59, 61  
 Jehu, king of Israel, 47, 61, 62  
 Jellachich, ban of Croatia, 720  
 Jenkins, Captain, 626  
 Jeremiah, 67, 68  
 Jeroboam, I., king of Israel, 56, 57, 59  
 — II., king of Israel, 62  
 Jerome of Prague, 476, 477  
 Jervis, John (earl of St. Vincent), 668  
 Jesdegerd III., shah, 277  
 Jezebel, 58-62  
 Joan of Arc, 462  
 Joanna of Castile, 466, 511, 527  
 — daughter of Charles V. of France, 451  
 — daughter of Louis X., 442  
 — I., queen of Naples, 482-4  
 — II., queen of Naples, 484, 485  
 Josiah, king of Israel, 62, 63  
 Johanna, wife of the Black Prince, 437  
 — — of David Bruce, 434  
 — — Philip IV. of France, 440  
 — — William the Good, of Sicily, 410  
 John (pope): I., 257; VIII., 295-7; X., 302; XI., 302; XII., 329, 330; XIII., 330, 333; XIV., 334; XV., 336; XVI., anti-pope), *see* John of Calabria; XXI., 392; XXII., 449, 450; XXIII., 476, 477

John V. (Palaeologus), emperor, 495, 496  
 — [VI.], colleague of Manuel II., 495, 496  
 — VII. (or VI.), colleague of Manuel II., 481, 497  
 — king of Aragon, I. and II., 467  
 — king of Bohemia, 443, 450, 451, 469  
 — king of Castile, I. and II., 467  
 — king of England, 366, 369, 415, 417-24, 439  
 — (II.), king of France, 436, 437, 451, 452, 505  
 — of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, 367, 368, 371  
 — II. (Casimir), king of Poland, 614, 616  
 — III. (Sobieski), king of Poland, 590, 616  
 — I., king of Portugal, 468  
 — VI., king of Portugal, 687, 705, 706  
 — of Austria, Don, 538, 590  
 — of Calabria, anti-pope, 336, 337  
 — of God, 534  
 — of Görs, 471  
 — of Hapsburg, 446  
 — archbishop of Mainz, 474  
 — of Pomuk, 473  
 — of Procida, 393  
 — Henry of Moravia, 450, 471, 474  
 Johnston, Joseph, 733, 735, 739-41  
 Joseph (the patriarch), 50  
 — I., emperor, 603, 607  
 — II., emperor, 633, 634  
 — patriarch of Constantinople, 481  
 Josephine Beauharnais, wife of Napoleon I., 661, 664, 672, 677, 682, 692  
 Joshua, 52  
 Josiah, king of Judah, 44, 66, 67  
 Jost, margrave of Moravia, 474  
 Jotham, 63, 64  
 Joubert, B.-C., 660, 663  
 Jourdan, Marshal, 658, 660, 662, 680  
 Jovian, emperor, 245  
 Juarez, Mexican president, 747  
 Juba, king of Numidia, 201  
 Judith, wife of Aethelwulf, 306  
 — — — Louis the Pious, 293, 294  
 — mother of Barbarossa, 349  
 Jugurtha, 187-9  
 Julia, daughter of Agrippa, 215  
 — — — Augustus, 215  
 — — — Caesar, 197, 199  
 — Domna, 230, 231  
 — Maesa, 231  
 Julian, emperor, 244, 245  
 — Cardinal, 480, 497  
 Julianus, Didius, 229, 230  
 Julius (pope): II., 503, 513; III., 523  
 — Nepos, emperor, 255, 256  
 Junot, Andoche, 687, 690  
 Justin (emperor): I., 257, 258; II., 263, 274  
 Justina, wife of Valentinian I., 247, 248  
 Justinian the Great, 240, 253, 257-60, 262, 263, 274  
 Jusuf, the Cid, 402  
 Juvenal, 219  
 KADJAH, wife of Mohammed, 275, 276  
 Kalid, 277  
 Kallimachus, 86  
 Kantakuzenos, John, 495

Kara Mustapha, 589, 590  
 Karlmann, son of Charles Martel, 272, 273  
 — — — Louis the German, 295-8  
 — — — the Stammerer, 297  
 — See also Carloman  
 Katharine, wife of Charles of Calabria, 448  
 — See Catherine  
 Katte, Lieutenant, 623  
 Kaunits, Prince von, 630, 633  
 Keith, Sir R. M., 646  
 — Viscount, 701  
 Kellermann, Marshal, 659, 680  
 Ken, Bishop, 599  
 Kennure, sixth viscount, 623  
 Kephisodorus, 120  
 Kersobleptes, 127  
 Ket, Robert, 531  
 Kildare, eighth earl of, 466  
 Killian, bishop of Würzburg, 271  
 Kirke, Colonel, 408  
 Kitchener, Viscount, 760, 762, 763  
 Kléber, J. B., 658, 674  
 Kleist, E. F., Count, 695  
 Kleph, king of the Lombards, 263  
 Knox, John, 546, 547  
 Kolman, king of Hungary, 490  
 Kolokotronis, Theodoros, 706  
 Korsakov, Alexander, 663  
 Korybut, 478  
 Kossuth, Louis, 720-2  
 Kray, Baron von, 673  
 Kruger, Paul, 761-3  
 Kunemund, king of the Gepidae, 263  
 Kuropatkin, A. N., 764  
 LA CHAISE, PIERRE, 592  
 Ladislaus, St., king of Hungary, 490  
 — III., king of Hungary, 491  
 — IV., king of Hungary, 389, 491, 492  
 — V. (Postumus), 504  
 — VII., 509  
 — I., king of Naples, 476  
 — II., king of Naples, 484, 499  
 Laevinus, M. Valerius, 162  
 — See Lavinus  
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 649, 650, 652, 708, 714  
 Lafitte, Jacques, 708  
 La Harpe, F. C. de, 697  
 Lainez, Iago, 534, 540  
 Lake, bishop of Chichester, 599  
 — first viscount, 668  
 Lally-Tollendal, Marquis de, 649  
 Lamachus, 107  
 La Marmora, A. F., 744, 746  
 Lamartine, Alphonse de, 715, 718  
 Lamballe, Princesse de, 647  
 Lancaster, Edmund Crouchback, earl of, 383-5, 426, 430, 432  
 — John of Gaunt, duke of, 437, 453-7, 461, 464, 467, 468  
 — Thomas, earl of, 432, 433  
 — James, 555  
 Lancia, Galvano, 391  
 Lando, Michele, 488  
 Lanfranc, Archbishop, 405  
 Langton, Stephen, 420, 421, 424  
 Lannes, Marshal, 680, 685, 690, 691  
 La Renaudie, Seigneur de, 539, 540

Larevellère-Lépeaux, L. M. de, 656  
 Larochehoucauld, Duc de, 649  
 Larochejaquelin, Marquis de, 656  
 Lasca, 82  
 Latimer, Bishop, 533  
 — Lord, 438  
 Latour-Maubourg, Marquis de, 649  
 Laud, William, 567-71  
 Lauderdale, first duke of, 595, 597  
 Lawrence, Sir Henry, 726  
 — Sir John, 726  
 Lautrec, Vicomte de, 520  
 Lavinus (Laevinus), M. Valerius, 155  
 Lazarus of Servia, 495  
 Leboeuf, marshal, 743, 749  
 Lebrun, C.-F., 666, 672  
 Lecoq, Robert, 451, 452  
 Ledru-Rollin, A.-A., 718  
 Lee, Robert E., 735-7, 739-41  
 Lefebvre, Marshal, 658, 660  
 Lefort, François, 615  
 Leicester, Robert Dudley, earl of, 538, 553  
 Lenthall, William, 583  
 Lentulus, P. Cornelius, 196  
 Leo (pope): I. (the Great), 225; III., 290, 293; IV., 305; VIII., 330; IX., 316; X., 303, 513, 517  
 — (emperor): I, 237; III. (the Isaurian), 281; IV. (the Chazar), 281  
 Leonidas the Macedonian, 165  
 — king of Sparta, 90  
 Leonatus, 174, 175  
 Leontides, 113, 114  
 Leontinus, 253  
 Leopold (emperor): I., 587, 590, 592, 601, 627; II., 634, 652, 653  
 — I., king of the Belgians, 708  
 — of Austria, half-brother of Conrad III., 347  
 — — (VI.), captor of Richard I., 418  
 — — VII., 367  
 — — son of Albert I., 445, 448-9  
 Leotychides, 95  
 Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, 279  
 Lepidus, M. Aemilius, 211, 212  
 Lestocq, Armand, 621  
 Letourneur, C. L. F. H., 656  
 Lewenhaupt, Adam, 618  
 L'Hôpital, Michel de, 541  
 Libanius, 245  
 Licinius, emperor, 236  
 — Calvus, C. (Stolo), 139  
 — — P., 146  
 Lincoln, Abraham, American president, 732, 733, 735-7, 740, 741  
 Lincoln, Hugh, earl of, 430  
 — Mrs., 741  
 Liudolf, son of Otto I., 324, 327-9  
 Liutbold, Bishop, 299  
 Liutgard, daughter of Otto I., 324, 329  
 Liverpool, second earl of, 692, 696, 699, 710  
 Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus, 215, 216  
 Livius (historian), 135  
 — Marcus (priest), 154  
 — — Salinator, 162  
 Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, 599  
 Lobkowitz, Prince von, 590  
 Lollius, M., 216  
 Longchamp, William of, 417, 418

Longueville, Anne, duchess of, 576  
 — Henry II., duke of, 576  
 Longus, Tiberius Sempronius, 160  
 Lorraine, Charles, duke of, 591  
 — Francis, duke of. *See* Francis, emperor  
 Lothar I., emperor, 293-5, 330  
 — II., emperor, 318, 347  
 — II., of Lotharingia, 295  
 — IV., of France, 333, 335  
 — of Italy, 327  
 Louis I., the Pious, emperor, 286, 292-5  
 — II., emperor, 295  
 — the Bavarian, emperor, 435, 448-50,  
 469, 470, 472  
 — of Anjou: I., 484; II., 484; III., 484,  
 485 (king of Naples)  
 — king of France: II. (the Stammerer),  
 296, 297; III., 297; IV., (d'Outremer),  
 301, 308, 323, 333; VI., 407; VII., 348,  
 409, 412, 414, 415, 439; VIII., 368, 419,  
 422-4, 439; IX., 371, 383, 386, 387, 395,  
 426, 440, 544; X., 441, 442; XI., 506,  
 507; XII., 532; XIII., 567, 573-6;  
 XIV., 441, 575-7, 584-93, 595-7, 599-607,  
 610, 611, 618, 619, 624, 627, 647, 651, 672;  
 XV., 441, 585, 607, 624, 625, 647; XVI.,  
 585, 647-50, 652-6, 692, 708; XVII., 653,  
 656; XVIII., 647, 656, 698, 699, 701, 705,  
 707  
 — king of the East Franks—  
 the German, 298, 297  
 the Younger, 295-7  
 the Child, 300  
 — the Great, king of Hungary, 483, 484,  
 492, 493  
 — the Dauphin (son of Louis XIV.), 610  
 — son of Bosco, 298  
 — duke of Orleans, 459  
 — of Taranto, 482  
 — of Valois, 485  
 — Ferdinand, prince of Prussia, 684  
 — Philippe, king of the French, 649, 708,  
 714-6  
 Louisa Maria, wife of Charles IV. of Spain,  
 687-9  
 Louise, queen of Prussia, 686  
 Louvel, L. P., 705  
 Louvois, Marquis de, 585, 588, 589, 592  
 Lowe, Sir Hudson, 701  
 Loyola, Ignatius, 533, 534  
 Lucean, third earl of, 724  
 Lucius, Caesar, son of Agrippa, 215, 216  
 Lucullus, L. Licinius, 195  
 Lugulzaggisi, 21  
 Lullus of Mainz, 273  
 Luther, Martin, 516-8, 520, 521, 527  
 Luxembourg, Marshal, 586, 587, 593  
 Luynes, Constable, 573, 574  
 Lycophron of Pharsa, 125  
 Lyndhurst, first baron, 711  
 Lyons, Richard, 438  
 Lysander, 107-9  
 Lysias, 113  
 MACBETH, king of Scotland, 314  
 Maccabees, the, 179, 180, 184, 185  
 McClellan, G. B., 734-6, 740  
 Macdonald, duc de Tarente, 659, 662, 693,  
 695

MacDowell, Irvin, 733  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 501, 502  
 Mack, Baron Charles, 681  
 Macklin, Charles, 683  
 Macmahon, Marshal, 728, 749-51, 753, 754  
 Macrinus, emperor, 231  
 Maecenas, C. Clinias, 215  
 Mago, brother of Hannibal, 159, 162, 163  
 Mahmoud, 760  
 — II., sultan, 706, 707  
 Mahomet Ali, of the Carnatic, 636  
 — (Khedive), 706, 707  
 Maillard, Stanislas, 653  
 Maillart, Jean, 452  
 Maine, Charles, count of, 484  
 Maintenon, Madame de, 592  
 Majorian, emperor, 255  
 Makkab, Judas. *See* Maccabees  
 — Mattathias. *See* Maccabees  
 Malcolm III., king of Scotland, 406  
 Mamaea, Julia, 231, 232  
 Manasseh, 66  
 — archbishop of Milan, 323  
 Mancini, Maria, 577  
 — Olympia, 577  
 Mandane, 75  
 Manetho, 11, 12, 15, 41  
 Manfred, son of Frederic II., 381-8, 393, 487  
 Manin, Daniel, doge of Venice, 661  
 Mansfeldt, Count Ernst of, 553, 559, 566  
 Manuel (emperor): I. (Comnenus), 318  
 — — II. (Palaeologus), 453, 495-7  
 Mar, twenty-second (or sixth) earl of, 623  
 Marat, J. P., 652-4  
 Marbod, 218  
 Marceau, F. S. de G., 658  
 Marcel, Stephen, 451, 452  
 Marcella, niece of Augustus, 215  
 Marcellus, M. Claudius, consul, 159, 161, 162  
 — — nephew of Augustus, 215  
 Marchand, J. B., 760  
 Marcia, mistress of Commodus, 229  
 Marcus Aurelius, emperor, 225, 228  
 Mardonius, 85-7, 92, 93  
 Maret, H. B., 672  
 Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI., 461-3,  
 485, 507  
 — Austria, wife of Henry (VII.), 375  
 — — daughter of Maximilian, 507  
 — Burgundy, wife of Louis X., 442  
 — France, wife of Edward I., 431  
 — — daughter of Louis VII., 412  
 — Navarre, sister of Francis I., 548  
 — the Maid of Norway, 430  
 — of Scotland, wife of Malcolm III., 406  
 — (Tudor), wife of James IV., 466, 548,  
 565  
 — of Valois, wife of Henry IV., 542, 544  
 — wife of Alberic of Romano, 385  
 — Maultasch, 450, 470, 471  
 — Theresa, wife of Leopold I., 601  
 Maria of Durazzo, 482  
 — sister of Ladislaus IV., 492  
 — wife of Sigismund, 492  
 — Caroline, queen of Naples, 662, 680  
 — da Gloria, queen of Portugal, 706  
 — Theresa, wife of Louis XIV., 577, 601  
 — — empress, 625, 626, 628, 630, 632,  
 633, 647



- Marie Antoinette, queen of France, 647, 648, 653, 655, 692  
 Marie Leasscynska, queen of France, 624-5  
 Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon I., 692, 698, 703  
 Marinus, pope, 297  
 Marius, Galus, 188-92  
 Marlborough, first duke of, 602-5, 611-3, 617  
   — Sarah, duchess of, 606, 613  
 Marmont, Marshal, 696, 697, 699  
 Marozia, 302, 326, 330  
 Marshall, Gilbert, fourth earl of Pembroke, 425  
   — Richard, third earl of Pembroke, 425  
   — William, first earl of Pembroke, 424, 425  
 Martianus, 231  
 Martin, St., 288  
 Martin, king of Aragon, 467  
   — (pope): IV., 392, 393; V., 478, 479  
 Martinitz, Jaroslav von, 558  
 Martyr, Peter, 540  
 Mary, duchess of Burgundy, 466  
   — Stuart, queen of Scots, 533, 539, 540, 545-553  
   — (I.) Tudor, queen of England, 528, 530, 532, 533, 545  
   — (Tudor), queen of France and duchess of Suffolk, 530, 532  
   — II., queen of England, 597, 600, 607-9  
 Masséna, Marshal, 658, 662, 663, 680, 696  
 Massey, John, dean of Christ Church, 599  
 Massinissa, 163, 164, 184, 187  
 Massiva, 188  
 Mataniah. *See* Zedekiah  
 Mathilda, wife of Henry the Fowler, 322  
   — empress, wife of Henry V., 407-9  
   — queen of England, wife of William I., 315  
   — — Henry I, 406, 407  
   — wife of Henry the Lion, 410  
   — daughter of Otto I., 338  
   — of Tuscany, countess, 365, 376  
 Matthias, emperor, 557, 558  
   — (Corvinus), king of Hungary, 504, 509  
   — of Austria, archduke, 537, 538  
 Mauleon, Savary de, 423  
 Maurice, emperor, 274  
   — of Nassau, 538  
   — of Saxony. *See* Saxony  
 Mausolus of Caria, 123  
 Mavrocordato, Alessandro, 706  
 Maxentius, emperor, 235, 236  
 Maximian, emperor, 235  
 Maximilian I, emperor, 466, 506-13, 515, 518, 528  
   — II., emperor, 525, 537, 557  
   — (of Austria), emperor of Mexico, 747  
 Maximin I., emperor, 232  
   — II., emperor, 236  
 Maximus, Magnus Clemens, 248  
 Mayenne, Charles, duke of, 544  
 Mazarin, Cardinal, 575-7, 584, 585  
 Maseppa, Ivan, 618  
 Meade, G. G., 787  
 Medici family, the, 488-500, 508, 509  
   — Bianca, 502  
   — Catherine, 520, 540-3, 550  
   — Cosimo, 488-501  
   — Medici, Giovanni, 488, 499  
   — — *See* Leo X.  
   — Giuliano (son of Lorenzo), 503  
   — — (son of Pietro), 501, 502  
   — Lorenzo, son of Giovanni, 488-500  
   — — the Magnificent, 501-3  
   — Maddelena, 502  
   — Mary, wife of Henry IV., 544, 573, 574  
   — Pietro, son of Cosimo, 501  
   — — — Lorenzo, 503  
   — Salvestor, 488  
 Medina Sidonia, seventh duke of, 538, 554  
 Medios, 109  
 Megabazus, 75, 76  
 Megacles, 87  
 Megobryzus, 102  
 Meinhard of Görz, 390  
   — III., 470, 471  
 Melak, 593  
 Melancthon, Philip, 518, 520, 523, 526  
 Melancthus, 84  
 Melbourne, second viscount, 711, 712  
 Mellon, 113, 114  
 Melus, 315  
 Memmius, Galus, 188, 190  
 Memnon. *See* Amenophis III.  
   — the Rhodian, 166  
 Menahem, king of Israel, 48, 63, 64  
 Mendoza, Bernardino de, 551  
 Meneptah, 41  
 Menes, 1, 4-6  
 Menestheus, 95  
 Menotti, Ciro, 708  
 Menshikov, A. D., 621  
   — Prince A. S., 723, 724  
 Mentuhotep, 12  
 Menzikov. *See* Menshikov  
 Merveldt, Count von, 696  
 Merwig, 261  
 Messalina, wife of Claudius, 228  
 Metellus (Caecilius), L., 158  
   — — Q., Creticus, 194  
   — — — Macedonicus, 183  
   — — — Numidicus, 188  
 Metternich, Prince of, 692, 694, 698, 704, 710, 716  
 Mettius Fufetius, 183  
 Michael, king of Poland, 616  
   — III. (Romanoff), czar of Russia, 614  
 Micpea, 187  
 Miguel, Dom, claimant to Portugal, 706  
 Milner, Sir Alfred (viscount), 762  
 Milo, 79  
   — T. Annlus Papianus, 198, 199  
 Miltiades, 76, 82, 85-87  
 Miltitz, Karl von, 518  
 Milton, John, 579, 581  
 Mina, F. E. y, 706  
 Minucius Rufus, 161  
 Mirabeau, Count, 648-51  
 Miranda, Pico della, 508  
 Mithradates, king of Pergamum, 200  
   — VI., king of Pontus, 179, 191, 192, 194, 195  
 Moawija, 278, 279  
 Modena, Francis IV., duke of, 708, 709  
 Mohammed, 274-8  
   — I., sultan, 496, 497  
   — II., sultan, 497, 498

Mohammed IV., sultan, 590, 591  
 — of Seville, 401  
 — Ibn Al Hamah, 404  
 Molay, Jacques de, 441  
 Molé, Matthieu, 576  
 — Count L. M. de, 715  
 Moltke, Count Helmuth K. B. von, 749, 751  
 Momylus. *See* Romulus Augustulus  
 Moncey, Marshal, 680, 688  
 Monk, George (duke of Albemarle) 582, 583, 595  
 Monmouth, James Scott, duke of, 598, 599  
 Montagu, Charles, earl of Halifax, 611  
 Montague, bishop of Chichester, 567  
 Montcalm, Marquis de, 641  
 Montecuculi, Count Raymond of, 588, 590  
 Montesecco, G. B. da, 502  
 Montferrat, counts and marquises of—  
     Boniface, 362, 363  
     — 377  
     Giovanni IV., 485  
     William, 350  
     — (2), 377  
 Montfort, Simon de, earl of Leicester, 425, 427, 428  
 Montmorency, Anne de (Constable), 521, 540, 541  
 — Count, 649  
 Montpellier, Count William of, 402  
 Montrose, first marquis of, 570  
 Moore, Sir John, 690  
 Moray, James Stuart, second earl of, 549  
 More, Sir Thomas, 523, 529  
 Moreau, Edward, 753  
 — Jean Victor, 659, 660, 662-5, 673, 678-80, 695  
 — Colonel, 697  
 Moreale, Fra, 471, 483  
 Moreville, Hugh of, 412  
 Mortier, Marshal, 680, 690, 695, 697  
 Mortimer, earls of March—  
     Roger, first earl, 433, 434  
     — fourth earl, 456  
     Edmund, fifth earl, 457-60  
 Morton, Cardinal, 464, 466  
 Moses, 51, 52  
 Mountjoy, eighth baron, 555  
 Mowbray, Thos. (Earl Marshall), earl of Nottingham, and duke of Norfolk, 456, 457  
 — — (Earl Marshall), son of the preceding, 459  
 Muled Abul Hassan, 404  
 Mummius, L., Achaicus, 183  
 Munich (Münich), B. C. von, 621  
 Murad I., sultan, 495  
 — II., sultan, 497  
 Murat, Joachim, king of Naples, 665, 680, 683, 685, 688, 690, 695, 700, 704  
 Murena, L. Licinius, 192  
 Murta, Giovanni di, doge of Genoa, 486  
 Mus, P. Decius, 164  
 Musa, 279, 280  
 — son of Bajezid I., 496  
 Musikanos, 171  
 Mycerinus, 7, 8  
  
 NABIS, 182  
 Nabonetus. *See* Belshazzar  
 Nabopolassar, 75

Nadab, 57  
 Nabor, Bernardo, 501  
 Napoleon I., emperor, 605, 631, 657-704  
 — II., king of Rome, 692, 698, 701  
 — III., emperor, 682, 718, 719, 722, 725, 727-9, 744, 745, 747, 749-51, 753  
 — Eugène (Prince Imperial), 749, 757  
 Naramsin, 23  
 Narcissus, 229  
 Narses, 259, 260  
 Nathan, 56  
 Nau, Claude, 552  
 Nausicles, 126  
 Navarre. *See* Albret, Antoine, Henry IV., Margaret  
 Nearchus, 172  
 Nebonad, 80  
 Nebuchadnezzar, 17, 44, 67, 79, 173  
 Necho, 43, 44  
 Necker, Jacques, 648, 649, 673  
 Nehemiah, 68, 72  
 Neipperg, Count A. A. von, 698  
 Nektanabis, 120  
 Nelson, Horatio (Viscount), 663, 664, 668, 675, 681  
 Neri, St. Philip, 534  
 Nerli, The, 488  
 Nero, C. Claudius, 162  
 — Tiberius Claudius, 215  
 — son of Germanicus, 218, 219  
 — emperor, 219, 221, 222  
 Nerva, emperor, 225  
 Newcastle, William Cavendish, earl and duke of, 570  
 — Thos. Pelham-Holles, duke of, 635-7  
 Ney, Marshal, 680, 690, 695, 699, 700  
 Nicholas (pope): II., 317; III., 392; IV., 394; V. (anti-pope), 449, 450; (pope), 481  
 — I., czar of Russia, 706, 722, 724  
 — of Pistna, 478  
 Niclas, 106, 107; peace of, 106  
 Nicomedes of Bithynia, 178, 195  
 Niger, C. Pescennius, 229  
 Nightingale, Florence, 724  
 Nogaret, William of, 441  
 Norfolk, Thos. Howard, third duke of, 530  
 — — fourth duke of, 549, 551  
 — *See* Bigod and Mowbray  
 Normandy, Dukes of—  
     Richard: I., 310; II., 310, 311; III., 314  
     Robert: I. (the Devil), 314; II. (Curt-hose), 345, 405, 406  
     Rollo, 301  
 Norris, Sir John, 555  
 North, Lord (second earl of Guildford), 640-3  
 Northumberland, Henry Percy, first earl of, 458, 459  
 — John Dudley, duke of, 531, 532  
 — Thomas Percy, seventh earl of, 549, 551  
 Nottingham, Daniel Finch, earl of, 607, 612  
 — *See* Norfolk  
 Numa Pompilius, 132  
 Numator, 132  
 Numerianus, 234  
 Nushirvan, shah, 274

ORADIAN, 59  
 Octavia, wife of Mark Antony, 212  
 Octavianus. *See* Augustus  
 Octavius, Gn., 191  
 — M., 187  
 Odo of Paris, king of France, 298, 299, 301  
 — archbishop of Canterbury, 309, 310  
 Odoacer, 255, 256  
 Odyseus, 706  
 Olaf Trygvesson, king of Norway, 310  
 — St., king of Norway, 312  
 Oldcastle, Sir John, 460  
 Olden-Barneveld, J. von, 538  
 Olympia, wife of Philip of Macedon, 124  
 Omar, 275-8  
 Ommalada, the, 278-81, 401  
 Omri, 58  
 Onomarchos, 125  
 Opimius, L., 187  
 Orchan, 494, 495  
 Orestes, patrician, 255, 256  
 Orford, Edward Russell, earl of, 611  
 — *See* Sir Robert Walpole  
 Orleans, Philip (Egalité), duke of, 649, 650.  
 654, 655, 708  
 — dukes of. *See* Gaston and Loma  
 Ormond, second duke of, 622  
 Ornano, Marshal, 574  
 Orsini, Clarice, 501  
 — Felice, 727  
 — the, 307  
 Osburga, mother of Aelfred, 307  
 Osman, 494  
 Ota, 300  
 Othman, 275, 276, 278  
 Othniel, 53  
 Otho, emperor, 219, 222  
 Otto I., emperor, 308, 322-31, 335  
 — II., emperor, 329, 331-4  
 — III., 334-40, 503  
 — IV., emperor, 362-4, 366, 418, 420, 421  
 Otto I., king of the Hellenes, 706  
 — of Austria, son of Albert I., emperor,  
 450  
 — Carinthia, 336, 337  
 — son of Ludolf of Swabia, 332  
 — of Lomello, count, 339  
 Ottokar I., king of Bohemia, 363  
 — II., king of Bohemia, 389, 443, 444, 491  
 — *See* Odoacer  
 Oudinot, Marshal, 695, 713  
 Outram, Sir James, 726  
 Oxenstierna, Axel, 562, 563  
 Oxford, Robert Harley, earl of, 605, 606, 611,  
 613, 622  
 Oxyartes, 170  
  
 PAINE, Thomas, 666  
 Palaeologus, Admiral, 318  
 Palafox, Joseph, 690  
 Palavicini, 386  
 Pallig, Jarl, 311  
 Palmerston, third viscount, 696, 711, 712,  
 724  
 Pandolfo the Ironhead, 333  
 Pandulf of Anagni, 371  
 — legate in England, 421, 424  
 Pansa, C. Vibius, 210  
 Paoli, Pasquale de', 658

Papinian, 231  
 Papius Cursor, L., 153  
 Pappenheim, Count G. F. zu, 562  
 Paris, Louis P. A., comte de, 715  
 Parker, Matthew, 546, 550  
 Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of, 537,  
 538, 544, 554  
 — Margaret, duchess of, 535, 536  
 Parmenio, 127, 166, 167, 170  
 Parry, William, 551  
 Parsons, Robert, 551, 553  
 Parysatis, 172  
 Pascal, Blaise, 591  
 Paschal I., pope, 293  
 Paskewich, Marshal, 708  
 Patrick, St., 271  
 Paul III. (pope), 521, 522, 529, 534  
 — IV., 534, 445, 548  
 — I., czar of Russia, 663, 674, 675  
 Paulet, Sir Amyas, 552  
 Paulus, L. Aemilius, 161  
 — — — Macedonicus, 183, 186  
 — Diaconus, 286, 290  
 — Julius, 231  
 Pausanias of Sparta, 93-6, 98  
 — king of Sparta, 107  
 Pazzi, the, 502  
 — Francesco de, 502  
 Pedro. *See* Peter  
 Peel, Sir Robert, 711, 712  
 Pekah, king of Israel, 48, 64, 65  
 Pekahiah, king of Israel, 64  
 Pelham, Henry, 635, 636  
 Pelopidas, 113, 114, 116-9  
 Pemberton, J. C., 737  
 Penn, William, 640  
 Penry, John, 555  
 Pepe, Guglielmo, 705  
 Pepi I., 10, 11  
 — II., 10, 11  
 Pepin (of Heristal), 272  
 — (of Landen), 271, 272  
 — le Bref, 272, 273, 283, 285, 287  
 — son of Charlemagne, 286, 289, 292,  
 293  
 — grandson of Charlemagne, 293, 294  
 Perceval, Spencer, 686, 692, 696  
 Percy, Henry. *See* Northumberland  
 — Hotspur, 458, 459  
 — Thomas. *See* Worcester  
 Perdiccas, king of Macedon: I., 121; II.,  
 121; III., 118, 122  
 — Alexander's general, 166, 174  
 Pericles, 98, 99, 102-6; peace of, 104  
 Périer, Casimir, 708  
 Perignon, Marshal, 680  
 Perpenna, M., Vento, 194  
 Perses, king of Macedon, 183  
 Pertinax, emperor, 229  
 Peruzzi, the, 500  
 Pestalozzi, J. H., 662  
 Peter (Pedro, &c.)—  
 king of Aragon: 365; 386, 393, 394;  
 IV., 466, 467  
 the Cruel, king of Castile, 437, 451, 456,  
 467  
 I., king of Hungary, 490  
 king of Portugal: I., 467, 468.; II., 705,  
 706

- Peter Pedro, &c.)—  
 czar of Russia: I. (the Great), 615-21,  
 633; II., 621; III., 630-2  
 son of Frederick of Sicily, 447  
 the Hermit, 845  
 of Pisa, 290  
 Ruffo, 383  
 of Rivaulx, 425  
 doge of Venice, 299  
 delle Vigne, 363, 372, 375, 381, 384  
 Peterborough, third earl of, 603  
 Pétiou, Jérôme, 653, 655  
 Petrarch, 432  
 Petreus, Marcus, 196, 200  
 Petronius, Maximus, emperor, 255  
 Pfug, Julius, 523  
 Pharnabazus, 109-10  
 Pharnaces, 195, 200  
 Phaylos, 126  
 Phaidias, 97, 105  
 Phélippeaux, A. le P. de, 664  
 Philaret, patriarch, 614  
 Philip of Arabia, emperor, 232, 233  
 — I. (of Austria), king of Castile, 466, 511,  
 512, 515  
 — king of France: II. (Augustus), 360,  
 366, 368, 415, 417-22, 439, 442; III., 435,  
 440, 442, 443; IV. (le Bel), 394, 430, 431,  
 435, 440-2, 445; V., 441, 442; VI., 435,  
 436, 442, 450, 451  
 — king of Macedon: 118, 122-9; III.,  
 161, 162, 166, 177, 181, 182; V., 183  
 — king of Spain: II., 524, 532, 533, 535-7,  
 543-5, 550, 553; III., 573; IV., 577, 586,  
 601; V., 601-5, 623  
 — archbishop of Cologne, 357  
 — of Hesse, 519, 521, 522, 524  
 — of Swabia, German king, 362-4, 366  
 Philippoemen, 177, 181, 182  
 Philippa, daughter of Lionel of Clarence, 475  
 Philippus, 113, 114  
 Philiskos of Abydos, 118  
 Philocrates, 127, 128  
 Philomelos, 124, 125  
 Philotas, 160, 170  
 Phocas, emperor, 274  
 Phocion, 115, 123, 126  
 Phoebeidas, 113, 115  
 Phraates, king of the Medes, 69, 75  
 — king of Parthia, 216  
 Phrynicus, 95, 97  
 Phylidas, 113, 114  
 Pianchi, 43  
 Piasta, the, 492, 493, 616  
 Piccolomini, Prince, 563  
 Pichegru, Charles, 659, 678, 680  
 Pindar, 97, 166  
 Pinotem I., 42  
 Piocchino, Niccolò, 479  
 Pisistratus, 81, 82  
 Piso, Cn. Calpurnius, 218  
 Pitt, William. See Chatham  
 — — the Younger, 638, 643-6, 666-9,  
 675, 678, 682-4  
 Pitti, Lucca, 501  
 Plus (dope): II., 482, 503, 504; IV., 534;  
 V., 546, 549-51; VI., 660, 682; IX., 713  
 Placidia, 251, 252  
 Plancina, 218  
 Plato, 108  
 Plantus, 186  
 Plotina, empress, 226  
 Plutarch, 227  
 Pole, John de la, earl of Lincoln, 464  
 — Michael de la, 456  
 — William de la, earl of Suffolk, 461  
 — Cardinal, 532, 533  
 Polignac, Prince de, 707  
 Polixiano, A. A., 503  
 Poltrot, Jean de, 541  
 Polybius, 184, 186  
 Polycrates of Samos, 45, 81, 82  
 Polygnotus, 97, 105  
 Polysperchon, 175  
 Pomerania, Bogislav of, 562  
 Pompador, Marquise de, 638  
 Pompeius, Gn. (the Great), 168, 193-200  
 — — (the Younger), 201  
 — Sextus, 201, 211, 212  
 Poniatowski, Count, 618  
 Pontius, Gaius, 152  
 Pope, General, 736  
 Poppe, count of Thuringia, 300  
 Portland, first earl of, 610  
 — third duke of, 643, 686  
 Porus, 170, 171  
 Potemkin, Prince G. A., 633  
 Pouyer-Quertier, A. T., 754  
 Pride, Colonel Thomas, 572, 583  
 Priestley, Joseph, 666  
 Prior, Matthew, 605  
 Probus, emperor, 234  
 Procopius, 246  
 Prokop the Great, 478  
 Protagoras, 105  
 Prusias, king of Bithynia, 182  
 Prussia, Prince Albert of, 745  
 — Prince Frederick Charles of, 744, 746,  
 749, 750  
 — Prince Henry of, 646  
 Psammethichus, king of Egypt: I., 43, 44;  
 II., 44; III., 45  
 Pausanias, 42  
 Ptolemaos, 122  
 Ptolemy, king of Egypt: I. (Soter), 174-7;  
 II. (Philadelphus), 176, 178, 179; III.  
 (Evergetes), 178; XIII. (Philopater), 200  
 — Keraunos, 176  
 Pulcheria, empress, 253  
 Pulteney, William (earl of Bath), 626  
 Pursin, I., 24  
 — II., 25  
 Pym, John, 569, 570.  
 Pyrrhus king of Epirus, 154, 155, 157  
 QUIROGA, Antonio, 705, 706  
 Quosdanowitch, P. V. von, 660  
 RABSHKEH, 66  
 Radetzky, Count Joseph, 713  
 Radziwill, Prince Michael, 708  
 Raglan, Lord, 723, 725  
 Ragnar Lodbrok, 303, 304, 306, 307  
 Raimond of Toulouse, 346  
 — — 421  
 — Berengar of Catalonia, 402  
 — — of Provence, 425  
 Rainald, count of Boulogne, 366, 421

- Rainald of Spoleto, 371  
 Rakocsy, Francis, II., 603  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 553  
 Rameses, king of Egypt: II., 40, 41, 51;  
     III., 42; IV.—XII., 42  
 Ranulf of Aquitaine, 298  
     — of Aversa, 316  
 Raphael, S., 507  
 Raspail, F. V., 718  
 Ravalliac, Francois, 545  
 Raymond, George, 555  
     — See Raimond  
 Re, 9  
 Rea Silva, 132  
 Recarred, king of the Visigoths, 279  
 Reginald, sub-prior of Christ Church, 420  
 Regulus, M. Atilius, 158  
 Rehoboam, king of Judah, 57, 58  
 Remigius, bishop of Reims, 262  
 Remus, 132  
 Renard, Simon, 532  
 René (the Good), of Anjou, 485  
     — II., of Lorraine, 506, 507  
 Requesens, Don Luis de, 537  
 Rets, Cardinal de, 567, 577  
 Rewbell, J. F., 656  
 Rezin, 48, 64  
 Rhadagais, 250  
 Riario, Cardinal Piero, 502  
 Rich, Edmund, 425  
 Richard of Cornwall, king of the Romans,  
     378, 383, 385, 388, 389, 425-7, 443  
     — king of England: I., 360, 361, 366, 397,  
     414, 415, 417-419, 439; II., 438, 454-7;  
     III., 463, 464  
 Richelleu, Cardinal, 560, 578-5, 672  
 Richildis, wife of Charles the Bald, 295, 296  
 Ricimer, 255  
 Ridley, Nicholas, bishop of London, 533  
 Riego, Rafael del, 705  
 Rikenz, Cola di, 469, 482, 483  
 Rimsin, 28, 29  
 Ripon, first marquiss of, 757  
 Rivers, Earl, 463  
 Rizzio, David, 548  
 Robert of Artois, 435  
     — — See Robert, king of Naples  
     — I., king of France, 301  
     — of Gloucester, son of Henry I., 408, 409  
     — Guiscard, 316, 317  
     — of Jumièges, 314  
     — king of Naples, 435, 447, 448, 482, 486  
     — I. (Bruce), king of Scotland, 481-4  
     — III. (Bruce), king of Scotland, 458, 459  
     — son of St. Louis, 442  
 Roberts, Earl, 757, 762  
 Robespierre, M. M. I., 652-6  
 Roches, Peter des, 421, 423-5  
 Rockingham, second marquiss of, 638, 639,  
     642  
 Roderick, king of the Visigoths, 279  
     — governor of Andalusia, 279  
 Rodney, first baron, 642  
 Roger of Apulia, 317  
     — of Aquila, 371  
     — of Loria, 393, 394  
     — bishop of Salisbury, 407, 409  
     — king of Sicily: I., 316, 317; II., 317,  
     318, 348  
 Rogers, John, 533  
 Rohan, Cardinal, 679  
 Rokycana, John, 480  
 Roland, 285  
     — J. M., 663, 665  
     — Madame, 665  
 Romanova, the, 614  
 Romanus II., emperor, 332  
 Romulus, 132  
     — Augustulus, 255, 256  
 Rooke, Sir George, 403, 612  
 Roon, Count von, 742  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, American president,  
     764  
 Roric, 306  
 Rosamund Clifford, 416  
 Rosamunda, wife of Alberic, 263  
 Rosebery, fifth earl of, 759, 765  
 Rosecrans, W. S., 738  
 Ross, Count P. L. O., 713  
 Rostopchin, Count F. W., 693  
 Roth family, the, 509  
 Roxana, 170, 174, 175  
 Rüdiger, Count F. W., 721  
 Rudolf I. (of Hapsburg), emperor, 388,  
     389, 392, 443-5, 448, 491, 492  
     — II., emperor, 557  
 Rudolf, king of Burgundy: I., 298, 299;  
     II., 327; III., 340, 341  
     — of Burgundy, king of France, 301  
     — count of Hapsburg, 375  
     — son of Rudolf I., 444, 446  
     — — Albert I., 445, 446  
     — — — II., 470  
 Rufinus, 249  
 Rufus Sulpicius, 191  
 Rugilas, king of the Huns, 252-3  
 Rukela, 275  
 Rupert III., Count Palatine, anti-king, 473,  
     474  
     — of the Rhine (Prince), 597  
 Rurik, 493, 614  
 Russell, Lord John (first earl), 710-12  
     — Lord William, 598  
 Rustum, 278  
 Ruy Diaz, The Old, 401  
 Ruyter, M. A. de, 587, 588, 595  
 Sabinus, Julius, 222  
 Sabokon, 43  
 Sabu, 28  
 St. André, Marshal, 540, 541  
 St. Arnaud, Marshal, 723  
 St. Cyr, Marshal, 690, 695  
 St. Pol, Constable, 506, 507  
 St. Ruth, General, 609  
 St. Valery, Aymer de, 391  
 Sachs, Hans, 519  
 Saladin, 360, 361, 415, 418  
 Salanguerra, 377, 378  
 Salisbury, earl of: Richard Neville, 462,  
     463; Robert Cecil, 556, 565  
     — William Longsword, 366, 421, 423  
     — third marquiss of, 757, 759, 765  
 Sallust, 196  
 Sallustius, 245  
 Saloman, bishop of Constance, 299  
 Samai Bin, 47  
 Samson, 53, 54

- Samsuditani, 30  
 Samsulluna, 30  
 Samuabu, 28, 30  
 Samuel, 58  
 Sanchia of Aragon, 365  
 — of Provence, wife of Richard of Cornwall, 425  
 Sancho, son of Alfonso II., 401  
 Sancroft, Archbishop, 559  
 Sandwich, fourth earl of, 638  
 Santa Cruz, Marquis of, 554  
 Santa Rosa, P. d., 727  
 Sarakos, 49  
 Sardanapalus. *See* Assurbanipul  
 Sargon I., 22, 23  
 — II., 48, 65  
 Sarsfield, Patrick, 609  
 Sarus, 251  
 Saturnius, L. Apuleius, 190  
 Saul, king of Israel, 53, 54  
 Savage, John, 552  
 Savelli, the, 483  
 Savonarola, Girolamo, 508  
 Savoy, dukes and counts of—  
 Amadeus : I., II., III., V., 485 ; VI., 486 ;  
 VIII., 486 (*see* Felix V.) ; IX., 486  
 Charles Emmanuel I., 558  
 Humbert (count of Maurienne), I., II.,  
 III., 485  
 Louis, 486  
 Oddo I., 485  
 Peter I., 485  
 Philibert I., 486  
 Thomas I., 485  
 Victor Amadeus II., 598, 606  
 — Boniface of, 425  
 — Carignan, Eugene, prince of, 577  
 — — François, prince of, 577, 591,  
 602-4  
 Saxe, Marshal, 630  
 Saxe-Weimar, Bernard of, 500, 562, 563  
 — — William of, 560  
 Saxony, electors and kings of—  
 Augustus, 524  
 Frederick III., the Wise, 516, 518, 519  
 Frederick Augustus III. (I.), 633, 634, 686  
 John the Steadfast, 516, 519, 520  
 John Frederick, 516, 520-22, 524  
 John George I., 524, 559, 562, 563  
 — — III., 590  
 Maurice, 521-4  
 — — Ludolf, duke of, 319  
 — — Otto, duke of, 319  
 Schalkbürger, 763  
 Schärtilin of Burtenbach, 522  
 Scherer, B. L. J., 659  
 Schill, Friederich von, 691  
 Schimmelpennink, Count, 680  
 Schlich, Chancellor, 481  
 Schwarzenberg, Prince von, 698-5, 697  
 Scipio, L. Cornelius, Asiaticus, 182  
 — P. Cornelius, 160, 162  
 — — Africanus, 162-4, 181, 182, 186  
 — — — Acmilianus, 184-6, 188  
 Scribonia, wife of Augustus, 215  
 Scrope of Masham, Lord, 460  
 — — archbishop of York, 459  
 Sebekhotep, 15  
 Sebeknofrure, 15  
 Segovia, John of, 480  
 Selanus, 219  
 Selden, John, 567  
 Seleucus I. (Nicator), 175-7  
 — II. (Kallinicus), 178  
 Seneca, L. Annaeus, 221  
 Sennacherib, 41, 48, 65, 66  
 Septimius, L., 200  
 — — Severus, emperor, 228-30  
 Sergius III., pope, 302  
 Sertorius, Q., 193, 194  
 Sérurier, Marshal, 680  
 Servetus, 517  
 Servilius Tullius, 133-6, 138  
 Sesonchis. *See* Shesonch  
 Sesostris I., 13  
 — — III., 13, 14  
 — *See* Sethos  
 Seth, 2-6  
 Sethos I., 40  
 Setnacht, 41  
 Severinus, 272  
 Seymour, Sir Thomas, lord, 531  
 — — Jane. *See* Jane S.  
 Sforza family, the, 508  
 — — Francesco, 479, 485, 486, 519, 520  
 — — Ludovico, 611  
 Shaftesbury, first earl of, 595, 597, 598  
 Shallum, 63, 67  
 Shalmaneser II., 47, 62 ; III., 47 ; IV., 48,  
 65  
 Shelburne, second earl (first marquis of  
 Lansdowne), 642, 643  
 Shemalah, 56  
 Sheridan, P. H., 789, 741  
 Sherman, W. T., 733, 737-41  
 Sherwin, Ralph, 551  
 Shesonch (Sisak, Sesonchis), 43, 56, 58  
 Shrewsbury, first duke of, 600, 607, 613  
 Sickingen, Franz von, 518  
 Sidmouth. *See* Addington  
 Sidney, Algernon, 598  
 — — Sir Phillip, 538  
 Sidorius Apollinaris, 255  
 Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, 344  
 Siegwan-Müller, Constantin, 714  
 Siéyes, Abbé, 648, 655, 656, 664, 665, 671,  
 703  
 Sigebert, king of the Franks, 264  
 Sigismund, emperor, 471, 473-81, 490, 492,  
 496  
 — — III., king of Sweden and Poland, 616  
 — — count of Tyrol, 506, 509  
 Sigurd Ring, 303, 304  
 — — Snake Eye, 303  
 Silo, Q. Pompeidius, 191  
 Silvanus, M. Plautius, 191  
 Silvester II., pope, 335-8, 340, 390  
 Simmel, Lambert, 464, 465  
 Simonides, 82, 97  
 Sinnuballit, 28  
 Sisak. *See* Shesonch  
 Sisigambis, 167, 169  
 Siward of Northumbria, 314  
 — — son of Regnar, 304  
 Sixtus (pope) : IV., 502 ; V., 543, 553  
 Skanderbeg. *See* Castriota  
 Slavata, Count William, 558  
 Smerdis, 76

- Smith, Adam, 644  
 — Sir Sidney, 664  
 Snofru, 7, 13  
 Soemias, 231  
 Socinus, Faustus, 517  
 — Laelius, 517  
 Socrates, 105, 108  
 Soliman, caliph of Damascus, 280  
 — of Saragossa, 285  
 — See Suleiman  
 Solomon, king of Israel, 42, 54-7  
 Solon, 75-9, 84  
 Somers, John, lord, 610  
 Somerset, Protector, 530, 531  
 Sophia, empress, wife of Wenzel IV., 478  
 — electress of Hanover, 610, 613  
 — regent of Russia, 615  
 — Dorothea, wife of George I., 622  
 Sophonisba, 163  
 Soedias, 160  
 Sostrhenes, 176  
 Souham, Comte Joseph, 659  
 Soult, Marshal, 690, 690, 691, 696, 697, 700  
 Spartacus, 194  
 Sphodrias, 114, 116  
 Spinola family, 486  
 — marquis of, 538  
 Spuria, Vestritius, 202  
 Stadion, Count von, 723  
 Stael, Madame de, 662  
 Stahremberg, Rudolf of, 590  
 Stanhope, first earl of, 613, 622, 623  
 Stanislaus (I.), Lesscynski, king of Poland, 617, 620  
 — (II.), Poniatowski, king of Poland, 632  
 Stanley, Lord, 463  
 Stateira, wife of Darius III., 167  
 — daughter of Darius III., 172  
 Staupitz, Johann von, 517  
 Stephen (pope): III., 273; IV., 293; V., 298; VI., 300  
 — king of England, 406-10  
 — king of Hungary: I., 312, 329; II., 490, 491; III. and IV., 491; V., 389, 491  
 — of Hungary, brother of Bela IV., 492  
 — (Batori), king of Poland, 616  
 — of Blois, 345  
 Stibor of Transylvania, 474  
 Stilicho, 249, 250  
 Stoffiet, Nicolas, 656  
 Strabo, Gn. Pompeius, 191  
 Strachan, Sir Richard, 692  
 Strafford, Thos. Wentworth, earl of, 567-9  
 Straw, Jack, 455  
 Strickland, 550  
 Strobe, William, 570  
 Strongbow, Robert Fitzgilbert, 413  
 Stuart, Arabella, 565  
 — Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, 636  
 — James Francis. See James III.  
 — Murdoch, 458  
 Sudbury, Simon, 438, 455  
 Suetonius Tranquillus, C., 219  
 Suffolk, Charles Brandon, duke of, 532  
 — duchess of. See Mary Tudor  
 Suleiman, Sultan: II., 590; III., 591  
 — son of Bajezid I., 496  
 — son of Orchan, 495  
 Suleiman the Turk, 494  
 Sulla, L. Cornelius, 148, 189, 191-3, 194, 203  
 Sully, duke of, 544  
 Sulpicius, 229  
 Sumner, E. V., 736  
 Sumulaliu, 23  
 Sunderland, third earl of, 613, 623  
 Surajah Dowlah, 637  
 Surrey, Henry Howard, earl of, 530  
 Suworov, A. V., 662, 663  
 Svatopluk, 299  
 — of Kiev, 493  
 Sven Estrithson, 313  
 — Forkbeard, 303, 310, 311, 335  
 Swinford, Catherine, 461  
 Syagrius, 261  
 Symmachus, 257  
 Syphax, 163  
 TACHOS, 120  
 Tacitus, C. Cornelius, 218-20  
 Tahaka, 43  
 Tallard, Marshal, 603  
 Talleyrand-Perigord, C. M. de, 649, 662, 664, 672, 681, 683, 688-90, 698, 703  
 Tallien, J. L., 666  
 Tamerlane, 496  
 Tanaquil, 133  
 Tancred of Antioch, 346, 347  
 — of Hauteville, 316  
 — of Sicily, 362  
 Tanutamon, 43  
 Tarif, 279  
 Tarik, 279, 288  
 Tarpela, 132  
 Tarquinus Priscus, 133  
 — Superbus, 134  
 Tassilo of Bavaria, 287  
 Tefnacht, 43  
 Tejas, king of the Ostrogoths, 260  
 Telesinus, Pontius, 191, 193  
 Teletius, king of Sparta, 112  
 Tell, 10  
 Tellez, Leonard, 468  
 Temple, Sir William, 596  
 — Earl, 638  
 Terence, 186  
 Tetepe, 7  
 Tetzel, John, 517  
 Thaddeus of Suessa, 380  
 Thäls, 169  
 Thankmar, 322, 323  
 Thebe, 119  
 Thebes, 69  
 Themistocles, 85-8, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98  
 Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, 410, 411  
 Theodelinde, wife of Autharis, 263  
 Theodohat, king of the Ostrogoths, 258, 259  
 Theodora, mother of Crescentius, 302, 333  
 — daughter of Kantakuzenos, 495  
 Theodore, abbot of Croyland, 306  
 Theodoric, king of the Franks, 263, 264  
 — the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, 256-8, 262, 292  
 — I., king of the Visigoths, 251, 254  
 — II., king of the Visigoths, 255  
 — Count, 286

- Theodosius I. (the Great) emperor, 237, 248, 249  
 — II., emperor, 239, 252, 254  
 — general in Britain, 246, 247  
 Theophano, wife of Otto II., 331-6  
 Theramenes, 108  
 Thiers, L. A., 715, 751, 753, 754  
 Thistlewood, Arthur, 710  
 Thomas of Cellano, 371  
 — of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, 456  
 Thomas, G. H., 738  
 Thoralf, 308  
 Thou, J. A. de, 574  
 Thrasybulus, 108  
 Throgmorton, Francis, 551  
 Thugut, Baron F. M., 870  
 Thuringia, Louis IV., landgrave of, 369  
 Thurkil of East Angla, 312  
 Thurn, Count, 558  
 Thurstan, archbishop of York, 409  
 Thusuma, 28  
 Thutmose I., 39  
 — III., 39  
 Thymbrotus, 109  
 Tiberius (I.), emperor, 209, 214-19  
 — (II.), emperor, 274  
 Tichborne, Chidlock, 552  
 Tiepolo, 489  
 — Vieri, 375  
 Tiglath Pileser I., 46  
 — II., 48  
 Tigranes, king of Armenia, 195  
 — Persian general, 93  
 Tilly, Count J. T. von, 559, 560, 562, 563  
 Timesitheus, 232  
 Timocrates of Rhodes, 109  
 Timoleon of Corinth, 123, 157  
 Timophanes of Corinth, 123  
 Timotheus, 115, 123  
 Timur, 496  
 Tirhakah, 48  
 Tirhaqua, 48, 49  
 Tiribarus, 110, 111  
 Tissaphernes, 109  
 Titus, emperor, 219, 222, 223  
 — Tatius, 132  
 Togo, Admiral, 764  
 Tokoly, Count, 590  
 Tolmides, 101, 104  
 Tone, Wolfe, 666, 668  
 Tooke, Horne, 638, 667  
 Torquatus, Titus Manlius, 151  
 Torquemada, Juan de, 480  
 Torre, della, the, 485  
 — — Guido, 446  
 Tostig, 314  
 Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, 259, 260  
 Townshend, Charles, 639, 640  
 — — second viscount, 622, 623  
 Tracy, William, 412  
 Trajan, emperor, 225-7  
 Trebonius, G., 202  
 Trelawney, bishop of Bristol, 599  
 Trellian, C. J., 455  
 Trochu, L. J., 751, 752  
 Tromp, Martin, 579  
 — Cornelis van, 588, 595  
 Tudor, Jasper, earl of Reenbecke, 463  
 Tullus Hostilius, 132, 133, 135  
 Turenne, Marshal, 576, 586-8  
 Turgot, A. R. J., 648  
 Turner, bishop of Ely, 599  
 Tyler, Wat, 455  
 Tyroonnel, Richard Talbot, earl of, 609  
 Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, earl of, 555  
 UBBA, 307  
 Uberti, Farinati degli, 386  
 Udo, Count, 323  
 Uhtred of Northumbria, 312  
 Uldin, king of the Huns, 253  
 Ulfilas, 246  
 Ulpian, 231  
 Ulrica, Eleanora, queen of Sweden, 620  
 Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, 329  
 Unos, 10  
 Urban (pope): II., 345; IV., 386, 387, 427; V., 471, 473, 475, 484; VI., 454, 475, 484  
 Urengur, 24  
 Usaphais, 5  
 Userkef, 9  
 Usher, Captain, 698  
 Uziah, 48, 63  
 VALENCE, AYMES DE, earl of Pembroke, 432  
 Valens, emperor, 245, 246, 248  
 Valentinian, I., emperor, 245  
 — II., emperor, 247, 248  
 — III., emperor, 239, 251, 252, 255  
 Valerian, emperor, 233  
 Vandamme, D. R., 659, 695  
 Vane, Sir Henry, 580-2  
 Varraxi, the, 398  
 Varro, C. Terentius, 161  
 Varus, Quintilius, 214, 218  
 Vauban, Marshal, 586, 604  
 Veleda, 222  
 Vendôme, Marshal, 586, 603-5  
 Verdingetorix, 198  
 Vere, Robert de, 456  
 Vergniaud, P. V., 652, 654  
 Vernon, Sir Edward, 626  
 Verus, L. Aelius, 227  
 — L. Aurelius, 228  
 Vespasian, emperor, 219, 222, 223  
 Victor, C. P., 690, 691  
 — Amadeus II., king of Sardinia (king of Sicily), 593, 606  
 — — III., 659  
 — Emmanuel I., king of Sardinia, 705  
 — — II., king of Italy, 713, 726-9, 744, 751  
 Victoria, queen of England, 712, 725, 758, 759, 761, 763, 765  
 Vieuville, Marquis de la, 574  
 Villars, Marshal, 586, 603, 604  
 Villèle, Comte de, 705  
 Villeneuve, Admiral, 664, 681  
 Villerot, Marshal, 602, 603  
 Vincent de Paul, St., 534  
 Vinci, Leonardo da, 521  
 Vindex, G. Julius, 221  
 Vipasana Agrippina, wife of Tiberius, 215  
 Viret, Pierre, 525  
 Virgil, 156  
 Viriathus, 185  
 Visconti family, the, 469, 470, 485, 499  
 — Azzo, 485



- Visconti, Bernabo, 485  
 — Filippo Maria, 479, 487  
 — Galeazzo, 447  
 — Gian Galeazzo, 473, 485  
 — Giovanni, 485  
 — Lucchino, 485  
 — Matteo, 446, 485  
 — Ubaldo, 376  
 — Valentina, 485  
 Vitellius, emperor, 219, 222  
 Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths, 259  
 Vitiza, king of the Visigoths, 279  
 Vladimir of Russia, 493  
 Vladislaus IV., king of Poland, 616  
 Voltaire, F. M. A. de, 628, 632, 637  
 Vortigern, 252  
  
 WADR, Marshal, 623  
 Waldrada, 297  
 Wallace, William, 431  
 Wallenstein, Albert of, 560, 561, 563  
 Wallia, king of the Visigoths, 251  
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 622-6, 635  
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 551, 552  
 Walter of Coutances, 417  
 — the Penniless, 345  
 — of Troia, 365  
 Walworth, John, 455  
 Warbeck, Perkin, 464-6  
 Warrena, John, earl of Surrey, 430  
 Warwick, earl of, Thomas Beauchamp, 456  
 — — Richard Neville, 462, 463  
 — — Edward Plantagenet, 464, 466  
 Washington, George, 640, 641  
 Welf of Bavaria, Count, 293  
 — VI., 349, 359  
 — Henry, 298  
 Wellesley, marquess, 692  
 Wellington, first duke of, 690, 691, 696, 697,  
 699-701, 707, 711, 712  
 Wenzel the Holy, prince of Bohemia, 326  
 — I., king of Bohemia, 377  
 — II., king of Bohemia, 444-6  
 — III., king of Bohemia, 445, 492  
 — IV., king of Bohemia, emperor, 471,  
 473, 474, 478, 485  
 Werder, Count August von, 753  
 Werner, archbishop of Mainz, 443  
 Westmoreland, Charles Neville, earl of, 549  
 Weston, Richard, 569  
 Weyland, 306  
 White, bishop of Peterborough, 599  
 Whitelocke, Bulstrode, 582  
 Whitgift, John, 551, 556  
 Whitworth, Earl, 677  
 Widekind, 285-7  
 Wilkes, John, 638-40  
 William I., German emperor, 627, 742-4, 746,  
 748, 749, 751, 752, 754  
 — II., German emperor, 765  
 — king of England: I., 314, 315, 345,  
 405; II., 405; III., 587, 588, 593, 595-7,  
 599-601, 607-11, 615; IV., 711, 712  
 — son of Henry I., 407  
 William the Lion, king of Scotland, 414, 430  
 — I., king of Sicily, 318  
 — II., king of Sicily, 318, 360, 410  
 William of Apulia, 317  
 — Clito, 407  
 — the Iron Arm, of Hauteville, 316  
 — count of Holland, 367  
 — — king of the Romans, 380, 382, 383  
 — son of Henry the Lion, 359  
 — archbishop of Mainz, 328  
 — of Orange, the Silent, 535-8, 551  
 — — V., 646, 659  
 Willibrord, 271, 272  
 Willigis of Mainz, 336-40  
 Wilmington, earl of, 635  
 Wimpffen, E. F. de., 751  
 Winchelsey, Archbishop, 431, 432  
 Windischgrätz, Prince von, 721  
 Winfrid. *See* Boniface  
 Winkelried, Arnold von, 472  
 Witt, John de, 587, 595, 596  
 Wittgenstein, Field-Marshal, 694  
 Wolfe, James, 641  
 Wolseley, Garnet, viscount, 758  
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 527-9  
 Woodville, Richard, 463  
 — *See* Elizabeth  
 Worcester, Thomas Percy, earl of, 458  
 Wrangel, Count Friedrich von, 743  
 Wulfstan, archbishop of York, 309  
 Wurms, Field-Marshal, 660  
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 532  
 Wycliffe, John, 438, 453-5, 476  
 Wykeham, William of, 456  
 Wyndham, William, 669, 678, 684  
  
 XANTHIPPOS, 158  
 Xavier, St. Francis, 534  
 Xenophon, 70, 109, 113  
 Xerxes, 87, 92, 95, 96, 100, 169  
  
 YORCK, General, 694  
 York, Edmund, duke of, 456, 461  
 — Frederic Augustus, duke of, 659, 663,  
 667  
 — Richard, duke of, 461-3  
 — — (the Little Prince), 464  
 Ypres, William of, 409  
 Ypsilanti, Alexander and Demetrius, 706  
  
 ZABARELLA, Francesco, 476  
 Zachariah, king of Israel, 63  
 — — Judah, 63  
 Zacharias I., pope, 27 2  
 Zedekiah, king of Judah, 67  
 Zeid, 275  
 Zeno, emperor, 256, 258  
 Zenobia, 233, 234  
 Zerubbabel, 68  
 Zet, 5  
 Zeuxis, 122  
 Zietzen, H. A. von, 631  
 Zimri, 58, 61  
 Ziskra, John, 478  
 Zoe (Palaeologus), empress, 493  
 Zoroaster, 38  
 Zoser I., 7  
 — II., 7  
 Zwentibold, 298-300  
 Zwingli, Huldreich, 516

## II.—GENERAL INDEX

AAOHEH, 288, 291; Congress at, 705. *See*

Aix-la-Chapelle

Academy, French, 586

Achaean League, 176, 183

Adrianople, Treaty of, 707. *See* Index 3

Aequi, 149

Aetolian League, 176

Africa (Roman province), 163, 185-9, 200, 252, 259

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1668), 587, 596; (1748) 630, 636

Akkadians, 18-21

Alexandria, 168, 277. *See* Index 3

Algiers, 521, 708

Alt-Ranstädt, 617

Amboise, 539, 541, 547

Amiens, Mise of, 427; Peace of, 673-7

Amorites, 22, 28

Anabasis, the, 109

Appian Way, 153

Apulia, 316, 385

Arabs, 274

Aragon, 400, 466, 510. *See* Alfonso, Ferdinand, Peter, in Index 1

Armed Neutrality (1781), 642; (1806) 675

Armenians, 31, 35

Arras, Treaty of, 507

Aryans, 35, 37

Asia Minor, 31; Roman province, 185

Assyrians, Bk. i. ch. ii.-iv.

Athens, 81, Bk. i. ch. vi., vii., x.

Augsburg, 509; Confession, 520; Interim, 523; Treaty of, 524

Austria, 348. *See* Table of Contents and Austria, Dukes of; and Ferdinand, Francis, Leopold, Metternich, in Index 1

Austrian Succession, War of the, 629

Avars, 289

Aversa, 316

Avignon, popes at, 475

BABEL, 28

Babylon, Bk. i. ch. ii., 67, 173

Bank of England, 609; banks, German, 509

Barcelona, 401; Treaty of, 574

Basel, Council of, 479; Treaty of, 659, 667

Batavi, 222

Bavaria, 287, 293, 343, 348. *See* Index 1

Bavarian Succession, War of the, 634

Baylen, capitulation of, 690

Bec, Concordat of, 407

Belgium, 538, 708

Bender, 618

Berlin, Treaty of (1742), 629, 635; (1878) 757

Bill of Rights, 608

Bishops' War, 569

Black Death, 436

Blanketeers, 709

Bocotian War, 114; League, 116

Bohemia, 321, 343, 389, 445, 478, 504, 522, 561; and *see* Boleslav, Ottokar, Wenzel, in Index 1

Brandenburg. *See* Index 1

Breda, Peace of, 595

Breslau, Treaty of, 635

Bretigny, Treaty of, 436-7, 452

Britain, 198, 220, 227, 252-3

Brittany, 262, 287, 301

Bruges, 398

Bulgarians, 258, 756

Burgundy, 262, 294 ff., 343, 505. *See* Index 1

Byzantine Empire. *See* Eastern Empire

CABAL, the, 595

Cabinet, the, 610-11, 622

Cambrai, Treaty of (1508), 512; (1529) 520

Camisards, 592

Campania, 342

Campo Formio, Treaty of, 660-1, 668, 670

Canada, 631, 640-1

Canossa, 342

Carlowitz, Peace of, 590-1, 615

Carthage, 73, 79, 96, Bk. i. ch. ix., 184

Castile. *See* Aragon

Cateau Cambrésis, Treaty of, 535

Cato Street Conspiracy, 710

Charter, the Great, 422; Confirmation of, 431

Cherasco, Treaty of, 659

Chinon, Treaty of, 421

Cimbri, 189

Cintra, Convention of, 690

Clair sur Epte, Treaty of, 301

Clarendon, Constitution and Assize of, 411, 413

Coloni, 242

Concordat, the Gallican

Constance, Council of, 476; Diet of, 358

Constantinople, 236, 240, 258. *See* Eastern Empire

Convention Parliament, the, 583

Copenhagen, Treaty of, 616. *See* Index 3

Corcyra, 101

Counter Reformation, 533, 545

Crespy, Treaty of, 621

Crete, 33-4, 38, 194, 707

Crimean War, 723

Crusades. *See* Table of Contents, Bk. ii.

Cyprus, 33, 77, 94

DAMASCUS, 60. *See* Index 3  
 Danegelt, 310  
 Dances, Bk. II. ch. III.  
 Defenestration of Prague, 558  
 Delos, Confederacy of, 94  
 Denmark, 302, 321, 351, 687, 743. *See*  
 Danes; and Christian, Frederick, Harold,  
 in Index 1  
 Diadochi, the, 174  
 Dorians, 78  
 Dover, Treaty of, 596  
 Dragonnades, 592  
 Dresden, Treaty of, 629, 636. *See* Index 3  
**EASTERN EMPIRE**, 237, 247-8, 253, 258, 274,  
 281, 317, 335, 345. *See* Constantinople  
 Edinburgh, Treaty of, 547  
 Egypt, Bk. I. ch. I.-III., 67, 162, 178, 200,  
 277, 395, 663, 707, 758, 760. *See* Ptolemy,  
 Index 1  
 Epikaurus, Congress at, 706  
 Etaples, Treaty of, 465  
 Ethiopians, 43  
 Etruscans, 79  
 Evangelical Union, 556  
 Exclusion Bill, 597  
**FAMILY COMPACT**, 625  
 Fashoda, 760  
 Ferrara, Treaty of, 479  
 Florence, Bk. II. ch. xiv., xv., 508. *See*  
 Index 3, and Medici in Index 1  
 Fontainebleau, Treaty of (1807), 687; (1814),  
 698  
 Fort Sumter, 732  
 France, *See* Table of Contents, and Charles,  
 Francis, Louis, Napoleon, Phillip, in  
 Index 1  
 Frankfort, Treaty of, 754  
 Franks, 233, Bk. II. ch. I.  
 Fronde, the, 575  
 Füssen, Peace of, 629  
**GASTRIEN**, Convention of, 744  
 Gaul, 159, 185, 197, 244, 262  
 Geneva, 516, 525  
 Genoa, 486  
 Germans, 214, Bk. I. ch. xiii., 250, &c., 292  
 Germany, 272-3, 295, 299, 443, 564, 694,  
 716. *See* "the Empire" (Bk. II.) and  
 Prussia, Austria, &c., in Table of Contents  
 Ghent, Treaty of, 537  
 Ghibellines, 348, Bk. II. ch. vii., viii.  
 Golden Bull (1), 478; (2) 491  
 Gotha, 233, 248 ff.  
 Granada, 280, 403, 510  
 Grand Remonstrance, 570  
 Greece, Bk. I. ch. v.-vii., x., xi.; 706-7  
 Greeks, 83  
 Guelfs. *See* Ghibellines  
 Guéux, 536  
**HABEAS CORPUS ACT**, 598, 709  
 Hanover, 621; Treaty of, 625  
 Hansa, the, Bk. II. ch. ix.  
 Hegira, the, 276  
 Hernicans, 150  
 Hieroglyphics, 4, 20  
 Hittites, 80

Hohenstauffen, the, 347, Bk. II. ch. vi.-vii.  
 Holland, 343, 535-6, 579, 587, 596, 666-7,  
 708  
 Holy Alliance, 704  
 Hubertsburg, Treaty of, 631, 638  
 Hundred Years' War, 435  
 Hungarians, 299, 320-1, 328  
 Hungary, 343, 445, 490, 504, 590, 716, 720.  
*See* Andrew, Bela, Ladislaus, Matthias,  
 Stephen, in Index 1  
 Huns, 247, 253  
**INDIA**, 37, 170-2, 636, 757; Mutiny in, 725  
 Indo-Germans, Bk. I. ch. iii.  
 Indulgence, Declarations of, 594, 599  
 Indulgences, 517  
 Instrument of Government, 580  
 Interregnum, the, 388  
 Iranians, 69. *See* Persia  
 Ireland, 271, 304, 410, 413, 457, 465, 550,  
 555, 568, 579, 608-9, 645, 668, 675, 711,  
 759  
**JACQUERIE**, the, 452  
 Janissaries, 494, 707  
 Jansenists, 591  
 Jassy, Treaty of, 646  
 Jerusalem, 53 ff., 222, 346, 360. *See*  
 Crusades  
 Jesuits, 533, 551  
 Jews, Bk. I. ch. iv., 227  
**KALISCH**, Treaty of, 694  
 Karlowitz. *See* Carlowitz  
 Keys, Army of the, 371  
 Kiev, 493  
 Kutschuk Kainardji, Treaty of, 633  
**LAIBACH**, CONGRESS OF, 706  
 Latins, 131, 150-1  
 League of Princes, 634  
 Leipzig Interim, 523. *See* Index 3  
 Lewes, Mise of, 427. *See* Index 3  
 Licinian Laws, 139  
 Limerick, Treaty of, 609. *See* Index 3  
 Lodi, Peace of, 490. *See* Index 3  
 Lollards, 454-6, 460  
 Lombard League, 356, 373. *See* Milan  
 Lombards, 262-4  
 London, Treaty of (or Westminster), 1674,  
 588, 597; Conference (1827-8), 707; Con-  
 ference (1830-1), 708; Protocol 1832)  
 743; Great Fire of, 595  
 Long Parliament, 569  
 Lords Appellant, 456  
 Lords Ordainers, 432  
 Lübeck, 398; Peace of, 561  
 Luneville, Peace of, 674  
 Lydia, 80  
**MACCABEES**, 179, 195  
 Macedonia, 121 ff., Bk. I. ch. x., xi.  
 Madrid, Treaty of (1625), 519; (1803) 687  
 Margraves, 239  
 Mayors of the Palace, 268  
 Medes, Bk. I. ch. v.  
 Megalopolis, 117  
 Mersen, Treaty of, 295  
 Methuen Treaty, 612

- Mexico, the French in, 747  
 Milan. *See* Index 3, and Sforza, Visconti, in Index 1  
 Mice of Amlens, 427  
 Mongols, 395, 491, 493  
 Moors, 280, 400 ff., 468, 510  
 Municipal Reform Act, 712  
 Mycenae, 77
- NANTES, Edict of, 544, 592  
 Naples, 318, Bk. II. ch. viii., ch. xiv.; 511, 705. *See* Francis, Ferdinand, Louis, in Index 1  
 National Debt, 609  
 Navarre, 467  
 Navigation Act, 579  
 Netherlands, Revolt of, 535. *See* Holland  
 Nineveh, Bk. I. ch. iv.  
 Normandy, 301, 406, 419, 462. *See* Index 1  
 Normans or Norsemen, 301, Bk. II. ch. iii.  
 Northampton, Assize of, 414; Treaty of, 434  
 Norway, 303, 351, 620  
 Novgorod, 398  
 Nuremberg, Peace of, 520  
 Nymphenburg, Treaty of, 628  
 Nymwegen, Peace of, 589, 593, 597  
 Nystadt, Treaty of, 620
- Oliva, Peace of, 614  
 Olynthus, 126; Olynthian War, 112  
 Ostrogoths, 256-60
- PALESTINE, Bk. I. ch. iv., 179, 195, 344, 369, 372, 722. *See* Crusades  
 Paris, Treaty of (1763), 631, 638, 643; (1815), 703; (1856), 725; (1871), 753. *See* Index 3  
 Parliament, 426-7, 435, 437-8, 566, 569  
 Partition, Treaty of (1), 601, 610; (2) 610  
 Passau, Treaty of, 524, 561  
 Pecquigny, Treaty of, 463, 507  
 Peloponnesian War, 106-7  
 Persia, 35-8, Bk. I. ch. v., vi.; 119, ch. x.; 245, 277. *See* Artaxerxes, Chosroes, Darius, in Index 1  
 Peterloo Massacre, 709  
 Petersburg, 618  
 Petition of Right, 567  
 Phocians, 124, 127  
 Phrygians, 35  
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 529  
 Pirates, 194, 620  
 Pisa, Council of, 475, 486  
 Poland, 492, 605, 615, 633, 708  
 Poor Law, 565  
 Port Royal, 591-2  
 Portsmouth, Treaty of, 764  
 Portugal, 401, 467, 687, 750. *See* Alfonso and John, Index 1  
 Poynings' Law, 463  
 Pragmatic Sanction, 625  
 Prague, Treaty of, 747. *See* Index 3  
 Pressburg, Treaty of (1491), 509; (1806), 682, 688  
 Protestants, 520  
 Prussia, 343, 348, 587-8, Bk. III. ch. ix., 653-4  
 Puritans, 550  
 Pyrenees, Treaty of, 577. *See* Index 3
- RADICALS, 710  
 Radstadt, Treaty of, 606  
 Rastadt, Treaty of, 661  
 Reformation, the, Bk. III. ch. i.-ii.  
 Reform Bill, the, 711  
 Restitution, Edict of, 561  
 Ripon, Pacification of, 569  
 Rols Fainéants, 264  
 Rome, Treaty of, 744  
 Roncaglia, Diet of, 354  
 Roses, Wars of the, 462  
 Rubicon, the, 199  
 Rump, the, 572, 555  
 Russia. *See* Ivan, Peter, Catherine, in Index 1  
 Ryswyk, Peace of, 593, 601, 607, 609
- SABINES, 131  
 Sacred War, 125, 128  
 St. Bartholomew Massacre, 542  
 St. Germain, Treaty of, 542  
 St. Helena, 701  
 St. Petersburg. *See* Petersburg  
 Samnites, 151-3  
 San Germano, Treaty of, 372  
 San Stefano Treaty, 756  
 Saragossa, 401. *See* Index 3  
 Savoy. *See* Victor and Savoy, Index 1  
 Saxons, 233, 284-6; Emperors, Bk. II. ch. iv.  
 Saxony. *See* Index 1  
 Schleswig-Holstein, 321, 743  
 Schmalkalden, League and War of, 520-2  
 Schönbrunn, Treaty of, 684  
 Scotland, Union with, 613  
 Semites, 18 ff., 23, 49, 274  
 Senlis, Treaty of, 510  
 Settlement, Act of, 610  
 Seven Years' War, 630  
 Seville, Treaty of, 646  
 Shiites, 278  
 Ship-money, 568  
 Sicily, 79, 107, 158, 162, 317, 348, 385, 393  
 Silesian War (1), 628; (2), 629  
 Slatowa, Treaty of, 646  
 Sonderbund, the, 714  
 Spain, 157-60, 185, 201, 279, 285, 373, Bk. II. ch. ix., 487; Bk. II. ch. xii., 510, 538, 553, 705. *See* Ferdinand and Philip, Index 1  
 Spanish Succession, War of, Bk. II. ch. vii.  
 Sparta, 81, 118, Bk. I. ch. viii.  
 Stamp Act, 639  
 Stockholm, Treaty of, 620  
 Sumerians, 18-21  
 Sunnites, 278  
 Supremacy, Act of, 546  
 Swabian League, 509  
 Sweden, 303, 343, 560-4, 614-20. *See* Frederick and Gustavus, Index 1  
 Switzerland, 343, 448, 472, 507, 663, 713  
 Syracuse, 107, 157  
 Syria, 35, 60 ff., 80, 178, 182, 195, 348, 707  
 Sægedin, Treaty of, 497
- TAUROGGEN, Treaty of, 694  
 Teschen, Peace of, 634  
 Test Act, 596, 711  
 Teutones, 189  
 Thebes (Egypt), 12, 16; (Greece) 113 ff., 124  
 Thirty Years' War, Bk. III. ch. iv.

- Thorn, Peace of, 505  
 Tilsit, Treaty of, 686-7  
 Tolentino, Treaty of, 660  
 Tordes, 598, 612  
 Traventhal, Peace of, 617  
 Trent, Council of, 521-3, 534  
 Triple Alliance (1668), 586-7; (1717), 623;  
 (1788), 646  
 Troppau, Congress of, 706  
 Troy, 32, 38, 77  
 Troyes, Treaty of, 461  
 Turks, 494 ff., 504, 589-91
- UNIFORMITY, Acts of, 531, 546  
 United Provinces. *See* Holland  
 Usedom, 561  
 Utica, 185  
 Utrecht, Peace of, 605-6, 613, 626, 628;  
 Union of, 538
- VANDALS, 250-9  
 Vassy, Massacre of, 541  
 Venice, 255, 362-3, 486-90, 662  
 Verdun Treaty, 294
- Vereeniging, Treaty of, 763  
 Verona, Diet of, 334  
 Versailles, Treaty of, 643  
 Vervins, Treaty of, 544, 555  
 Vienna, Treaty of (1731), 625; (1809), 691  
 (1864), 744; Congress of, 698-99, 703-4.  
*See* Index 3  
 Vikings, 304-5  
 Villafranca, Treaty of, 729-30  
 Visigoths, 248  
 Vossem, Treaty of, 588
- WALLINGFORD, Treaty of, 410  
 Welau, Treaty of, 587  
 Wends, 321, 326  
 Wenclo, Peace of, 646  
 Westminster, Treaty of, 588, 597  
 Westphalia, Peace of, 538, 564, 573, 575, 587  
 Whigs, 598, 612  
 Winter King, the, 559  
 Wisby, 398  
 Wittenberg, capitulation of, 522  
 Worms, Concordat of, 342; Diet of, 518;  
 Treaty of, 635

### III.—INDEX OF BATTLES, SIEGES, ETC.

ABOUKIR, 664  
 — Bay, 664, 668  
 Abraham, Plains of, 641  
 Acre: (1191) 360; (1799) 663, 664

Actium, 204, 213  
 Adrianople, 248  
 Aegates, 108  
 Aegospotami, 107  
 Agincourt, 460  
 Agosta, 588  
 Ai, 52  
 Ajalon, 52  
 Alalia, 79  
 Alarcos, 403  
 Albuera, 696  
 Alessandria, 357  
 Alexandria, 675  
 Aljubarrota, 467, 468  
 Allenstein, 685  
 Allia, 149  
 The Alma, 723  
 Almanza, 604  
 Alnwick, 414  
 Amphipolis, 106  
 Angora, 496  
 Antietam, 736  
 Antioch, 346  
 Aphek, 53  
 Aquileia, 232  
 Arbela, 168  
 Arcola, 660, 664  
 Arcot, 636  
 Arginusæ, 107  
 Arpad, 48  
 Artaxata, 195  
 Artemisium, 90  
 Ascalon, 347  
 Aspern, 691  
 Assandun (Ashdown), 311  
 Asti, 249  
 Auerstädt, 684  
 Auray, 452  
 Ausculum, 155  
 Auesig, 478  
 Austerlitz, 681-3

BADAJOS, 696  
 Baecula, 162  
 Balaclava, 724  
 Ball's Bluff, 784  
 Bannockburn, 422  
 Bar-sur-Aube, 697  
 Barossa, 696  
 Bantzen, 694

Beaumont, 751  
 Beda, 276  
 Benevento, 388  
 Blethen, 323  
 Blenheim, 603, 612, 627  
 Blora Heath, 462  
 Bocholt, 285  
 Borodino, 693  
 Bosworth, 464  
 Bouvines, 366, 421, 439  
 Bovianum, 153  
 Boyne, the, 609  
 Bozra, 278  
 Bramham Moor, 459  
 Bravalla, 303  
 Breitenfeld, 562  
 Brenta, the, 299  
 Brescia: (siege) 375; (battle) 473  
 Brienne, 697  
 Brunanburgh, 308, 309  
 Budweis, 559  
 Bull Run: (1861) 733; (1862) 736  
 Bunker's Hill, 641  
 Bury St. Edmunds, 414  
 Byzantium, 128  
 — See Constantinople

CABIRA, 195  
 Calais, 436, 533  
 Calcutta, 637  
 Cambuskenneth, 431  
 Camperdown, 668  
 Cannæ: (B.C. 216) 161; (A.D. 1019) 316  
 Cape Finisterre, 636  
 — St. Vincent, 668  
 Capua, 162  
 Carberry Hill, 549  
 Carhemish, 44, 67  
 Carpi, 602  
 Carrhae, 199, 201  
 Carthage, 184, 259  
 Casano: (1259) 385; (1799) 662  
 Catalaunan Plains, 254  
 Caudine Forks, 152  
 Chaerone, 192  
 Chaeronea, 129, 165  
 Chalcedon, 236  
 Chamaubert, 697  
 Champion's Hill, 737  
 Chancellorsville, 737  
 Charenton, 576  
 Chateau Gaillard, 419  
 — Thierry, 697  
 Chattanooga, 738

Chiari, 602  
 Chickahominy, 735  
 Chickamauga Creek, 738  
 Chiochia, war of, 489  
 Chocoma, 616  
 Chokovain, 618  
 Chotusitz, 629  
 Ciudad Rodrigo, 696  
 Civitella, 316  
 Cllesow, 617  
 Cnidus, the, 110  
 Cold Harbour, 739  
 Constantinople : (1204) 363 ; (1453) 498  
 Copenhagen : (1801) 675 ; (1807) 687  
 Coracesium, 195  
 Corbicaudale, 579  
 Corinth, 183  
 Coronea : (447) 104 ; (394) 110  
 Cortenuova, 375  
 Corunna, 690  
 Cotrona, 334  
 Courtral, 441  
 Craanon, 175  
 Craonne, 697  
 Crécy, 435, 450  
 Crefeld, 630  
 Cremona, 602  
 Crévant, 462  
 Crimsus, 157  
 Culloden, 636  
 Cunaxa, 109  
 Custozza, 746  
 Cynoccephale, 182  
 Cynicus, 195  
 Cmslau, 558

DAMASCUS, 48, 64 ; (1147) 348  
 Damietta, 367  
 Dillum, 106  
 Denain, 606  
 Dennewitz, 695  
 Dermbach, 746  
 Detmold, 286, 292  
 Dettingen, 629, 635  
 Dijon, 262  
 Dol, 414  
 Dorylaeum, 346  
 Downs, the, 595  
 Dresden, 695  
 Dreux, 541  
 Drogheda, 579  
 Dunbar : (1296) 430 ; (1650) 579  
 Dunes, the, 582  
 Durazzo, 317  
 Dyle, the, 299

EBELSBURG, 691  
 Eckmühl, 691  
 Eddington, 307  
 Edessa, 347, 348  
 Edgehill, 570  
 Eger, 563  
 Engen, 673  
 Espagnol-sur-Mer, les (Winchelsea), 436  
 Esaling, 691  
 Eupatoria, 724  
 Eurymedon, 96  
 Evesham, 427  
 Eylau, 685

FAIR OAKS, 735  
 Falkirk : (1298), 431 ; (1746) 638  
 Farnham, 308  
 Fehrbellin, 588, 614, 627  
 Firket, 760  
 "First of June, the," 667  
 Five Forks, 741  
 Fleurus : (1690), 593 ; (1794) 658, 667  
 Florence, 520  
 Foggia, 384  
 Fontenay : (841) 294  
 Fontenoy : (1745) 636  
 Fornovo, 511  
 Fortore, 315  
 Fraustadt, 617  
 Fredericksburg, 736  
 Friederichshall, 620  
 Friedland, 685  
 Fuentes d'Onoro, 696

GAINES MILLS, 735  
 Garigliano, the, 302  
 Gemblours, 537  
 Gettysburg, 737  
 Gollheim, 445  
 Grandson, 507  
 Granicus, the, 166  
 Groesbeeren, 695  
 Grossjäger, 630  
 Guinegate : (1479) 507

HALLARTUS, 109  
 Hammelburg, 746  
 Hanau, 696  
 Harfleur, 400  
 Hastings, 315, 406  
 Heraclea Miroa, 158  
 Himera, 92, 157  
 Hippo, 252  
 Hittin, 360  
 Hochkirch, 630  
 Höchst, 559  
 Hohenfriedberg, 629  
 Hohenlinden, 674  
 Homildon Hill, 458

INKERMAN, 724  
 Ipsus, 175, 177  
 Isaus, the, 167  
 Ivry, 544

JACKSON, 737  
 Jarnac, 541  
 Jena, 684  
 Jericho, 52  
 Jerusalem : (586 B.C.) 67 ; (70 A.D.) 222 ;  
 (1099) 346 ; (1187) 360

KADESH, 41  
 Kappel, 516  
 Katsbach, the, 695  
 Kenesaw, 740  
 Kesselsdorf, 629  
 Khartoum, 758, 760  
 Killala, 668  
 Kissingen, 746  
 Kolin, 630  
 Königsröts, 746

Kosovo: (1389) 495; (1449) 497  
Kulm, 695  
Kumersdorf, 631  
Kuropedion, 176

LADYSMITH, 762  
La Fère Champenoise, 697  
La Hogue, 593  
Langside, 549  
Laon, 697  
La Rochelle, 567, 574  
La Rothière, 697  
Las Navas de Tolosa, 403  
Laupen, 472  
Lech, the, 563  
Lechæum, 110  
Lechfeld, 329  
Legnano, 357, 358  
Leipzig (Breitenfeld), 562  
Leipzig: (1813) 695, 696  
Lepanto, 590  
Lerida, 200  
Leucas, 115  
Leuctra, 114-6  
Lexington, 641  
Leyden, 537  
Ligny, 700  
Lille, 604  
Lincoln: (1141) 409; (1217) 424  
Lipan, 480  
Lissa, 747  
Lobositz, 630  
Lodi, 680  
Londonderry, 608  
Longwy, 654  
Lowestoft, 595  
Lucknow, 726  
Lützen: (1632) 563; (1813) 694

MAGDEBURG, 523, 562  
Magenta, 728  
Magnesia, 182  
Maldstone, 572  
Majuba Hill, 759  
Malplaquet, 604  
Malvern Hill, 735  
Mantinea: (418) 107; (362) 119, 120  
Marchfeld: (1260) 389; (1260) 492; (1278) 444

Marengo, 673, 674  
Marignano, 519  
Marston Moor, 571, 578  
Meaux, 461  
Medina, 276  
Megiddo, 42, 67  
Meloria, 378  
Messana, 158  
Metaurus, the, 162  
Methven, 432  
Metz, 750  
Milan: (1158) 353, 354; (1161) 355, 356  
Millesimo, 659  
Milvian Bridge, 236  
Minden: (1679) 589; (1759) 631  
Mirebeau, 419  
Möckern, 696  
Mohacs, 591  
Molara, 486  
Mollwitz, 628

Moncontour, 541  
Mondovi, 659  
Montaperti, 386, 487  
Montebello, 728  
Montenotte, 659  
Montereau, 697  
Monte Rotondo, 748  
Montmirail, 697  
Mookerheide, 537  
Morat, 507  
Morgarten, 449, 472  
Mortimer's Cross, 463  
Mosakirch, 673  
Mühlberg, 522  
Müldorf: (1257) 389; (1322) 443, 449  
Munda, 201  
Mycale, 93  
Mylæ: (262 B.C.) 158; (36 B.C.) 212

NAFELS, 472  
Najera, 467  
Nancy, 507  
Naples, 383  
Narva, 617  
Naseby, 571, 578  
Naulochus, 212  
Navaretta, 437, 467  
Navarino, 706, 707  
Naxos, 115  
Neerwinden, 593  
Nemea, 109  
Neon, 125  
Neuss, 506  
Neville's Cross, 435  
Newburn, 569  
Newton Butler, 608  
Nicopolis, 496  
Nile, the, 664, 668  
Nissa, 497  
Nocera, 260  
Nördlingen, 563  
Noreja, 189  
Northallerton, 409  
Northampton, 463  
North Foreland, the, 565  
Novara, 726  
Novi, 663  
Numantia, 185

OCKLEY, 305  
Oeniasæ, 102  
Oenoe, 100  
Oenophyta, 101  
Ohod, 276  
Omdurman, 760  
Oporto, 691  
Orchomenos, 192  
Orleans, 254  
Ostend, 538  
Ostrolenka, 708  
Oudenarde, 604, 613

PALERMO, 588  
Pampeluna, 285  
Panormus, 158  
Paris, 543-4, 752, 753  
Parma, 380  
Pavia, 284, 519  
Pellene, 81



Pelusium, 45  
 Perinthus, 128  
 Perusia, 212  
 Pharsalia, 200  
 Philippi, 211  
 Philocrene, 494  
 Pinkie, 531, 533  
 Pirna, 680  
 Pistoria, 196  
 Plassey, 637  
 Plataea : (battle) 92, 93 : (siege) 106  
 Poitiers : (732) 272 : (1356) 436, 451  
 Pollentia, 249  
 Prague, 680  
 Preston : (1648) 572 : (1715) 623  
 Prestonpans, 636  
 Pultawa, 618  
 Pultusk : (1703) 617 : (1806) 685  
 Pydna, 183  
 Pyramids, the, 663  
 Pyrenees, the, 697

#### QUATRE BRAS, 700

RADCOOT BRIDGE, 456  
 Ramillies, 603, 604, 613  
 Ramleh, 361  
 Ramoth Gilead, 61  
 Rathamline, 579  
 Raudian Plains, 190  
 Ravenna, 256  
 Raymond, 737  
 Reading, 306  
 Blade, 321  
 Richmond, 735  
 Rivoli, 660  
 Rome : (406-410) 250, 251, 255 : (1527) 519  
 Roncesvalles, 285, 293  
 Rossbach, 630  
 Rouen, 419

SAALFELD, 684  
 Saarbrücken, 749  
 Saguntum, 180  
 Saints, the (1782), 642  
 St. Albans : (I.) 462 : (II.) 463  
 St. Antoine, 577  
 St. Denis, 541  
 St. Gotthard, 590  
 St. Privat, 750  
 St. Vincent, Cape, 668  
 Salado, 404  
 Salamanca, 697  
 Salamis, 91  
 Samaria, 48, 61, 65  
 Sandwich, 424  
 San Felice, 469  
 Santa Cruz, 581  
 Saragossa : (758) 285 : (1710) 605 : (1809), 690  
 Saratoga, 461  
 Sardia, 84  
 Saasbach, 588  
 Savannah, 740  
 Scarborough Castle, 432  
 Scarpheae, 183  
 Sebastopol, 732-5

Sedan, 751  
 Sedgemoor, 599  
 Seir, 63  
 Sellasia, 177  
 Sempach, 472  
 Senefte, 588  
 Sentinum, 154  
 Sevenoaks, 462  
 Sheriffmuir, 623  
 Shiloh, 735  
 Shrewsbury, 459  
 Sievershausen, 524  
 Silarus, the, 194  
 Sluys, 435  
 Smerwick, 551  
 Smolensk, 693  
 Sohr, 629  
 Soissons : (486) 261 : (923) 301 : (1814) 697  
 Solara, 401  
 Southwold Bay, 596  
 Spanish Armada, 538, 553, 554  
 Speicher, 473  
 Spichenen, 750  
 Squillace, 334  
 Stamford Bridge, 314  
 Stadtlohn, 560  
 Steinkeerten, 593  
 Stockach : (1799) 662 : (1800) 673  
 Stralsund (1628) 561 : (1715) 619  
 Strassburg : (857) 244, 589 : (1870) 751  
 Sybote, 105  
 Syracuse (battle), 107 : (siege) 162

TAGINA, 260  
 Tagliacozzo, 391  
 Taillebourg, 425  
 Talavera, 691  
 Tamynae, 126  
 Tanagra, 101  
 Tauss, 478, 480  
 Tel-el-Kebir, 758  
 Tenchebrai, 496  
 Testry, 272  
 Tewkesbury, 463  
 Texel, the, 597  
 Thapsus, 201  
 Thermopylae : (480), 90 : (191) 182  
 Théroutenne (1479), 507  
 Thrasymene Lake, the, 160  
 Tiberias, 277  
 Tigranocerta, 195  
 Torgau, 631  
 Tortona, 351  
 Toul, 751  
 Toulon, 657, 658  
 Tours : (732) 272 : (841, siege) 304  
 Towton, 463  
 Trafalgar, 681  
 Trebia, the : (218 B.C.) 160 : (1799 A.D.) 663  
 Trifanum, 151  
 Troja, 384  
 Troy, 77  
 Tchesmé, 632  
 Tunis, 158, 520  
 Turin, 604, 613, 627  
 Turnham Green, 570  
 Tushima, 764  
 Tyre, 167

UCLES, 401  
Ulm, 681  
Ushant, 636

VALMY, 654  
Varna, 497  
Vauchamps, 697  
Vell, 149  
Vercelli, 299  
Verneuil, 462  
Verona : (489) 256 ; (siege) 284  
Vicksburg, 737  
Vienna, 580  
Villaviciosa, 605  
Vimiero, 690  
Vinegar Hill, 668  
Vionville, 750  
Vittoria, 697  
Vouillé, 262

WACHAU, 696  
Wagram, 691

Wakefield, 463  
Waterloo, 667, 699-702  
Weissenberg, 749  
Wexford, 579  
White Mountain, 559  
Wiesbach, 559  
Wimpfen, 559  
Winosby, 578  
Worcester, 579, 582  
Wörth, 750

XERES DE LA FRONTERA, 279, 280

YORKTOWN : (1781) 642 ; (1862) 735

ZAMA, 163  
Zela, 200  
Zenta, 591  
Zorndorf, 630  
Zülpich, 262  
Zurich, 662, 663

1



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